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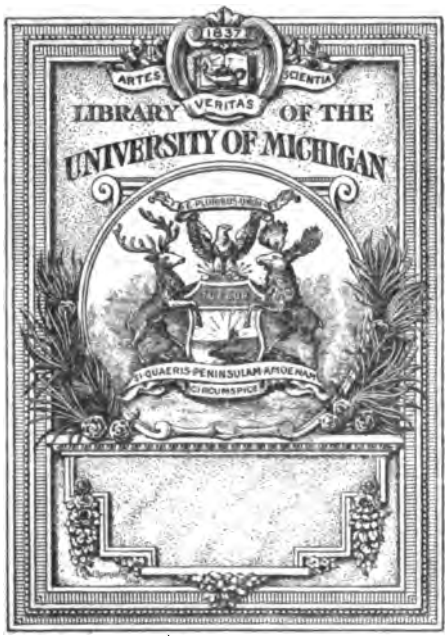
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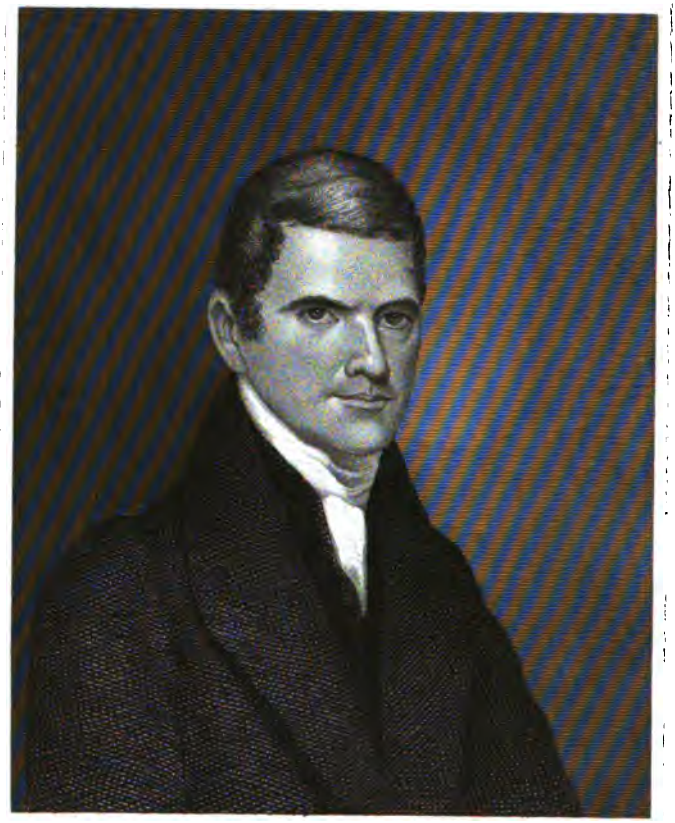

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THE

METHODIST MAGAZINE

AND

Quarterly Review.

Vol. XVIII, No. 1. JANUARY, 1836. New Series—Vol. VII, No. 1.

REVIEW OF THE LIFE OF CRANMER.

The Life of Archbishop Cranmer. By Charles W. La Bas, M. A., professor in the East India College, Herts, and late fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. In two volumes, 18mo.

Every thing connected with that convulsive struggle which terminated in the prostration of the pope's supremacy, and the establishment of the Protestant doctrine, excites a deep and lively interest in the minds of all the friends of civil and religious rites and privileges. Even the low murmurings which preceded that event are heard with a sort of sorrowful delight. When we read of the bold attempts of such choice spirits as *Huss* and *Jerome*, to emancipate their countrymen from their civil and spiritual thraldom, we instinctively tremble for their fate; but when we follow them to the prison in which they were perfidiously incarcerated, and learn their final doom, our indignation is roused against the inhuman wretches who would be guilty of such acts of treachery and cruelty; and we cannot but wish success to a cause so righteous in itself, so beneficial to mankind in its results, and which called forth such recklessness of the principles of justice and humanity to suppress it. It is not possible, indeed, to read the history of those eventful times, without feeling the excitement of indignation against those merciless tyrants who violated their plighted faith to defeat the efforts of these godly men who were instrumental in sowing the seeds of the reformation. And while we look with abhorrence at those who thus smote their fellows because they dissented from them in matters of faith, our sympathies are instinctively awakened in behalf of the righteous sufferers themselves, and the cause in which they labored, bled, and died. Their example teaches us how to live, and how to quench the fiery darts of the enemy. Hence a faithful account of their sufferings, is among the most instructive records which are bequeathed to us. And among those who contributed largely to secure to us the blessings of religious liberty, stands pre-eminently the archbishop of Canterbury.

In his life we have, in general, an exemplification of all those Christian virtues which distinguish the well informed and energetic Christian—while in the life and conduct of his enemies we have, in dark and solemn contrast, all the hateful features of human nature,

exhibiting themselves in the most condemnable forms, against truth, against God and his Church, and against his pious followers. It is true that in the archbishop we shall discover some spots of human infirmity, some dark clouds of error, which lead us to lament that human nature cannot be more perfect, that the judgment is always liable to err, and that the light of truth rises gradually upon the mind and upon the world.

But whatever of human infirmity may be discoverable in the conduct of Cranmer, the general virtues of his character, the amenity of his disposition, the dignity of his deportment, and his ardent attachment to truth, when contrasted with the intriguing, the haughty, the cruel, and the refined wickedness of his enemies, set him off to the greatest advantage, and make him appear as one of the brightest luminaries of the age in which he lived. Whenever, therefore, we praise God for the blessings of civil and religious liberty, we should remember that Archbishop Cranmer was one of those honored instruments whom God employed for its achievement. Though long since dead, he yet speaketh.

From the volumes before us, we shall endeavor to present our readers with such an outline of his character, and of those important transactions in which he was engaged, as may enable them to form a proper estimate of his worth, and to appreciate the value of those virtuous exertions which rendered him so eminently useful in his day and generation.

It appears that THOMAS CRANMER was born at the village of Astarton, Nottingham county, England, July 2, 1489—and that his lineage may be traced to a follower of William III., the celebrated Norman conqueror. Though he lost his father early in life, at the age of fourteen he was placed by his mother at Jesus College, Cambridge, of which he was elected fellow in 1510 or 1511. The course of study prescribed in the college at that time, though it might be defective in imbuing the mind with the most useful branches of knowledge, was nevertheless calculated to habituate the intellect to close thought, to sharpen the faculties, and to prepare him in after life for supplanting the dominion which the schoolmen so long and so injuriously exercised over the department of theology.

Before he attained the age of twenty-three he married, which of course obliged him to relinquish the emoluments of his fellowship. Losing, however, his wife in about one year after his marriage, the widower was generously restored to his forfeited fellowship, and thus reinstated to the privilege of continuing his theological studies without interruption. This circumstance shows the high estimation in which Cranmer was held by the rulers of the college, as nothing but the most liberal construction of its statutes could have placed a *widower* on the list of its fellows. In 1523 he received the degree of

doctor of divinity, being only thirty-four years of age. "Soon after which," says his biographer,

"He was appointed to the divinity-lectureship in his own college, and, in the university, to that of public examiner in theology. The latter of these offices demanded of him no ordinary exercise of integrity. He had then been long devoted to the study of the sacred volume; and his attention to it was sufficiently notorious to acquire for him the truly honorable, though at that time somewhat invidious, appellation of *scripturist*. The justice with which this title was ascribed to him was, much to their dissatisfaction, frequently experienced by those who were desirous of proceeding in divinity. Whatever might be their accomplishments in the scholastic erudition, it never was accepted by Cranmer as a passport to their degree, if not accompanied by a competent knowledge of the Bible. The candidate, in such cases, was uniformly rejected by him, and admonished to dedicate some years to the examination of that book which alone could instruct him in the grounds of his faith and hope. The resentment excited by his inflexible adherence to this great principle, it may easily be imagined, was often deep and violent; more especially among the friars. But the wisdom of it was, in many instances, abundantly justified by the grateful testimony of the disappointed candidates themselves, several of whom were known, in after life, to express their cordial thanks for the firmness which compelled them to the attainment of a better knowledge than the schools could teach them."

It has been often very justly remarked, that individuals who have become eminent in society have owed their elevation more to the force of circumstances beyond their own control than to any remarkable genius which they possessed, or to any ambitious design to push themselves into notoriety. This is unquestionably true of every *good* man. He is so far from wishing to court the public gaze, or to raise himself upon the pinnacle of fame, that he seeks rather to hide himself from observation, and shrinks from that sort of notoriety which exposes him to the eye of a scrutinizing multitude. It should be remarked, however, that those circumstances which contribute to the elevation of an individual from the vale of obscurity, must find a suitable object to operate upon. To improve an opportunity, or to take advantage of occurring circumstances, requires that maturity of judgment and promptness of action which can be found only among men of strong intellectual powers and of industrious habits. Added to these qualifications there must be an intense desire to acquire and to do good, to enable a man to turn every thing to the best account, to make it subserve the interests of truth and righteousness.

A novice cannot seize hold of an important thought and give it expansion. A thousand apples might have fallen in the presence of a multitude, among whom there was only one Newton to infer the laws of gravitation from this common occurrence. The war of the French revolution might have continued on to desolate the kingdoms of Europe, in all its violent and destructive rage, and a hundred

brave generals might have looked on with trepidation, mixed with hope and dismay, had there not been a genius like Bonaparte to avert its progress, give it another direction, and finally to control the troubled and discordant elements which, by their perpetual collisions, were sweeping prosperity and peace from the earth. The pope might have deluded and deluged the world to this day with the sale of indulgences in the presence of a thousand pious souls who were destitute of the genius, the energy, and the intrepidity of Luther. He was eminently fitted to check and to turn back this overflowing flood of ungodliness; and hence, quite contrary to his design and expectations, he became the honored instrument of creating a new era in the annals of Christianity, no less famous for the reformation which was effected in the principles and conduct of mankind, than it was for marking the progress of the human mind in its emancipation from intellectual and spiritual thraldom. A similar remark may be made of John Wesley. Though ardently devoted to the cause of his Divine Master, he thought to have buried himself in the shades of Oxford; but as his talents, his activity, and the depth of his piety eminently fitted him for such a work, he was called forth into the open field of theological warfare, and he evinced on all occasions his qualifications to meet the circumstances of the times, to grapple with the monster of iniquity, and to vanquish, with the strong arm of truth, the serpentine errors which had insinuated themselves into the Church. And to mention one more instance illustrative of the point under consideration—had Columbus been a less penetrating genius, less assiduous in his endeavors to overcome the obstacles which were thrown in his path of discovery, or less patient in enduring the contradictions of ignorant and narrow contracted enemies, the invention of the mariner's compass would never have led him to the discovery of America. He was every way fitted to take advantage of the improved state of geographical knowledge for the enlargement of the boundaries of the civilized world.

These remarks have been elicited by noticing the circumstances which first brought Cranmer prominently into public notice, and recommended him particularly to the attention of Henry VIII., king of England. That our readers may understand this matter fully, it is necessary to give some of the incidents of this king's life and actions, not related in the volumes before us, previously to his becoming acquainted with Cranmer. Henry had married the widow of his brother; and whether from disgust at her character and conduct, or from real scruples of conscience as he pretended—though from his future conduct it seems quite evident that conscience had but little to do in the case—he had come to a determination to repudiate the queen, and to give his hand to another, namely, to Ann Boleyn, daughter of the earl of Wiltshire. That he might have the appearance, at least, of acting

in this business in conformity to the usages of law, the king applied to the pope for a divorce from the woman with whom he had lived in wedlock about twenty years. Impatient at the delays which accompanied this application, and desirous of conciliating the good opinion of mankind in relation to this extraordinary step, Henry instituted consultations among the learned bodies of Europe, both in his own dominions and on the continent, in respect to the lawfulness of separating himself from his brother's widow, and espousing another more in accordance with his desires.

Such was the nature of this question, that it created an absorbing interest, and every one was anxious, either to elicit information from others or to express his own opinion. Among others Cranmer, whose judgment was highly respected in the circle of his acquaintance, was consulted. When the subject was broached to him he protested that it was entirely new to his thoughts, and he therefore requested time for deliberation. In the mean time he suggested that the question ought to be determined by the word of God, and not merely by human authority, and hence, that the opinion of learned clergymen should be diligently sought. His words were speedily repeated to the king himself, who was so much pleased with his suggestions that he instantly exclaimed, "Where is this Doctor Cranmer? I perceive that he hath the right sow by the ear." Measures were immediately adopted to introduce Cranmer to the king. And as an instance of his modesty, and a proof of what we have already said of the reluctance with which men of merit suffer themselves to be brought into public notoriety, Cranmer complained bitterly of the officiousness of those who had thus involved him in this intricate affair; but his remonstrances were unavailing, and he was brought into the presence of the king; and in obedience to his orders he laid aside all other business for a season, that he might give himself up to a more thorough investigation of this very delicate and intricate subject.

It is not our design to follow the king through all the mazes of this intricate affair, in which so many interests were involved, and the consequences of which shook most of the kingdoms of Europe, but more especially prostrated the power of the pope in the kingdom of Great Britain. To effect the object the king had in view without an open rupture with the pope, he sent Cranmer to Rome to confer with his holiness, and, if possible, to obtain his consent to the intended dissolution of his marriage. His efforts, however, were unsuccessful. He could obtain nothing but fair speeches and vexatious delays. After his return from the court of Rome, he was sent by Henry, to effect the same object, to Germany. The following account of his efforts there, and of the elevation of Cranmer to the archiepiscopal see, we give in the language of his biographer:—

"While these negotiations were in progress, nearly the whole of Protestant Germany was wringing with an outcry against the scandal of degrading an illustrious princess, and exemplary woman, from the throne and the bed which she had occupied, without impeachment, for twenty years. But Henry was now too deeply committed to retreat in obedience to the most vehement expressions of public feeling or opinion. The disgrace and injury inflicted on the queen —the generous sympathies of an indignant people—the prevalent suspicion that he was impelled by passion, rather than by conscience, to the dissolution of his marriage—all seem to have been lost sight of, in the urgency of his impatience to be delivered from his yoke. The steadiness of his resolution was confirmed by his reliance on the character of his ambassador. That Cranmer was profoundly sincere in his persuasion that the king's marriage with Catherine was incestuous, there is not the slightest reason to question. It is true that the office which he was at this time discharging, relative to the great matrimonial suit, was not of his own seeking. His appointment to it was the result of accidents beyond his control. But when once he was engaged in the cause, he devoted to it all the resources of his industry and learning. He was acting simply as the envoy and representative of his sovereign, conformably to the almost immemorial custom which, for want of laymen sufficiently accomplished, had generally consigned the functions of diplomacy to canonists and churchmen. He was laboring to bring to a prosperous issue a question in which he conceived the peace and honor of the king to be deeply involved; a question, too, which in its remoter influence, he considered as vitally important to the religion and the happiness of his country. His thoughts had long been fixed on the standard of reformation which had been reared on the continent of Europe. Originally, indeed, his own mind had been awakened by the study of the Scriptures, and by the best models of secular literature. But every day he lived,—and more especially every hour he passed at Rome,—strengthened his conviction that nothing could do justice either to the moral grandeur of England, or to the cause of scriptural truth, but an intrepid imitation of the German example. His exertions, therefore, in opposition to the supreme dispensing power of the pope, were the efforts of a genuine Christian patriot, as well as the labors of a faithful servant in behalf of an earthly master.

"An occasion speedily occurred which raised him to a station eventually still more favorable to his enlightened views. While he was on the continent, the see of Canterbury was vacated by the death of Archbishop Warham. On this event Cranmer was instantly summoned to return. Some intimation, however, appears to have reached him of the king's design to raise him to the primacy. Anxious as he might be for the spiritual deliverance of his country, the sudden approach of so arduous a responsibility staggered his resolution. His own habits had been studious and retired. His temper was so unambitious, that we have already seen him hazardously refusing the patronage of Wolsey, and anxious to escape an introduction to the king. By constitution he was diffident and cautious, perhaps even to timidity; while the unquiet aspect of the times threatened to make the primacy a post of unexampled difficulty and peril. He had recently entered, for the second time, into

the state of matrimony; an irregularity which might become a source of incessant and vexatious embarrassment to the first ecclesiastic of this yet popish kingdom. And, lastly, the character of Henry must, even then, have sufficiently developed itself to satisfy him that he would have to serve an arbitrary and "hard-ruled" master. These were considerations which might well deter even a firmer and more aspiring individual from the dangerous promotion which his sovereign was now preparing to force upon him. He, accordingly, delayed his departure from Germany for several weeks, in the hope that the intention to elevate him might drop from the king's mind in the interval, and that the choice might fall upon some other person; and four months elapsed, on the whole, before he could be prevailed on to accept the formidable preferment. Even when he found that the purpose of Henry was not to be shaken by his earnest entreaties to be exempt from the burden, he farther manifested his reluctance by attempting to place another obstacle in the way of the king's design; an obstacle which he probably hoped would be quite insurmountable. He declared that he could receive the archbishopric only from the king himself, as supreme governor of the Church of England, (a character which had already been recognized by the convocation,) and not of the pope, who, in his judgment, had no authority within the realm. This was an impediment which compelled Henry to pause. The difficulty, however, was referred to civilians of eminence, who submitted that the affair might be adjusted, without an open and final rupture with Rome, (for which Henry was not then prepared,) by the expedient of a solemn protest, to be made by the archbishop on the day of his consecration. By this protest (it was suggested) he might declare that he did not hold himself bound by this oath to any thing against the law of God, the realm of England, or the prerogatives of the sovereign; or restrained by it from taking part in the reformation of the Church of England.

"In this arrangement, Cranmer, though most reluctantly, acquiesced. He lived in an age when, to decline an office imposed by the sovereign was regarded as an act of almost treasonable contumacy. He had, nevertheless, already stood out for four months against the wishes of the king: and having now an opportunity offered him of declaring, in the face of the world, the precise extent of obligation which he conceived to be imposed upon him by his oath to the pope, he felt that it would be scarcely possible to resist any longer the importunity of his sovereign. To the very last, however, he never ceased to manifest his conviction that the customary bulls for his investment with the primacy, were altogether nugatory and worthless: and when it was proposed to him that a messenger should be despatched to Rome for those instruments, and should take the usual oath in his name, he replied that whoever did so must take the responsibility *on his own soul!*

"It does not appear that the application for the bulls in question met with the slightest difficulty at Rome. And yet, the pope must have known Cranmer well. Cranmer had already contended against the papal power of dispensation, in the grand cause of the divorce. He had done this first openly at the Vatican. He had, subsequently, been carrying the same doctrine with him over Ger-

many. He had farther, by his own marriage, very intelligibly declared war against the discipline and policy of the Romish Church. So that if his protest were to have been read in the ear of Clement himself, before he fixed his seal to the instruments demanded, it could have conveyed to him no new intelligence. The life and writings of Cranmer had, of themselves, been a virtual and notorious protest, to the same effect as his intended declaration at Westminster. It would, therefore, be idle to imagine that the pope was entrapped into the admission of a *secret* enemy, to the primacy of England. When he sent the bulls required, he must doubtless have been aware, that to refuse them would only have been to bring on a crisis which would inevitably expose their insignificance.

"When these documents arrived, and were delivered to Cranmer, he instantly deposited them in the hands of the king: as if to intimate that these were instruments which he himself did not consider as at all essential to the validity of his appointment, and which had been obtained purely in compliance with the royal will and pleasure. The day fixed for his consecration was the 30th of March, more than seven months subsequently to the decease of Archbishop Warham. On that day, previously to his taking the oath to the pope, he presented and read his protestation, to the effect above mentioned, in the presence of the royal prothonatory, of two doctors of law, of one of the royal chaplains, and of the official principal of the court of Canterbury: and he required that the protestation should be formally recorded, and attested by the witnesses present. This was done, not in a 'private room,' but in the chapter house at Westminster. At the steps of the altar in the Church, he again presented his protestation, declaring that he understood and took the oath according to the tenor of that protest; and required that a record should be made of this declaration, attested by the same witnesses as before. Lastly, when he was about to receive the pall, he once more proclaimed at the altar, that he understood the oath under the limitations of the same instrument; and demanded, for the third time, that the proceeding might be solemnly attested and enrolled. It appears, therefore, that his paper was first read in the presence of official witnesses, in the place appropriated to the performance of all such public acts; that it was twice produced at the altar, in the presence of a crowded congregation; and that, at every stage of the proceeding, he insisted that his declaration should be invested with the solemnity of a public record.

"In order to form a righteous estimate of Cranmer's conduct on this celebrated occasion, it will be necessary that the reader should have before him the two oaths which, in those times, were imposed on all bishops, previously to their consecration. The first of these was their *oath to the pope:* and its tenor is as follows:—

"I, John, bishop or abbot of A., from this hour forward, shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy Church of Rome, and to my lord the pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel nor consent that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken, or suffer any violence or any wrong, by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers, or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and *the regality of*

St. Peter, I shall help, and maintain, and defend, against all men. The legate of the see apostolic, going and coming, I shall honorably entreat. *The rights, honors, privileges, authorities, of the Church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted. I shall not be, in council, treaty, or any act, in which any thing shall be imagined against him, or the Church of Rome, their rights, seats, honors, or powers.* And if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power, and as soon as I can I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments, apostolic, to my power I shall keep, and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power. I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The thresholds of the apostles, I shall visit yearly, personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions, without the pope's counsel. So God help me, and the holy evangelists.

"The following is the oath of the bishops to the king:—

"I, John, bishop of A., utterly renounce, and clearly forsake, all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have, or shall have, hereafter of the pope's holiness, of and for the bishopric of A., that in any wise hath been, is, or hereafter may be hurtful or prejudicial to your highness, your heirs, dignity, privilege, or estate royal. And also I do swear, that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear to you, my sovereign lord, and to your heirs, kings of the same, of life and limb, and yearly worship, above all creatures, for to live and die for you and yours, against all people. And diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power, and your counsel I shall keep and hold, *acknowledging myself to hold my bishopric of you only*, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalities of the same, promising, as before, that I shall be a faithful, true, and obedient subject, to your said highness, heirs, and successors, during my life, and the services and other things due to you highness for the restitution of the temporalities of the said bishopric, I shall truly do, and obediently perform. So God help me, and all saints."

Being thus elevated to the highest ecclesiastical post in the kingdom, and which brought him in close contact with one of the most haughty, restless, and in some sense the most voluptuous and unrelenting monarchs which ever disgraced a throne, Cranmer had a very difficult part to act; and his difficulties increased tenfold in consequence of the many jarring interests with which he had to contend in consequence of the part he took against the pope and his adherents, as well as by the untractable spirits with which he was surrounded on all sides.

The first and most important official act which the archbishop was called upon to perform, was to pronounce the marriage of Henry with Catherine unlawful, and thus to absolve the conjugal

ties *publicly* which had for some time been severed *secretly*, not only by the alienation of his affections from his spouse, but by a secret marriage with the object of his fond desires. Whatever may be thought of the act itself which declared the marriage of the king and queen illegal and nugatory, Cranmer was supported by the opinion of the bench of bishops, with the exception of one solitary voice,—by the most celebrated universities of Europe,—the sentence of the English convocation, as well as by his own uniform decision from the time he began to deliberate on the subject. Being thus supported, as well as urged on by the king's earnest entreaties, the marriage contract was, May 23, 1533, pronounced by Cranmer to be null and void, and soon thereafter the king's marriage with Ann Boleyn, which had been performed in the month of January preceding, secretly and without the archbishop's knowledge, was publicly proclaimed, and the coronation soon followed with great pomp and ceremony. We give these as historical facts, without attempting to decide on the righteousness of the course pursued by Cranmer, although, even with those who are disposed to accuse him of being biassed in his decision by kingly authority, he will doubtless find an apology in the spirit of the times in which he lived, in the great deference which was wont to be paid to royal prerogative, as well as the animosity which was just then waking up against popery. This act of the archbishop's aroused the indignation of the pope and his adherents, and brought a flood of obloquy upon Cranmer; and it was followed by a revocation of the sentence of Cranmer, declaring the king's marriage unlawful, and his excommunication from the Church of Rome soon followed. These arbitrary and high-handed proceedings on the part of the pope and his conclave, eventuated in the severance of the British dominions from the Roman hierarchy, and the establishment of the Protestant religion.

But how very imperfectly were the principles of religious toleration understood in those days! At the very time that the nation was rejoicing at the coronation of the new queen, and Cranmer had escaped from the merciless claws of his bitter persecutors, he was giving his sanction to persecution for conscience' sake. Though delivered from the supremacy of the pope, Cranmer still held fast the absurd doctrine of transubstantiation; and for calling in question the truth of this dogma, to us incredible, two men were condemned to the flames, under the sanction of Cranmer, and were accordingly executed. How inveterate is prejudice! And what a frightful symptom is this of the general spirit which pervaded the age in which Cranmer lived. And what cause of gratitude is it, that we live at a period when such acts are reprobated by the general voice of mankind. The difficulties of Cranmer's situation are thus depicted by his biographer:—

"When Cranmer was advanced to the primacy of England, and had time to survey the variety and extent of his responsibilities, the prospect must have been sufficient to appal him, and to show that, so far as his own personal ease was concerned, he did well to deprecate the preferment. For several years past, the mind of England had been in a state of incessant commotion. Questions had been freely agitated, the discussion of which was sure to send a feeling of restlessness and impatience throughout the whole mass of the community. A force had been incessantly at work, gradually to loosen the connection which bound the whole frame of society to the fabric of the Romish Church, with a cement which had been hardened by the lapse of ages. Things which, for many a century, had been deemed by multitudes immutable as the laws of nature, were now found to contain within themselves the elements of change. The supremacy of the Roman pontiff, more especially, had, till then, been very generally regarded as a fundamental principle of revealed religion. Yet this was precisely the principle against which the first violence of the spirit now abroad was vehemently directed: and, what was still more astounding, the assault against it was either directed or assisted by men who had pledged themselves to its maintenance by the most solemn sanctions which religion can impose. All this cannot have happened without a perilous convulsion of the public mind. It may be said, without the smallest exaggeration, that no disturbance in the order of the physical world could have produced, in many a heart, much more confusion and dismay than that which was occasioned by this rupture of immemorial prejudices and associations. The fountains of the great deep were breaking up before their eyes, and the summits of ancient institutions seemed in danger of disappearing beneath the deluge.

"An archbishop of Canterbury might well regard with some consternation the elemental war before him. The winds of discord were, even then, beginning to rush from their confinement; and their roar might have appalled the bravest heart. Humanly speaking, Cranmer might soon have been lost in the tempest, if a more lordly spirit than his own had not controlled its fury. It was fortunate, perhaps, for the cause of this great mental revolution, that his master was one who, according to Wolsey's description of him, would rather lose half his kingdom than miss the accomplishment of his will,—one whom nothing could appal, save the destruction of the pillars that kept the firmament from falling. And yet this very attribute of Henry was, itself, another source of difficulty and danger to those who were doomed to act in the same sphere with him. The increasing distraction of the times was bringing a change over his spirit. Six years of vexatious delay and treacherous chicanery (soon followed up, as we have seen, by an act of insult and defiance) gradually brought out the more formidable qualities of his nature. The frank, joyous, and convivial prince was beginning to degenerate into the stern and inflexible sovereign; and to verify the saying that he spared no man in his wrath, and no woman in his jealousy or his lust. This was the master whom Cranmer was to serve. This was the power under whose auspices he was to work out the deliverance and restoration of the English Church. He was doomed to stand by, while the cradle of our spiritual independence was rocked by the hand of impetuous and capricious despotism.

"One of the first measures which Cranmer had found it necessary to adopt was the publication of certain restraints on the licentious abuse of the pulpit. His diocess, from its geographical position, was favorable to the introduction of the reformed opinions from the continent: and the conflict between the new and the ancient learning was there proportionably violent. The spirit of dissension was active among his clergy. Their pulpits were often the watch towers of a fierce controversial warfare. The injuries of the *incomparable* Catherine, and the elevation of a youthful upstart in her place, were themes far too tempting for the advocates of the papal supremacy to resist: and the violence with which these subjects were publicly discussed by the clergy, speedily communicated itself to their still more unlettered and ignorant hearers. The consequence was, that the new queen was becoming the object of such coarse and vulgar raillery, that it became expedient to put some restraint upon this most unseemly *liberty of prophesying*.

"The general discontent, however, did not confine itself to invective. It took the shape of treasonable conspiracy and imposture: and the diocess of Cranmer was the scene of the disgraceful exhibition. No incident in English history is better known than the story of Elizabeth Barton, the nun of Kent. This wretched *Pythoness*—the *Sœur Nativite* of her day—was a native of Aldrington, in Kent. Her epileptic affections were exalted by her accomplices into mystic trances. She was skilfully trained by them to utter treason in the shape of prophecy: and her mission was accredited by a 'letter written in heaven,' and delivered to her by the hand of Mary Magdalene! Abel, the ecclesiastical agent of Queen Catherine, degraded himself by joining in this vile confederacy; and it is melancholy to find that such men as Warham, Fisher, and, for a time, Sir Thomas More, were dupes of the delusion. For no less than eight or nine years together had this miserable woman and her priestly confederates continued to assail the proceedings and character of the king; till at length she ventured to proclaim that he should die a villain's death, and to fix on the day on which he should cease to reign. It was not till the extensive patronage of the papal clergy had begun to make the fraud formidably dangerous that the original contrivers of it were sent to expiate their offences at Tyburn.

"The activity of Cranmer in assisting to detect this cheat was among the earliest services rendered by him to the cause of good order and religion. His own account of the fraud is still extant in a letter to Archdeacon Hawkins, dated December 20, 1533: and, in one respect, it is eminently curious, since it serves to show that, like the impostors of the remotest times, the holy maid of Kent was partly indebted for her success to the faculty of ventriloquism. After informing his correspondent of the great miracle wrought upon her eight years before, 'by the power of God, and our lady of Curtup-street, and of the pilgrimage established in consequence of it,' he adds —'When she was brought thither and laid before the image of our lady, her face was wonderfully disfigured, her tongue hanging out, and her eyes being, in a manner, plucked out and laid upon her cheeks; and so, greatly disordered. *Then was there a voice heard speaking in her belly, as it had been in a tun, her lips not greatly moving;* she all that while continuing, by the space of three hours or

more, in a trance. The which voice, when it told any thing of the joys of heaven, it spake so sweetly and so heavenly, that every man was ravished with the hearing thereof. And, contrary, when it told any thing of hell, it spake so horribly and terribly that it put the hearers in great fear. It spake, also, many things for the confirmation of pilgrimages, and trentals, hearing of masses, and confessions, and many such other things. And after she had lain there a long time, she came to herself again, and was perfectly whole. And so this miracle was finished and solemnly sung, and a book written of all the whole story thereof, and put into print; which, ever since that time, hath been commonly sold, and gone abroad among all people.' In a subsequent passage of his letter, the archbishop continues thus:—'Surely, I think she did marvellously stop the going forward of the king's marriage, by reason of her visions, which she said were of God; persuading them that came to see her, how highly God was displeased therewith, and what vengeance almighty God would take on all the favorers thereof: insomuch that she wrote letters to the pope, calling upon him in God's behalf to stop and let the said marriage, and to use his high and heavenly power therein, as he would avoid the great stroke of God which then hanged over his head if he did the contrary. She also had communicated with my lord cardinal, and my lord of Canterbury in the matter. And, in mine opinion, with her feigned visions and godly threatenings she stayed them very much in the matter.'—'Now, about midsummer last, I, hearing of these matters, sent for this holy maid to examine her; and from me she was had to Mr. Cromwell, to be farther examined there. And now she confessed all, and uttered the very truth, which is this: that she never had a vision in all her life, but all that she ever said was feigned of her own imagination, only, to satisfy the minds of them that resorted unto her, and to obtain worldly praise. By reason of which, her confessions, many and divers, both religious men and others be now in trouble, forasmuch as they consented to her mischievous and feigned visions, which contained much perilous sedition and also treason.' He concludes this letter with the interesting intelligence, that the queen was delivered of a princess on the 13th or 14th of September, and that he himself had the honor of being her godfather."

It is a very trite remark, that the human mind is ever prone to run into extremes. And this is more especially true in times of great excitement. No sooner had the people of Great Britain shaken off the yoke of papal dominion, and placed the triple crown upon the head of Henry, than they began to demolish almost every thing which bore the marks of the ancient superstition, and were in danger of running mad in the wild career of levelling all distinctions in human society. This was pleaded as an excuse for restraining the liberty of the press, for abridging the freedom of discussion, and even of laying an embargo upon the pulpit itself. Hence the sanguinary laws which were enacted during the reign of this prince, by which the liberties of the people were nearly destroyed, and the progress of the reformation, which was considered by Henry only

as an instrument of his own exaltation, went on but slowly, and accomplished little else than the alteration of some external rites and ceremonies, and the exchanging the mitre of the pope for the crown of a temporal prince, every way as haughty, as voluptuous, as tyrannical and obstinate, as was Leo X. himself, or any other potentate who sported himself with the liberties and miseries of his vassal subjects. Though many of these evils should doubtless be attributed to the comparative barbarism of the age in which he lived, yet the disposition of Henry VIII. knew no bounds for the gratification either of his passions or his desires for external pomp and splendor.

The next thing of importance which engaged the attention of Cranmer was a visitation of the see of Canterbury, with a view to reform abuses, to strengthen the hands of the reforming clergy and people, as well as to check the overbearing conduct of those ecclesiastics who still cleaved to the hierarchy of Rome. In this work the archbishop was, under various pretexts, opposed by Gardiner and the bishop of London. He, however, persevered in his undertaking, being patronized by the king, and encouraged by the pious and good of all ranks. It was during this visitation, while witnessing the ignorance of the people, and the sottishness of most of the clergy, as it respected spiritual and Divine things, that he resolved on executing the project of having the entire Bible translated into the English language—an enterprise he had for some time meditated. In the execution of this pious design Cranmer divided Tindall's translation of the New Testament into nine or ten parts, which he distributed among the learned bishops, requiring each of them to send back his portion, carefully corrected, by an appointed day. With this injunction they all complied, except Stokesley, bishop of London, whose share of the work was the Acts of the Apostles. When called upon for his share of the work, he sent the following insolent answer:—"I marvel much what my lord of Canterbury meaneth, that thus abuseth the people, and in giving them liberty to read the Scriptures; which doth nothing else but infect them with heresy. I have bestowed never an hour on my portion, and never will: and therefore my lord of Canterbury shall have his back again; for I never will be guilty of bringing the simple people into error." When Cranmer expressed his astonishment at the frowardness of this contumacious bishop, a facetious ecclesiastic, named Lawney, was standing by, and immediately replied:—"I can tell your grace why my lord of London will not bestow any labor upon this work. Your grace knoweth well that his portion is a piece of the New Testament. But he, being persuaded that Christ had bequeathed him nothing in his Testament, thought it were madness to bestow any labor or pain where no gain was to be gotten. And

beside this, it was the Acts of the Apostles, which were simple poor fellows, and therefore my lord of London disdained to have to do with any of them." Whereat, says the historian, my lord of Canterbury and others that stood by could not forbear from laughing! This shows the spirit of the times, and the sort of materials with which Cranmer had to work.

Cranmer, however, persevered in his pious design, and in due time a new translation of the Bible was procured, much to the satisfaction of the people at large, and much more gratifying to those in the higher ranks of life, who were eager for the reformation in the Church to go on to perfection. This Bible at first was hung up in the churches, together with certain cautions to the people respecting the manner in which they were to read it. But the avidity with which they availed themselves of the privilege of consulting the living oracles, is thus recorded by Cranmer's biographer:—

"It is, perhaps, scarcely possible for us to imagine the eagerness with which the people availed themselves of the liberty thus offered them, by the repeated declarations of the king, to consult the sacred volume for themselves. The impatience they manifested may, *in part*, be ascribed to mere curiosity. Men were naturally anxious to examine the writings which had been for ages so jealously locked up from their inspection. Nothing, however, but a higher motive can account for the universal rush to the fountain of living waters, the moment it was unsealed. Every one that could, purchased the book: and if he was unable to read it himself, he got his neighbor to read it to him. Numbers might be seen flocking to the lower end of the church, and forming a little congregation round the *Scripture reader*. Many persons, far advanced in life, actually learned to read, for the express purpose of searching the oracles of God: and one instance has been recorded of a poor boy, only fifteen years of age, who voluntarily incurred the same toil, and then joined his stock with a brother apprentice for the purchase of a Testament, which he concealed under the bed straw, and perused at stolen moments, undismayed by the reproaches of his mother, and the brutal violence of his father. Nay, such was the general excitement, that, at last, the tavern and the alehouse often became the scenes of religious discussion. The king found it necessary to discourage, by his proclamation, these unseemly debates; and to enjoin a reference to learned and authorized teachers, on all questions of difficulty or doubt."

It is characteristic of the times in which Cranmer lived, and much more so of the ferocious temper of his sovereign, while the former was struggling against the abuses of the Romish Church and stemming the torrent of ecclesiastical tyranny, that he should be compelled to witness the ebullitions of a false and fanatical zeal against such as were considered heretics to the Church of England. Though Cranmer had thrown off many of the mummeries of popery, and abjured the authority of the pope, he was not yet emancipated from the thraldom he was under to long established opinions, nor could

he yet see the absurdities of transubstantiation. This relic of a fallen Church he still held fast. This may account for his acquiescing in the persecution of those who called in question the truth of this dogma. It is no less lamentable than it is derogatory to human nature, that persecution for conscience' or even opinion's sake should ever have been assented to, and more especially by those who otherwise seemed to be actuated with a pure desire to advance the glory of Jesus Christ—a name that ever associates with itself every thing that is amiable—around which cluster all those pacific and mild virtues, which forbid bloodshedding and every species of persecution—and which, therefore, ought to shed such a halo of glory around his sacred name as to shine into darkness every attempt to bring mankind to embrace his religion by coercion.

But in spite of all these pleas for a contrary course, at the time of which we are now speaking, the arm of the civil law was brought in to aid in supporting an opinion for which the Protestants afterward suffered so much themselves. After having declared his firm belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation, Cranmer was brought to sit in judgment upon a man who presumed to differ from him on this point, and to promulgate his opinions. The following account of this melancholy affair we find in the biography before us:—

"Such were the sentiments which Cranmer brought with him to the trial of the unhappy Lambert. The real name of this man appears to have been Nicolson. He had been first awakened to a sense of scriptural truth by the preaching of Bilney. He was imprisoned for heresy under Archbishop Warham, but was discharged on Cranmer's accession to the primacy; and then, in order to avoid farther molestation, he assumed the name of Lambert. Having adopted the notions of Zuinglius, respecting the Eucharist, he became known as a *Sacramentary*—a name equally hateful to papists and to Lutherans. Proceedings were instituted against him as a heretic by Dr. Taylor, to whom he had submitted his opinions in writing; and Cranmer was thus compelled to put him on his defence. In an evil hour, Lambert appealed from the archbishop to the king.

"This appeal was readily entertained by Henry. He had been stigmatized as a protector of heretical pravity. He was now resolved to repel the calumny, by personally sitting in judgment on a heretic. Westminster hall was prepared for the solemnity: and the ill-fated Sacramentary was summoned to appear before his sovereign, surrounded by all the grandeur of his court. Multitudes were assembled on this occasion, from various parts of the kingdom, to witness the zeal, the learning, and the sagacity of the royal *moderator*. The eye of the prisoner wandered anxiously round this imposing assemblage; and the proceedings were soon opened by Sampson, bishop of Chichester, in a speech which was but ill fitted to relieve his apprehensions. The examination was then commenced by Henry himself. On learning that the culprit was known by two names, Henry told him that he would trust no man with two names, though it were his own brother. Lambert pleaded on his knees that he was

driven to this expedient by persecution; and was beginning to compliment his royal judge on his learning and benignity; but he was sternly interrupted. 'I came not here,' said the king, 'to hear mine own praises painted out in my presence. Go briefly to the matter.' Confounded by this austerity, the man stood silent. 'Why standest thou still?' said the king; 'answer plainly, is the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar, or not?'—'It is present after a manner,' replied Lambert, 'according to St. Austin.'—'Answer me not from St. Austin, or any other,' rejoined the king; 'but say plainly, is the body of Christ there or not?' Being thus pressed home, the prisoner said, 'I deny the Eucharist to be the body of Christ.'—'Mark well, then,' said his majesty; 'thou shalt be condemned by Christ's own words, *Hoc est corpus meum.*' With this magnificent burst of theology, Henry closed his own more immediate part in the disputation; and the controversy was then devolved on the primate and the other bishops.

"The archbishop opened his arguments in a tone of remarkable moderation; and Lambert defended himself with a readiness and dexterity which embarrassed his learned antagonist, astonished the audience, and seemed even to move the king himself. Gardiner was so much alarmed at the turn of the debate, that he rushed into the contest out of his appointed order; and was followed, in succession, by ten other disputants, among whom, of course, were Tonstal and Stokesley. For five hours together was this friendless and solitary man compelled to endure the baiting of his adversaries, and was silenced at last only by weariness and exhaustion. The inhuman controversy lasted till torch-light. The king then demanded of the prisoner whether he would live or die. Lambert replied that he committed his soul to the mercy of God, and his body to the clemency of his majesty. 'Then,' answered Henry, 'you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics;' and immediately he turned to the vicegerent, and ordered him to read the sentence of condemnation. On the day appointed, Lambert went 'without sadness or fear' to his execution. His sufferings at the stake were horribly protracted. 'Of all the martyrs,' says Fox, 'who were burned and offered up at Smithfield, none were so cruelly and piteously handled as he.' His lower extremeties were first consumed; and his living body, which was left suspended by the chain that fixed it to the stake, was then violently heaved off by the pikes of the sheriff's halberdiers, and cast into the fire that remained; and there he at length ended his miseries, with the exclamation—*None but Christ—none but Christ!*

"It is mentioned by Fox as a remarkable circumstance, that the doom of Lambert was accomplished by the instrumentality of *Gospellers.* Rowland Taylor was the man to whom he submitted his propositions. Barnes, on being consulted, advised a reference to the judgment of Cranmer, who, thereupon, was under the necessity of bringing him judicially to question: and Cromwell was the person who pronounced his condemnation. It must, however, be remembered, that these men, though decided patrons of what was contemptuously called the *New Learning*, were none of them, at that time, Sacramentaries; and that the opinions of Lambert were such as, in their estimation, numbered him among the enemies of Christian concord, and obstructers to the course of the scriptural

verity. The sentiments of Cromwell are distinctly expressed by him in a letter to Sir T. Wyatt, the king's ambassador in Germany; though in language which savors rankly of the servility of the courtier. He there describes Lambert as a *miserable heretic Sacramentary;* and talks sonorously of 'the princely gravity and inestimable majesty with which his highness exercised the office of supreme head of the Church of England:' and he wishes that the potentates of Christendom could have been present at the scene, since 'undoubtedly they would have much marvelled at his majesty's high wisdom and judgment; and reputed him no otherwise than the mirror and light of all other kings and princes in Christendom.' All this fulsome panegyric is very much in the style and manner of that age. It is altogether worthless as a testimony in favor of Cromwell's master: and it is still worse, if contrasted with the description given by Fox of the 'fierce countenance' and unfeeling demeanor of the king. But, at all events, it is wholly incredible that such language could have been uttered by any one, whose opinions on the sacramental question were in harmony with those of the accused. With regard to Cranmer, it should always be kept in mind, that the business was not of his seeking—that the delinquent was brought officially before him—that his own conscientious opinions were then in decided opposition to those of the prisoner—and, lastly, that Lambert's chance of mercy would probably have been much more promising, had he been content to leave his case in the hands of the archbishop, instead of appealing to the king.

"Unfortunately, the trial of Lambert was not the only work of the same kind in which the archbishop was involved. For several years past the kingdom had been infested by an influx of Anabaptists from the continent. The name of this sect was derived from their belief that infant baptism was a nullity, and that a repetition of the rite was indispensable to all adults who had received it in their childhood. But with this perversion they combined a multitude of other pernicious principles. They held all liberal arts in utter contempt; they destroyed all books except the Scriptures: they demolished, without remorse, all civil and social institutions; and they made it a matter of conscience to extirpate the *ungodly*, in order that they might establish *the kingdom of Zion.* In short, they were the apostles of anarchy, as well as the patrons of misbelief; and, therefore, nothing could be more reasonable than vigorous, though temperate, measures for the suppression of their doctrines. To this duty, however, the king addressed himself with his usual ferocity. In the preceding October, he had issued a commission to the archbishop, and several other prelates and doctors, empowering them to inquire after persons 'suspected for Anabaptists, or for any other *damnable heresy;*' and to institute summary proceedings against all that should be obstinate and irreclaimable. A proclamation followed in November, which ranked the Sacramentarians with the Anabaptists, as 'the fellows of their crime;' and ordered that they should be prosecuted to extremity. In the course of the same month, one man and one woman, both natives of Holland, and both Anabaptists, were delivered to the secular arm, and committed to the flames in Smithfield."

But Cranmer himself narrowly escaped the malignant designs of his enemies. Surrounded as he was by bigoted adherents to the

Church of Rome, who strove by every possible method to thwart his attempts to restore the Church to a godly simplicity, and to banish from her pale the many relics of superstition with which she was disgraced, it was only by the utmost vigilance and circumspection that he escaped their fury, or was prevented from falling a victim to their wily intrigues and wicked conspiracies. Take the following accounts of the plots of his enemies, and the manner in which they were defeated:—

"Gardiner was at this time high in the royal confidence and estimation; and it had of late been generally rumored that his intrigues were manifestly taking a wider range. This persuasion was expressed by the popular saying, that 'the bishop of Winchester had bent his bow, and that the shaft was levelled at certain of the head deer.' The sequel proved that, among the game on which his eye was fixed, was Archbishop Cranmer, and a personage still more exalted, even the queen consort of England, Catharine Parr. This lady was the widow of Nevil Lord Latimer, and had been promoted by Henry, in the course of this year, to the dangerous honors of his sixth wife. She was a person of singular virtue, intelligence, and piety; and, in her heart, a decided friend to the doctrines of the Reformation. Her attachment to Protestant principles was sufficiently well known to reanimate, in some degree, the hopes of the Reformers, and to make her an object of hostility and aversion to the papal party, and more especially to the bishop of Winchester. How nearly he and his confederates succeeded in ultimately accomplishing her ruin is related in all the histories of the time. She was, however, most fortunately preserved from their machinations, and was spared to render effective assistance to the Protestant cause in the course of the succeeding reign.

"The primate, as might have been expected, was the other great object of Gardiner's malignity: and his recent exertions for the correction of the diocess of Canterbury appeared to furnish his adversaries with some advantage against him. Great hopes were entertained that his proceedings for that purpose might be found, in some respect or other, at variance with the statute of the Six Articles; which, at that period, was rigorously enforced. The greater portion of the prebendaries of his cathedral were still warmly attached to the ancient system; and they were, consequently, so ill affected toward the archbishop that they could scarcely conceal their malice under a decent exterior of respect. Such men were admirably qualified for the office of conspirators against their diocesan and metropolitan. Deriving great encouragement from the notorious dispositions and powerful influence of Gardiner, they accordingly addressed themselves to the fabrication of a plot for his ruin: and it must be confessed that they pursued their object with unwearied perseverance and consummate craft. A succession of meetings was held,—a regular scheme of perjured agency was organized,—and at length a voluminous mass of articles was collected. By these the archbishop was charged with discouraging and oppressing all preachers who refused to promote the new doctrines; with removing images which had never been honored in any superstitious manner; and with various other unlawful abuses of his power; and, lastly,

he was accused of holding a constant correspondence with the heretics of Germany. When the whole of these papers were complete, they were delivered by the prebendaries to the council, and were then speedily deposited in the hands of Henry. His majesty, after perusing them, ordered the chancellor to see certain of the witnesses, and to inform them that they might boldly speak to all matters within their knowledge, fearing none but God and the king.

"It so happened that, shortly before this, the king had detected the activity of the bishop of Winchester, in forwarding something of a similar design, against several persons about the court who were known to favor the Gospel; and the discovery began to impress him with a deep personal dislike for this crafty and unscrupulous prelate. Accordingly, no sooner had he well considered the papers against Cranmer, than it rushed into his mind that the whole could be nothing more than a confederacy for his destruction, and that Gardiner was the life and soul of the design. Upon this conviction he acted with his usual promptness. He, one evening, ordered his barge, and repaired immediately to Lambeth, carrying with him the articles in his sleeve: and as soon as the primate appeared on the steps by the water side, he called him into the barge, and said to him, 'O my chaplain, now I know who is the greatest heretic in Kent!' He then produced the papers and desired Cranmer to inspect them. The astonishment and agitation of the archbishop were excessive, on finding that members of his own Church, who were under obligation to him, and magistrates whom he had treated with kindness and respect, were now engaged in an atrocious league against him. He immediately kneeled down before the king, and solicited that the whole affair should be sifted by a commission. 'A commission,' said the king, 'there shall be; but the archbishop of Canterbury shall be the chief commissioner, with such colleagues as he himself shall be pleased to appoint.' It was to no purpose for Cranmer to remonstrate against the apparent partiality of such an arrangement. The king was inflexible; and Cranmer was compelled to plunge into the labyrinth of this painful investigation: till Henry, finding that he was in danger of being baffled by the artifices of his accusers, sent Dr. Leigh and Dr. Rowland Taylor (the martyr) to bring the matter to a speedy conclusion. The new commissioners proceeded with the necessary vigor and despatch. The houses of several of the conspirators were searched; and the result was the complete unravelling of a tissue of falsehood, perjury, and ingratitude which would have been disgraceful even to men whose regular trade was villany and fraud. Among the correspondence found in their chests, some letters were discovered from the bishop of Winchester; others from Thornden and Dr. Barber, who had both experienced the benevolence of the primate. The former of these worthless men, Thornden, was once a monk of Canterbury, and the first prebendary of the Church, when it became a college of secular canons. He was, soon after, made suffragan of the diocess, with the title of Bishop of Dover. He never attended the archbishop without being invited to a seat at his own high table, an honor at that time seldom conferred on persons of his rank: and now he was found among the practisers against the reputation and the life of his patron. The submission of these wretches was as abject as

their perfidy was odious; and so was that of the prebendary Gardiner, a despicable tool of the prelate his namesake. He had been treated by Cranmer like a son; and yet was among the foremost in the conspiracy. When he was discovered, he crawled to the feet of his injured benefactor, and besought his forgiveness in a letter addressed to '*His most honorable father.*' The primate, with his customary lenity, dismissed his persecutors with a mild rebuke and a full pardon: and by this eminent triumph of the Christian temper, he verified the saying which had long been current respecting him, 'Do my lord of Canterbury a shrewd turn, and he is your friend for ever.'

"By way of relief from this hateful exhibition of malignity, let us turn for a moment to the fate of the chief incendiaries. Dr. London, one of the most active among them, died not long after in the Fleet; probably of a spirit incurably broken by the disgrace of the pillory, which he brought upon himself by his perjuries as a prosecutor under the statute of the bloody articles. The prebendary Gardiner was hanged, drawn, and quartered, as a traitor, for denying the king's supremacy. And Gardiner the bishop was so irretrievably lowered in the opinion of the king, that although his majesty still found it convenient to employ his diplomatic energy and shrewdness, he was never fully restored to the royal confidence or regard. Every one knows into what public infamy he afterwards merged as the chancellor of Mary; and how he closed his life, engrained with the sanguinary honors of a persecutor.

"In the month of December this year, the archbishop sustained a severe domestic calamity. His palace at Canterbury was destroyed by fire, and his brother-in-law, with several other persons, perished in the flames. The misfortune disabled him from entertaining the Viceroy of Naples, who, in consequence of it, was consigned by the king to the hospitality of Lord Cobham.

"The year 1544 was happily remarkable for another proof that the influence of the primate was not entirely destroyed. That he still retained considerable power in the councils of his sovereign, seems evident from an act which was passed in the parliament which met in January, 1544, for mitigating the severity of the statute of the Six Articles. The efforts of the primate to obtain this indulgence were encountered both by opposition and by treachery. He was encouraged by four prelates to expect their assistance. To a man, however, they all deserted him; and left him to an apparently desperate conflict with the popish party. His exertions were probably rendered more hopeful by the recent and abortive attempts of his adversaries, which may have disposed both the legislature and the sovereign to a favorable entertainment of his wise and merciful propositions. But however this may be, his exertions were followed by an act of parliament, which provided that no person should be put to his trial for any offence against the Six Articles but upon the oath of twelve men,—that the presentment should be made within one year after the offence committed,—that no person should be arrested for any such offence before he should be indicted,—and, lastly, that any accusation for speaking or reading in opposition to the Articles should be preferred within forty days of the alleged delinquency. By this statute the edge of this sanguinary enactment was in some degree blunted, and malicious conspiracy disarmed of a portion of its terrors.

"The confusion recently heaped upon the enemies of Cranmer did not, however, extinguish the spirit of malignity which had of late been so dangerously active against him. In the same parliament which mitigated the operation of the Six Articles, a fiery papist, named Sir John Gostwick, complained that the archbishop, in his sermons at Canterbury and Sandwich, had spoken heretically on the sacrament of the altar. This man was a stranger in Kent, and had never heard a syllable from the lips of the person he accused. When the matter came to the ears of the king, his indignation knew no bounds. 'Tell that *varlet* Gostwick,' he said, 'that he has played a villanous part, to abuse, in open parliament, the primate of the realm. If he does not instantly acknowledge his fault to my Lord of Canterbury, I will make him the poorest Gostwick that ever bore the name. What! does he pretend that he, being in Bedfordshire, could hear my lord of Canterbury preaching in Kent?' The roar of the lion silenced the busy *varlet* in a moment, and brought him in sore dismay, and with all possible speed, to Lambeth; where he submitted himself 'in such sorrowful case,' that he obtained from the placable archbishop, not only his free forgiveness, but the good offices of his intercession with the king. His majesty was not quite so easily appeased; but relaxed his wrath at last, on the condition that he should hear no more of this meddling knight of Bedfordshire. It is evident that at this period Henry was distinctly and painfully aware of the sleepless enmity which was perpetually dogging every step of Cranmer. When he first heard of Gostwick's attempt against him he exclaimed, 'What would they do with him if I were gone?' The same sentiment had, indeed, been expressed by him long before this in a manner which has in it something more of delicacy and pathos than usually entered into the feelings of this stern and arbitrary man. As if he anticipated that the primate would at length be called to show himself 'faithful unto death' in the cause of truth, the king is said to have erased the three cranes from his armorial device, and to have substituted three pelicans in their stead; observing, that 'those birds should signify unto him, that he must be ready, as the pelican is, to shed his blood for his young ones, nurtured in the faith of Christ. For,' said he, 'your blood is likely to be tasted, if you stand thus firmly to your tackling in defence of your religion.' One is accustomed to imagine that Henry was made of 'sterner stuff' than to originate a suggestion of this interesting cast.

"The forms of public devotion were greatly improved, this year, by the introduction of an English litany, with suffrages or responses; the whole essentially similar to that which, at this day, is in use among us. The invocation to the virgin, to angels, and to saints, for their intercession, was, however, still retained; and a petition was introduced for deliverance 'from the bishop of Rome, and his detestable enormities.' Certain devotional exercises were added, compiled from Scripture generally, but more especially from the Psalms; and a paraphrase of the Lord's prayer was subjoined, which presents a striking approximation to the true sense of Christ's presence in the sacrament. In conformity to the ancient notion, that the petition for *daily bread* contained a mystic allusion to the Eucharist, the following expressions are introduced,—'The *lively bread* of the blessed body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the sacred

cup of the precious and blessed blood which was shed for us upon the cross,'—words which the most rigid Protestant might adopt without the slightest scruple. That these salutary innovations were substantially the work of Cranmer can scarcely be doubted. The royal ordinance which enjoins them is distinguished by a tone of pious solemnity, that seems to mark the archbishop for the author of that document; and a letter addressed by him in October to the king, respecting the preparation of certain services in English, to be used on festival days, places it beyond all doubt that he was the effective mover and agent in these useful measures of reform.

"These, however, although valuable, were still but undecisive advantages. In spite of the almost Sisyphean labors of the primate, there seemed to be about his path some hidden power, perpetually in readiness to roll back the stone which he was toiling to heave upward. The truth is, that the spirit of Gardiner was well nigh omnipresent. The king disliked, and often mistrusted the man: but still he found his activity and penetration useful, and so continued to employ him. In the course of this year he was sent by Henry to reside at the imperial court; and Cranmer was in hopes that his absence would, for the time, relieve the march of the Reformation from impediment. But in this expectation he was grievously disappointed. Not a step could be taken by him but it was speedily known to his vigilant adversary; and before he could make any effectual progress, a despatch arrived from Gardiner to intercept the royal sanction, and to represent that any farther innovation would fatally injure the continental designs and interests of his master. In addition to this unceasing resistance, the archbishop had to deplore the retirement of Lord Audley, who had held the seals from the time of Sir T. Moore's resignation, and who was now succeeded by the Lord Wriothesley, unhappily a decided adherent of Romanism. A still more calamitous loss was sustained by the death of the duke of Suffolk, brother-in-law to the king, 'a right hardy gentleman, but withal so discreet and affable, that he was beloved of all sorts, and his death greatly lamented.' His open straightforwardness of character, and his abstinence from political intrigue, secured him, without interruption, the attachment and confidence of the king; and enabled him to exert a steady, though noiseless influence in favor of the Protestants, whose religious principles he had uniformly maintained.

"It might naturally be supposed that the terrible failure experienced by the persecutors of Cranmer, in the preceding year, would have crushed effectually the hopes and devices of his adversaries. But it was not so. The former confederacy had been chiefly conducted by Churchmen. Another attempt of the same kind was now got up, under the patronage of the duke of Norfolk, and other members of the council. The snake had been scotched but not destroyed. There was still remaining in the diocess of Canterbury a residue of hostility and malice, which, with the aid of noble and powerful men, might be easily wrought up into another formidable plot. The process by which, on this occasion, the caldron was filled and heated, is not distinctly to be ascertained. Thus much however is known—that, very soon after the duke of Suffolk was in his grave, a complaint was laid before the king by certain members of his council, that 'the archbishop and his learned men had so infected the whole realm

with their unsavory doctrine, that three parts out of four in the land were abominable heretics.' And the suit of the petitioners was, that, out of pure regard for the safety of his majesty and the peace of his dominions, 'the archbishop might immediately be committed to the tower.' And when his majesty appeared to hesitate, they most dutifully represented that the primate 'was a member of the privy council: that if he were left at liberty no mortal would dare to utter a syllable against him; but that, if he were once in durance, the tongues and consciences of men would immediately be released from all restraint, and his majesty's counsellors would be enabled to search out the truth.' To this incomparable reasoning his majesty gave, to all appearance, the fullest acquiescence: and he authorized his trusty advisers to summon the archbishop for the next day, and if they should see fit, to order him into custody.

"At eleven o'clock the same night, Henry dispatched Sir Anthony Denny to Lambeth, with an order that Cranmer should instantly attend him at Westminster. The archbishop, on receiving the message, arose from his bed, and repaired to the king, whom he found in the gallery at Whitehall. His majesty immediately communicated to him the charges which had been preferred against him by the council, gravely adding that he had acceded to their request. On this, Cranmer, with the humblest acknowledgments, protested his entire willingness to be committed to the tower, provided always that he might not be deprived of the liberty of defending himself against his accusers. On this the king burst out—'O Lord God, what simplicity is yours, to submit to an imprisonment that must end in your ruin! Know you not this—that no sooner shall you be in the tower, than false knaves shall instantly come forward to arraign you,—who, if you were at liberty, should not dare to show their face? No, no,—not so, my lord of Canterbury. Go you to the council to-morrow; and when you appear before them, demand to be confronted with your accusers. Should there be a moment's hesitation, produce this ring, the sight of which will instantly bring the matter before me.'

"The next morning Cranmer followed implicitly the instructions of his sovereign. By eight o'clock he was in attendance on the council. They were not immediately prepared to call him in; and he was left in their anteroom among their lackeys and serving-men in waiting. This brutal insult was soon reported to Dr. Butts, the king's physician; who, on entering the royal apartment, mentioned that he had seen a strange sight that morning. The king desired him to explain: on which Butts replied, 'the primate of all England is become a serving-man: and, for the greater part of an hour he has been standing among his brethren of that function, at the door of the council chamber.'—'Ha!' said Henry, 'is it so! they shall hear of this before long.'—At last Cranmer was summoned; and when he had heard the complaint against him, he required that his accusers might be called before them, in his presence. This righteous request was made in vain. Their lordships insisted on his immediate commitment to the tower. On this he produced the ring delivered to him by his majesty, the night before. This most unwelcome apparition threw the august assembly into utter confusion; and extorted from Lord Russel the following exclamation,—confirm-

ed with a mighty oath—'Said I not true, my lords, that the king would never endure that my lord of Canterbury should be disgraced by imprisonment, for any cause less than arraignment of high treason?'

"The magic of the ring brought the whole conclave, together with the supposed delinquent, at once into the royal presence. 'I thought,' said Henry, 'that I had a discreet council. But what am I to say now? Is my lord of Canterbury a slave, that you should keep him at the door of your chamber, like a serving man? What would any of you say if an indignity like this were offered to yourselves? I would have your lordships to understand that the realm of England contains not a more faithful subject than I have ever found in my lord of Canterbury: and he that pretends attachment to me must be ready to show respect and honor to him.' On this, the voice of deprecation and apology began, incontinently, to issue from the lips of the astounded courtiers. 'They meant no sort of injury to his grace of Canterbury. They requested, it is true, that he might be committed to the tower; but their sole object was that he might come forth from his confinement with augmented reputation and glory.'—'Is it even so?' said Henry; 'think ye, then, that I discern not how the world goeth among you? Think ye that I see not the malice which sets you one against another? I counsel you, let it be avoided *out of hand*. And never again let my friends receive such usage as this at your hand.' With these words he left them: and the scene that followed was eminently pacific. The men who ten minutes before had been digging a pitfall for his feet, now held out to Cranmer the right hand of reconciliation and friendship. The pledge was accepted by him with his usual clemency of temper; and the king again desired that the peace might be ratified between them at the hospitable board of Lambeth Palace."

The death of Henry soon after, and the elevation of his son, Edward VI., then only ten years of age, wrought so favorably for the good designs of Cranmer, that the work of reformation went forward with alacrity. The primate was enabled to visit his see unmolestedly, to reform abuses, to put worthy clergymen into office: and, although violently opposed by the popish party, many salutary regulations were introduced into the formularies of the Church, and laws passed to protect the rights of Englishmen in their attempts to purify the land. It was at the commencement of this reign that the twelve homilies were prepared, which have ever since been appealed to as standards of orthodoxy in the Church of England. Among other things which were introduced was the order for administering the eucharist in both kinds to the laity—the declaration that the doctrine of transubstantiation is unscriptural—the abolishment of image worship and invocation to the saints, and granting of free liberty to read the sacred Scriptures.

But it is a lamentable evidence of the weakness of human nature, that man is ever prone to run from one extreme to another. While Cranmer and his coadjutors were employed in rooting out the bitter and luxuriant weeds of popery, which had overrun the kingdom of

England: the majority of the nation were hurried onward, as with a frenzied impatience, to extirpate even the good as well as the bad—to bury all in one common heap of ruins. The light of the reformation having detected the scenes of abomination which had been secretly practised in the monasteries and nunneries, such a burst of indignation was heard from all quarters, that it was impossible to restrain the people within the bounds of moderation in manifesting their hatred to these institutions. And as the spoils of these houses, many of which were extremely wealthy, enabled Henry to indulge himself the more freely in his desire for sensuality and temporal aggrandizement, he seized them with a rapacity only equalled by his daring despotism, and the glaring inconsistency of his character and conduct. The waters of contention, being thus let loose by this depredator upon the rights of his fellow men, continued to flow on during the short reign of Edward VI., until they finally swept these venerable vestiges of ancient piety and benevolence from the land. In vain did Cranmer lift up his voice against these spoliations. The temptation was too strong to be resisted. The avaricious and the voluptuous were impelled on by their thirst of gain and desire of indulgence. The pious part of the community, of but moderate attainments, just emerging from the darkness of popery, assisted in demolishing these houses, because they thought them nurseries of wickedness and sewers for the profligate; while the better informed of both parties beheld in them the fruits of that early benevolence which characterized the first Christians, now abused by a degenerated race, but which, if properly reformed, might still be turned to a good account, by being converted into means of mental and moral improvement. They, however, were generally swept by the board, as nuisances which could not be tolerated. This is now generally lamented by the English nation, and more especially when they recollect the unholy purposes to which the property was appropriated.

In the midst of the agitations of the times, the primate applied himself with all diligence and fidelity to correct the errors which he saw were deluding the multitude, and to purify the Church as much as possible from that mass of defilement which had been accumulating for ages.

"The unsettled condition of the public mind, at this period, is very strongly indicated by the tenor of the Articles of Inquiry proposed by the archbishop at the visitation of his diocess, held by him in the course of the summer of this year. His questions are very numerous—no less than eighty-six; and they embrace almost every point of discipline which had been inculcated in the injunctions of the present and the preceding reign. The questions respecting the demeanor of the laity are more particularly important, as betraying the turbulent and contumacious temper of the times. They inquired whether there were any who obstructed the reading of God's word in English,

or the faithful exposition of it by the preacher; whether any left the church in the time of the litany, common prayer, or sermon; whether bells were rung during the service; whether holy water was abused by sprinkling it on beds; whether private holydays were observed by tradesmen, (in honor of the patron saints of their respective crafts;) whether priests and ministers were insulted and abused; whether those who were ignorant of Latin used the devotions of the English Primer; whether there was any brawling or jangling in the church while the prayers or homilies were read, or the sermon preached; whether charms and sorceries were still practised; whether the parish church were deserted by any of the congregation, for other places of worship; and whether there were any who despised the married clergy, and refused the sacraments at their hands. One may see distinctly, in such inquiries as these, a picture of the confusion,—we might almost say the anarchy,—which marked the *interregnum* between the dominion of the Romish Church and the establishment of a better system. We may, likewise, read there a very intelligible history of the protracted martyrdom to be undergone by those patient spirits who had to conduct the public mind through this vexed abyss, and to buffet their way through the embroilment of its 'surging fires' and conflicting atoms. And, surely, our gratitude is due to that gracious Providence which enabled them to form, as they advanced, a solid and substantial mole on which they might be followed, with confidence, until the people could plant their foot upon the broad and firm ground, and could lift their eyes steadily to the pure light of Heaven."

Aided by the piety of the youthful monarch, and seconded by a reforming parliament, Cranmer proceeded with a steady and firm hand in the work of reformation, and though often perplexed and disheartened by the general prevalence of ignorance and vice, as well as the remaining abettors of the Romish hierarchy, he succeeded in removing the veil from the truths of religion, and presenting them in their native simplicity and purity to the minds of the people. To accomplish this object with the greater facility, he held a constant correspondence with the reformers on the continent, and even entertained a number of them at his house, among whom were Martin Bucer, Paulus Fagius, Peter Martyr, and Bernardine Ochinus, all men famous for their labours in the field of reformation, and who were therefore great helps to Cranmer in his arduous work of purifying the Church of England. The letter of the archbishop to Bucer, who was then in trouble and danger in consequence of the promulgation of what was called the Interim, inviting him to come over to England, is so expressive of the Christian spirit by which he was actuated, that we give it entire.

"The grace and peace of God be with you. I have read your letters to John Hales, in which you relate the disastrous events in Germany, and write that you are unable any longer to preside over the ministry of the word, in your own city. I have, therefore, with groans, exclaimed, in the words of the prophet, 'Show forth the

wonders of thy mercy, Thou that dost save all that hope in thee, from them that resist thy right hand.' Neither do I doubt but that God will hear this, and the like groanings of pious men; and will preserve and defend the true doctrine, which has hitherto been sincerely propagated in your Churches, against all the fury of the devil and the world. In the mean time, while the storm is raging, they who cannot venture out to sea must fly into port. To you, therefore, my friend Bucer, our kingdom will be the safest harbour; in which, by the blessing of God, the seeds of true doctrine have begun to be scattered abroad. Come, then, to us; and become a laborer with us in the harvest of the Lord. You will not be less profitable to the Catholic Church of God, when you are among us, than if you were to retain your former position. Besides, you will, when absent, be better able to heal the wounds of your own afflicted country, than you now can, being present. Put aside, therefore, all delay, and repair to us as soon as possible. We will show that nothing can be more welcome or delightful to us than the presence of Bucer. But be careful that you suffer no inconvenience on your journey. You well know the enemies that will pursue you on your way: see that you do not commit yourself to their hands. There is a merchant, one Richard Hills, a man signally religious and trustworthy, with whom you may confer concerning the whole arrangement of your journey. Farther, with my whole heart, I pray to the Eternal God, the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that, in his wrath, he will remember mercy, and look on the calamities of the afflicted Church, and kindle the light of the true doctrine among us more and more. With you it has been shining for many years, and He will not suffer it to be extinguished. May he, my dear friend Bucer, direct and preserve you, and bring you to us in safety. Farewell. London, 2d Oct. 1548.—Your arrival is heartily desired by Thomas Cranmer, Archiep. Cantuar."

As there have been many disputes respecting the Calvinism of the Church of England, some contending that it is contained in the 39 Articles, particularly in the 17th, and others vehemently maintaining the contrary opinion, we give the following historical account of the manner in which these articles were compiled:—

"The history of this compilation, so far as dates are concerned, is briefly as follows:—In the course of 1551, the archbishop received the orders of the king in council to commence the work. In the May following, the first draft of it was completed, and laid before the council. In the month of September, in the same year, it was again in the hands of the archbishop for the purpose of revision; and on the 19th of September was submitted, with corrections, to Sir John Cheke, the king's tutor, and to Secretary Cecil, who was frequently consulted by Cranmer in matters relating to the settlement of religion. On the 2d of October the draft was delivered over to the six royal chaplains, Harley, Bill, Horne, Grindal, Perne, and the renowned John Knox, who was then in England, and attached to the court. On the 20th of November, Cranmer received it back; and having given it his last revision, he returned it to the council on the 24th of November, together with a letter, expressing the sentiments above adverted to, and containing a petition that they would

procure an order from the king, authorizing the bishops to cause all their clergy to subscribe the articles in question. The king's final mandate to this effect was not issued till May, 1553, a few days before his death. So that upward of two years elapsed between the first order for their preparation and the time of their final appearance with the royal sanction.

"It may be presumed that the chief causes of the very deliberate progress of this work were, first, the unwillingness of the archbishop to surrender all hope of accomplishing the more comprehensive design of Melancthon; and, secondly, the anxiety of himself and his associates in the task to send it into the world as complete and invulnerable as knowledge or industry could make it. The history of the times does not enable us to trace it clearly from its first imperfect draft to its last and finished state. The Confession of Augsburgh was probably one main source from which the compilation was derived. But there is considerable reason for believing that the articles agreed on between the English and German divines, in 1538, was the authority more immediately in contemplation. Who were the principal coadjutors of the archbishop, in the completion of this work, has not been ascertained. It is scarcely credible that he would proceed a step in such an undertaking without at least consulting Ridley and the other most eminent Churchmen attached to the Reformation. But it is scarcely doubtful that the main responsibility rested upon Cranmer himself. Indeed, he afterward nearly confessed as much in his examination before Brokes. According to the official report of those proceedings, in Latin, he allowed that his judgment and counsel had been employed in putting forth the Catechism and Articles.

"There still hangs some obscurity about the question, by what ecclesiastical authority these 42 Articles were submitted to the king in council. They were first published by Grafton, the king's printer, in July, 1553, with the following title—'Articles agreed on by the bishops, and other learned men in England, in the Synod, 1552.' In the same year there was published a catechism, 'commended by royal authority to all schoolmasters;' and to this catechism were subjoined the articles agreed on in the last Convocation of London, A. D. 1552, by the bishops and other learned men. In this publication, it is evident that the Articles appear merely as an adjunct, or appendix; and for this reason it was that the whole together usually went by the name of '*The Catechism.*' It also appears that the title of the work distinctly claims the authority of the synod for the Articles themselves; but that it makes no such claim on behalf of the catechism which accompanied them. It is farther remarkable that in the reign of Elizabeth the amended Articles were set forth with a recital, which speaks of the original ones as agreed upon by the synod of 1552.

"But notwithstanding this evidence, it is asserted by Burnet, that the Articles never received the sanction both of the upper and lower houses of convocation, although he admits that they were probably submitted to the consideration of the upper house. The confusion has, probably, arisen from the circumstance stated above,—namely, that the Articles which *were* sanctioned by the convocation, were printed together with the catechism, which had *not* received that

sanction; but which, yet, with this mark of inferiority upon it, gave its name to the whole publication, Articles included. With what precise degree of formality the authority of the Convocation may have been given to the Articles must, indeed, still remain a matter of dispute. Their title imports that they had been agreed upon, in convocation, *by the bishops and other learned men;* which may possibly imply that they were not regularly discussed in full synod, but that they were settled by a committee chosen out of both houses, and authorized to consent in the name of the whole, as the preface to the Latin edition of the Articles would seem to indicate.

"It is probable that the final promulgation of this *form of sound words* was impatiently expected by all who were anxious for the restoration of the Gospel. One zealous man, Bishop Hopper, who afterwards underwent the baptism of fire at the stake, was urgent in his protestations against delay: for it appears that, in 1552, this prelate had obtained a copy of the Articles, which he had caused the clergy of his diocess to subscribe. This measure, however, had been found to be wholly inefficacious; for, in the July of the same year, he wrote as follows, to Secretary Cecil:—'For the love of God, cause the Articles, that the king's majesty spake of when we took our oaths, to be set forth by his authority. I doubt not but they shall do much good: for I will cause every minister to confess them *openly before their parishioners.* For *subscribing privately in the paper, I perceive, little availeth.* For, notwithstanding that, they speak as evil of good faith, as ever they did before they subscribed.' Indeed, nearly the whole of the foregoing narrative must show that the state of religion was such as loudly called for some authoritative standard of public opinion. It has appeared, but too clearly, that, when the papal system was broken to pieces in England, a multitude of smaller papacies sprang up out of the fragments. Sometimes the *infallibility* was transferred to the leader of a petty sect: at other times a dreaming enthusiast would become his own pope, and would consult nothing but the oracle within his own breast. Tradition, indeed, was deposed from its usurped dominion; but the legitimate authority of Scripture frequently gained but little from the change. One usurpation was only followed by another; and reason was elevated to the vacant throne, which ought to have been filled by the majesty of revelation. The personal nature and dignity of the Saviour began to be a subject of rash discussion among men, who looked with contempt upon the mysticism of the fanatic; and the fanatic, on his part, repaid their scorn with an ample measure of that abhorrence which is due to positive blasphemy! The papist had diluted down the depravity of our nature, till it had well nigh lost its noxious and fatal quality; and, if he did not altogether discard the grace of God, he treated it as a sort of very humble auxiliary to the moral powers of man. But strange, indeed, was the divergency of the paths by which the truth was sought, when once the ancient errors were abandoned. On one hand, the enthusiast invested the grace of God with an irresistible sovereignty, and pronounced upon the capacities of human nature a desperate sentence of attainder, leaving the children of Adam almost without a relic of that power which is needful for the responsible agency of any created being. On the other hand, the Anabaptist derided the corrup-

tion of our faculties as an idle and visionary fancy; and lifted up his heel against the doctrines of Divine grace, as he would lift it up against idolatry or superstitious vanity. What was still more to be lamented, these courses, widely diverse as they were, both of them led the wanderer into regions where virtue, as well as faith, was constantly in danger of shipwreck: and the effect was seen in the licentious principles and the profligate habits which were contracted in those wild voyages of religious discovery; and which seemed, at times, to threaten little less than a dissolution of the whole fabric of society. The picture here presented of the condition of morals and religion at this feverish period may, perhaps, appear to be rather fiercely colored: but its correctness is unhappily vindicated, not merely by the passionate invective of adversaries, but by the bitter, and almost despairing complaints of the leaders of reformation. And it is absolutely necessary that our eyes should steadily be fixed upon it, if we would form an accurate judgment of the views which guided the compilation of our articles of religion.

"It is well known that this formulary is frequently and confidently appealed to, at the present day, by persons who fancy that its compilers discovered a system of qualified fatalism in the scheme of Christian redemption: and, by such persons, the great body of the clergy of the Church of England are sometimes challenged to look into the articles they have subscribed, and there to read themselves convicted of apostasy from the faith of the *Reformers*. It forms no part of our design to furnish a controversial reply to this misconception. It may, nevertheless, be expedient to present to the reader's attention certain prominent considerations, which may enable him to form a safe and competent judgment on the point.

"In the first place, then, it is to be recollected that Archbishop Cranmer must, beyond all question, be regarded as the chief compiler of the Articles of 1552: and nothing, I believe, would be more hopeless than the attempt to show that the doctrine of personal predestination, or any other opinion of the same kindred, ever, for an instant, darkened his creed. The spirit which animated his proceedings was principally Lutheran; and Melancthon was the representative of Lutheranism, to whom his thoughts were constantly directed. Now there is no one point in the history of the Reformation more indisputable than this, that Melancthon was the adversary of every thing resembling fatalism, whether philosophical or Christian, and that, when Calvin began to build up his scheme of predestination, the author of the Augsburgh Confession was deaf to all the applications by which the "Zeno of his day" (as he was then frequently termed) endeavored to win him over to something like conformity with his notions. It is true that Melancthon, (as well as Luther,) in the outset of his inquiries, got himself entangled in what he afterwards called sometimes the *Stoical* and sometimes the *Manichean* perversions. But it is also undeniable that he very speedily extricated himself from the labyrinth, and intimated his deliverance to the world by expunging the ungracious doctrines from his *Loci Theologoci* so early as the year 1535. Luther, indeed, made no formal retraction of any opinion: he was without leisure, or without patience for a revisal of his writings. But in his last work of importance he laments that, after his death, his writings would pro-

bably fortify multitudes in their errors and '*delirations*;' and he therefore adds a solemn warning, that we are not to inquire concerning the *predestination* of a hidden God, but purely to acquiesce in the things which are revealed by our vocation and the ministry of the word.

"Such were the models which Cranmer had perpetually before his eyes: and there can be no reasonable doubt that his own personal views respecting these questions were, throughout, substantially in harmony with theirs. That he had no esteem for doctrines savoring of fatalism may be collected from a letter of his to Cromwell, in which he mentions a turbulent and fanatical priest, who, in spite of all that *his own chaplains* could do with him in the way of reasoning, was immovably persuaded that, like Esau, he was created unto damnation, and was with great difficulty prevented from putting an end to his suspense by self-destruction. The same thing may farther be concluded from his selection of the paraphrase of Erasmus as a book of popular instruction; for Erasmus was the rational champion of the freedom of the human will, and the adversary of all extravagance, whether in the shape of superstition or fanaticism. It is rendered next to certain by the general tenor of his own writings, in which he appears as the decided advocate of universal redemption, and an election, through baptism, to the privileges of the Christian covenant; doctrines conspicuous in the liturgical offices of our Church, but at mortal variance with the whole theory of Calvin.

"It must farther be considered, that to claim the Articles of 1552 as monuments of a *Calvinistic* faith is, in truth, little better than a downright anachronism. It was not till late in the year 1551 that Calvin began to be renowned as the great champion of the predestinarian doctrine. That he maintained this doctrine before that period is, indeed, unquestionable: but his notions had then brought him any thing but homage and reputation. On the contrary, they exposed him to invective, even within his own narrow sphere, as the abettor of a system which made God the author of sin. The attack upon him, in his Church, by Jerome Bolsec, in 1551, was a signal for the formal commencement of the controversy subsequently known by the denomination of *Calvinistic:* and it is the boast of Theodore Beza, (the disciple and almost the worshipper of Calvin,) that, in consequence of these debates, the question relative to the free will of man, and the decrees of God, were illustrated with a distinctness *utterly unknown to the ancient Christian writers.* Combine with these circumstances the fact, that the compilation of our Articles was completed early in 1552, and the absurdity of ascribing to them a Calvinistic origin will be irresistibly obvious. The fame of the mighty master himself was, at that time, but just above the horizon. The way to his future supremacy was, for the most part, still to be won. So that the world, as yet, was scarcely in full possession of the secret which, according to the confession of Beza, had well nigh escaped the sagacity of the primitive doctors of the Church.

"It is another important consideration, that, if the Articles were dictated by a reverential regard for the sentiments either of Calvin or Augustine, the framers of them must have made up their minds to pour contempt on their own liturgy. A collection of offices like ours, followed up by a decidedly predestinarian confession, would have been a perfect monster. No one who has ever studied the

character of Archbishop Cranmer can believe that he would have lent his name to a combination so extravagant. Nothing can be more unlike the cautious and wary temper of his proceedings than a sudden leap, from the ground on which he had labored for the preparation of our liturgy, into the dark abyss of Calvinistic fatalism. His mantle fell, at length, upon a Protestant successor, animated by a spirit similar to his own. Early in the reign of Elizabeth the Articles were revised under the superintendence of Archbishop Parker; but even then no infusion of Calvinism was admitted. The source of the correction was, manifestly, the confession of Wirtemburg, (a compendium of the Lutheran confession of Augsburgh,) drawn up in 1551 for the purpose of being exhibited to the Council of Trent, and not impressed with a single lineament of Calvinism. In the course of time, however, men of a different spirit succeeded. The Calvinistic fever became, for a while, almost epidemic; and toward the end of Elizabeth's reign certain of our leading divines, with our *truly* Catholic liturgy before their eyes, labored to perfect our Articles by an ample introduction of the Genevan doctrine. A subsequent testimony to the liberal spirit of this Confession was borne, at a later period, by the Westminster divines, whose first attempt at remodelling the Church was a review of the Articles, and this, too, with the avowed design of making them 'more determinate in favor of Calvinism;' a design which was still cherished by the same party at the celebrated Savoy Conference, after the Restoration. If, then, Archbishop Cranmer and his coadjutors intended to give a Calvinistic complexion to their performance, they must have wrought in that behalf like very timid or unskilful artists. The whole Anglican Reformation never found much favor in the eyes of the Genevan school even at the period of its completion; and it appears that, subsequently to that period, the same school has been repeatedly at work to bring that Reformation to a more worthy conformity with their own model of exclusion.

"It has been sometimes intimated that the very moderation of Cranmer was not, in reality, his own, but that it was actually forced upon him by the unhappy peculiarities of his position; that he was, all along, a puritan in his heart; and that the liturgy itself was a monument, not of his sobriety of spirit, but rather of the ungodly compulsion which withheld him from more effectual improvement. A report of this description was circulated among the English exiles at Frankfort during the reign of persecution. It was affirmed, upon the alleged authority of Bullinger, that 'Cranmer had drawn up a Book of Prayers *a hundred times more perfect* than that which was then in being, but that he was defeated in his attempts to bring it forward, partly by the wickedness of the clergy and convocation, and partly by the devices of his other adversaries.' A rumor like this is, upon the face of it, well nigh self-destructive. It is in manifest contradiction to the whole tenor of Cranmer's life and opinions. The sort of *perfection* which, according to this surmise, he would (if left in a state of complete free agency) have introduced into the Service book may easily be imagined; and it is very safe to affirm that of such *perfection* he never was enamored at any period of his life. We have seen above how vigorously he resisted the fantastic scruples of Bishop Hopper, relative to the episcopal habit,—and this

even when those scruples were countenanced by the sovereign himself; and it is hardly credible that he who made so resolute a stand against the puritanical spirit, in a matter of mere external form, was ever prepared to give it encouragement in questions supposed to involve the vital principles of Christianity. But, farther, the notion is in direct opposition to the indisputable fact, that, at the period of this compilation, the ascendency of Cranmer, at least in matters of religion, was more commanding than ever. He possessed the confidence of the council, and was generally sure of their support, except when he withstood their profligate schemes of spoliation. His wisdom, learning, and long experience secured him the reverence of the divines; and his influence was, altogether, such as to overpower, for the time, the resistance of all but the most bigoted and incorrigible Romanists. To imagine, therefore, upon the strength of a hearsay report from Zurich, that the opinions of the archbishop had been overruled in an affair of such importance as the composition of a national liturgy, would be to deal with evidence in a manner unheard of among reasonable men. Beside, it is far from easy to comprehend how the 'wicked clergy and convocation,' who would not hear of a '*more perfect*' liturgy, should, nevertheless, patiently endure an approach to puritanical *perfection* in a national formulary of religious doctrine.

"The truth of the matter is, that the English Reformers framed their Articles, not as a wall of partition between Protestant and Protestant, but as a bulwark against the perversions with which the scholastic theology had disfigured the simplicity of the Gospel. So far as they had an eye to the disputes which were beginning to distract the Protestant world, comprehension, and not exclusion, was, manifestly their purpose. *Mitigation of controversies* was the grand object which Melancthon had constantly upon his lips, and in his heart: and, in precisely the same spirit, our original Articles, as their title professes, were framed 'for the *avoiding of controversy* in opinions, and the establishment of a *godly concord* in certain matters of religion.' And it cannot be denied that, upon the whole, the success of the project was answerable to its liberal design; for, in spite of the discordant speculations which agitated the Church and kingdom in the time of James I., that monarch felt himself in a condition to affirm, in the declaration prefixed by him to the Articles, that 'all clergymen within his realm had always most willingly subscribed them.' The only key, therefore, which can readily unlock the true sense of the Articles is a knowledge,—not of the opinions which afterward rent the great Protestant community into fragments, but of the papal doctrines against which the main struggle of the reformers had been carried on from the very first. The schoolmen, for instance, held that original sin was little more than a corporeal or physical infection; that it introduced into the human system a *fomes peccati*,—a fuel of mischief and of vice,—which might, or might not, be kindled by the action of the will. The Lutherans, on the contrary, contended for a corruption or deterioration, in one sense *total*,—inasmuch as it extends to the whole nature of man. They left, however, undefined, the precise *degree of intensity* in which his nature is affected by that depravation; but, assuredly, they did not hold it to be such as to obliterate our moral

faculties, or to render a miracle of Divine grace necessary for our restoration even to the privileges and capacities of responsible agency. The scholastic divinity taught that the moral powers of man might be so *meritoriously* exerted as to win for him, by what they called *congruity*, the aids of the Holy Spirit, and that, by his assistance, he might rise to the *dignity* of deserving the rewards of Heaven. The reformers maintained, in opposition to this pernicious theory, that, from first to last, the merits of his Redeemer form the only resources of a Christian's hope. The predestination of the scholastics was, the everlasting purpose of God to confer grace and glory on such *individuals* as shall deserve the first by *congruity*, and the latter by *condignity*. As viewed by the Lutherans, the decree of the Almighty was, to elect, or call,—not out of particular communities, but generally *out of the human race*,—an aggregate body or Church, the members of which were to be indebted for their acceptance with him, not to their own personal qualities or doings, but to his free and undeserved mercy. But it was, farther, their persuasion that, without the due exertion of those moral faculties which the fall has left us, it will be impossible for us to make this calling and election sure. The contrast cannot be pursued farther without plunging into a theological discussion which would be foreign to the purpose of the present work. The subject must, therefore, be dismissed with this one remark:—if any person could but sit down to the perusal of our Articles in utter forgetfulness that Europe had ever been seriously agitated by the Calvinistic dispute, and with nothing in his mind but the controversy between Reformed Churches and the Church of Rome, he would then clearly perceive that those Articles were constructed, for the most part, on the Lutheran system, and principally as a rampart against the almost unchristian theology of the schools. On the other hand, he would find that the fortress was made ample enough to include within its pale a large variety of *Protestant* opinion relative to the secret and mysterious counsels of the Most High."

The days of King Edward were short, and with his death set the sun of Cranmer's prosperity. With the accession of Mary to the throne arose that bloody banner which proclaimed to the Protestants that they were about to be "tried by fire and sword," and that the land must be *purged by blood*. Very soon after this calamitous event, Cranmer was seized by order of this bloody queen and committed to the tower of London. Of the vexatious disputes, delays, the many base intrigues which were carried on against him, as well as the fatal catastrophe which brought him to the stake,—every reader of general history, and more especially of the history of the Reformation, is perfectly acquainted. While some fled from their country to avoid the fury of the storm which they now plainly saw gathering in black and dense clouds around them, and were advised so to do by the archbishop himself, he took a more lofty stand for himself, considering it as incompatible with his duty as a Christian bishop, and unworthy of his dignity as primate of all England, to flee from the fury of his enemies. He therefore prepared himself to

meet the coming crisis with becoming firmness; and that he might be disentangled as much as possible from all worldly concern, he set himself to the cancelling of all his debts, which, having accomplished, he exclaimed, *Thank God, I am now my own man; I can now, with God's help, answer all the world, and face all adversities that be laid upon me.*

The account of Cranmer's disputation, after his confinement in prison, is so curious in itself, and such an exemplification of the spirit of the times, as well as the absurdities by which the Church of Rome was distinguished and disgraced, that we give it in the words of the narrator:—

"The same parliament which restored the queen, attainted Cranmer of high treason. As a necessary consequence, he was divested of the temporalities of the archbishopric, which were immediately placed under sequestration. He appears to have been severely disquieted by the thought of being branded as a traitor; and he lost no time in addressing to the queen the petition for pardon which has been cited above, and which contains the explanation of his conduct in sanctioning the late king's design for changing the succession. He dreaded the ignominy of suffering as a malefactor; but always professed himself ready to meet with cheerfulness whatever afflictions he might be called upon to endure in the cause of God. His conviction for treason took place in November; and, at that time, he probably expected that his execution would speedily follow the sentence; for it has been ascertained that, shortly after the attainder, he was publicly led through London, unshaken, and even cheerful, amid the general grief of the spectators, urgently imploring that there might be no tumults, and declaring that he expected to suffer in the course of eight days. At this period, therefore, it is evident that he entertained no doubt whatever of being allowed to expire at the stake, for his faithfulness to his God, instead of perishing on the scaffold for disloyalty to his sovereign. It might have been well for his peace had he fallen, as he then expected, by the hand of the executioner: for nothing could well be more deplorable than the whole prospect around him, turn in what direction he might. The chief management of the realm consigned to Gardiner—the faithful Protestants driven into exile, or pining in dungeons—the foreigners, who had been allowed in the reign of Edward to form congregations in England, now compelled to remove, and to carry with them the arts and the industry by which they might have enriched the nation—the married clergy cruelly divorced or deprived—a packed and obsequious convocation, and a parliament also at the devotion of the crown—and what, perhaps, was more bitter than all, the professors of the Gospel beginning to fall away in the season of persecution, and to defile their conscience by falling down before the consecrated wafer: these were the visions of sorrow and dismay which now presented themselves to the view of the archbishop. On every side he beheld the structure which had cost him so many years of anxiety and toil crumbling away before his eyes as if it had been a fabric of clay. But even in these depths of dejection, he was not left wholly destitute of comfort. When the prisons began to be crowded by the

defeat of Wyat's insurrection, three other distinguished martyrs were thrust into the same chamber with him. Their employment in captivity was afterward described by Latimer to the commissioners at Oxford; and nothing could better become the situation of men who were lying in peril of their lives for the testimony of the truth: 'Mr. Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury,' said he, 'Mr. Ridley, bishop of London, that holy man Mr. Bradford, and I, old Hugh Latimer, were imprisoned in the tower of London for Christ's Gospel-preaching, and because we would not go *a massing*. The same tower being so full of prisoners, we four were thrust into one chamber as men not to be accounted of. But, God be thanked, to our great joy and comfort, there did we together read over the New Testament with great deliberation and painful study: and I assure you, as I will answer before the tribunal of God's majesty, we did find, in the Testament, of God's body and blood no other but a spiritual presence, nor that the mass was any sacrifice for sin. But in that heavenly book it appeared that the sacrifice which Christ Jesus our Redeemer did upon the cross was perfect, holy, and good,—that God the heavenly Father requireth none other,—nor *that* ever again to be done.'

"In the course of a few months these consolatory occupations were broken off. The three confessors were dragged out of their cell, not indeed to death, but to the intermediate martyrdom of a public disputation. The convocation had assembled at the same time with the parliament, at the summons of Bonner, who was now restored to the see of London, and exercised the functions of the imprisoned metropolitan. The composition of this assembly was so entirely conformable to the views of the government, that there were not more than six of their number who had the inclination or the courage to stand up for the reformation of King Edward. They proceeded, therefore, with all imaginable alacrity in the work of demolition. The labors of Cranmer fell rapidly before them. The Liturgy and the Articles were speedily disposed of: and their next care was to restore the doctrine of the Eucharist to its former honors. A disputation was accordingly held in the Lower House; and, at the especial desire of the queen, the sacrament of the Lord's Supper was chosen for the subject. A more unexceptionable mode of proceeding could hardly have been adopted, if the contest had been conducted with any semblance of fairness and decorum. But the spirit which presided may be imagined from the language of Weston, the prolocutor. '*We have the Word*,' said the reforming disputants, appealing, as usual, to the Scriptures:—'*But we have the sword*,' was the reply of the insolent and shameless moderator. The outcry against the manifest iniquity of these proceedings seems to have awakened the Romanists to some sense of decency: for it was resolved that the controversy should be renewed at Oxford under the management of a committee selected from both universities; and it was farther determined that Cranmer and his two fellow prisoners, who had been excluded from the former conflict, should now be summoned to a share in this. In pursuance of this resolution, they were removed from the tower to the prison of Bocardo, at Oxford, in the month of March: and in the April following the strife of words was to begin.

"It would seem as if the dominant party regarded the approaching argument as a crisis of no ordinary importance, if we may judge by

the pageantry with which it was ushered in. On Saturday, the 14th of April, the representatives of the Lower House of Convocation, with the Prolocutor Weston at their head, and attended by the delegates of either university, advanced in procession to St. Mary's, and seated themselves in the choir, in front of the high altar. When their solemn devotions and the formal preliminaries of their business were despatched, they sent orders to the mayor and bailiffs of Oxford, to bring Dr. Cranmer before them. The archbishop soon appeared, guarded by a body of bill-men. He stood with his staff in his hand, with a grave and reverential aspect; and in that posture he remained, having declined a seat, which they had the courtesy to offer him. The prolocutor opened the proceedings with a harangue, in which he observed how commendable a thing was unity in the Church of Christ; and then, turning to the archbishop, lamented that he, who once had been a Catholic man, should have made an unseemly breach in the unity of the Church, not merely by setting forth erroneous doctrine, but by teaching a new faith every year. It was, however, her majesty's earnest desire that he should, if possible, be recovered from his schismatical separation; and she had, accordingly, been pleased to charge them with the office of reclaiming him. He then produced the three articles which had been agreed upon as the main points for discussion; the first of which affirmed the corporeal presence in the sacrament of the altar; the second declared the transubstantiation of the consecrated elements; the third maintained the life-giving and propitiatory virtue of the mass. The archbishop, being desired to pronounce his opinion on these propositions, replied that nothing could exceed his value for unity, as the preserver of all human commonwealths; the advantages of which he illustrated by various instances from ancient story; and he added that he would most cordially embrace it,—provided always that it were a unity *in Christ*, and conformable to the word of God. He then deliberately read the articles over, three or four times; and being asked whether he would subscribe them, he said that, as they were there worded, they were all false, and at variance with Scripture; and that consequently he must decline all *unity* of which these propositions were the basis. He offered, nevertheless, that he would prepare his answer in writing by the next day, if he might be allowed a copy of the articles. The prolocutor assented; but told him that his answer must be in readiness that very night, and that he would be called upon to maintain the points of his dissent by scholastic argument in Latin, in the public schools. He was then consigned again to the custody of the mayor, and conducted back to his confinement at Bocardo, which was no better than a filthy prison for the reception of ordinary criminals. His demeanor on this day was throughout so distinguished by venerable gravity and modest self-possession, that several of the academics, who disapproved his opinions, were moved by it even to tears.

The next day, Sunday the 15th of April, a grand and solemn banquet was held by the commissioners at Magdalen College, after the sermon at St. Mary's, which was delivered by Harpsfield, chaplain to the bishop of London. In the course of the evening the written answer of Cranmer was sent in to the prolocutor, who was entertained at Lincoln college. In this paper he professed that he

could acknowledge no such thing as a natural body of Christ, which should be merely spiritual,—the object of intellect and not of sense,—and not distinguishable into parts or members. He contended, with the ancient doctors, that the bread and wine were called the body and blood of Christ, by a mode of speech that was purely figurative; and that the guests at the holy table of Christ are there reminded that his crucifixion supplies a nutriment as needful for our souls, as material sustenance is needful for our bodies. He, lastly, maintained that the oblation of Christ upon the cross was of supreme and final efficacy; and that to seek for any other sacrifice for sin would be to make the great propitiation of none effect.

"On Monday, the 16th of April, at about 8 o'clock, the commissioners proceeded, with the usual pomp and formality, to the divinity schools: and Cranmer was brought forward to undergo the *baiting* of a public dispute. He was immediately conducted to the respondent's desk, and near him were seated the mayor and aldermen of Oxford. The business was opened by the prolocutor in a speech which commenced with the following sentence: 'Brethren, we are this day met together to confound that detestable heresy of the verity of Christ's body in the sacrament.' This exordium was so ludicrously equivocal, that it was received with a universal burst of laughter. As soon as the indecorous merriment had subsided, the prolocutor continued his harangue, the main object of which was to show that to oppose the doctrine of transubstantiation was neither more nor less than to deny the power and truth of God. Upon this the archbishop remarked, that they were met for the discussion of certain *controverted* matters, which yet, they were told, it was unlawful and even impious to dispute: and 'if this be so,' he added, 'surely mine answer is expected in vain.' The contest respecting the *indisputable* points nevertheless commenced. 'Your opinion, reverend master doctor,' said Chedsey, who was to begin the debate, 'is different from the Scripture, therefore you are deceived.' To this specimen of logical audacity, Cranmer replied, of course, by denying the former proposition. The opponent then contended, that the word 'body' was to be taken in its literal acceptation; and that it had always been so taken by the Church. Cranmer, on the contrary, insisted that the language was wholly metaphorical, and that the Church had so understood it from the beginning; and this proposition he offered to maintain by arguments which he had prepared in writing, and which he now desired might be read aloud. The request was, apparently, acceded to by Dr. Weston; but notwithstanding this, the paper was never read. It would be impossible to detail the remainder of the controversy, without filling a great portion of our volume. The whole was, in truth, a scene of wearisome and most disorderly wrangling. It lasted from eight in the morning till nearly two in the afternoon. The argument was carried on sometimes in English, and sometimes in Latin. The prelate was compelled to stand alone against a multitude of antagonists. He was perpetually assailed with unmannerly interruption. The prolocutor disgraced himself by heaping epithets of disparagement upon the archbishop; and his offensive vehemence was a signal for turbulence and clamor to the miscellaneous auditory: so that the schools resounded at intervals with hissing, and hooting, and peals of laughter, and other symptoms

of vulgarity and rudeness: and the assembly was at length dismissed by the exemplary moderator, with an invitation to the crowd to express their sense of triumph by shouts of '*Vicit veritas.*'

"Such were the courtesies which dignified an important and solemn theological argument, in the sixteenth century, and in the most renowned university of Europe! The process by which the late primate of England was to be stamped as a heretic was such as, at the present day, would almost disgrace the hustings, at a period of the most tumultuous political excitement. The uproar which on this occasion was suffered to dishonor an assembly of scholars and divines, and to heap oppression and insult on the first ecclesiastic in the realm, may partly be ascribed to the semi-barbarous condition of society; and it might perhaps be too much to affirm that nothing of a similar description had ever occurred when Roman Catholics, instead of Protestants, had been placed on their defence. But it may, I presume, be very confidently asserted, that never before were the decencies of public discussion so infamously violated as on this trial of Cranmer and his two associates. The very persons themselves who had been guilty of these outrages on equity and common humanity, appear to have been stricken with a sense of shame: for on Thursday, the 19th of April, Cranmer was produced in the schools once more, in the character of an opponent to Harpsfield, who was then to perform his exercises for the degree of doctor of divinity. The contest on this day seems to have been carried on with a much more creditable show of order and propriety. The first part of the dispute related merely to the authority of the Church, as a guide to the safe interpretation of Scripture; but the parties soon found themselves again on the old debateable ground of the corporeal presence: and then there followed a long course of bickering, after the scholastic manner, in which the most awful topics were bandied to and fro, in language which (to say nothing of its monstrous absurdity) has, to our ears, a sound of gross irreverence, if not of positive impiety. It was debated, for instance, whether the body of our blessed Saviour was present in the sacrament in such a manner that he could be *eaten;* whether he was there *substantially*, or only *as touching his substance*, but *not after the manner of his substance;* whether his body could have *quantity* in heaven, while it was present *without quantity* on earth; whether *quantity* could be predicated of it at all, or whether it were not rather *quantitative*, or existing, not actually *in quantity*, but *after the manner of quantity;* whether Christ were swallowed, in the sacrament, by wicked men, and if so, how long he remained in the eater! At the present day, it must appear beyond measure astonishing that grave and learned men could endure to desecrate the most solemn mysteries of our faith with all this worthless metaphysical jargon. It must be remembered, however, that Cranmer in resorting to it, acted purely on the defensive; for though he was on this occasion personally the opponent, his cause was throughout the object of aggression; and it was absolutely essential to the honor of that cause that he should show himself a complete master of the weapons with which the warfare against it was usually carried on. His consummate accomplishment in the scholastic learning enabled him to acquit himself with a steadiness and serenity which extorted praise even from Weston himself, who before had

appeared well nigh destitute of all aptitude for the common civilities of creditable society. 'Your wonderful gentle behaviour, good master Doctor Cranmer,' said the prolocutor, 'is worthy of much commendation; and that I may not deprive you of your right and just deserving, I give you most hearty thanks, both in my own name and in the name of all my brethren.' And thereupon all the doctors present courteously put off their caps: and with this outward show of respect, the archbishop was dismissed back to his prison."

The vacillating conduct of Cranmer toward the close of his eventful life, has afforded matter for animadversion for both friends and enemies—the former lamenting that such weaknesses should have been manifested, in this trying hour, by a man who had all along shown such invincible firmness in the cause of truth—and the latter triumphing in their victory over a fallen foe, as though his aberration could contribute any thing to mitigate the unjust severity with which they disgraced their conduct and exulted in their iniquity. We allow, indeed, that it is somewhat difficult to reconcile some features of Cranmer's conduct with the fidelity of a Christian or the uprightness of a man of God, or even to palliate it in consistency with that spirit of toleration by which Christianity is distinguished. From the facts which the narrative of his life discloses, it would seem that, though he was evidently actuated by a strong attachment to the truth as it is in Jesus, he was sometimes too pliant in yielding his judgment to others, and especially to royal authority. But whatever defects of character he may have exhibited at times, we may find an apology for them in the spirit of the age in which he lived, in the peculiar difficulties with which he had to contend, and the gross darkness which had so long covered the world. The principles of civil and religious liberty were but imperfectly understood. Uniformity in religious matters was considered essential to religious prosperity; and the power of the civil magistrate was considered necessary for the support of the Church; and such was the state of the ecclesiastical world, that the pope of Rome exercised almost unlimited control over temporal as well as spiritual matters; kings and emperors trembled at his nod, and all the earth seemed obedient to his bidding. Under these circumstances Cranmer persuaded himself that there was no other way to succeed in the work of reformation but to conciliate the good will of the reigning powers; and hence the pliant manner in which he yielded to the wishes of Henry VIII., and afterward the submissive tone he used to Mary and her counsellors, and finally his censurable conduct in inflicting pains and penalties upon those denominated heretics in religion. Those of us who live in this age of civil freedom and religious light, can hardly appreciate the difficulties with which our forefathers had to contend, surrounded as they were on all hands with all sorts of enemies, and beset with

thorns and briars by which they were goaded on to do things which they would not have done under other circumstances.

But with whatever defects Cranmer may have afflicted his friends from the hope of prolonging his life—a hope kindled up by the treacherous conduct of those who had already determined on his death, whether he adhered to Protestantism or not—when the trying hour came, he fully redeemed himself from all obloquy of this sort, and manifested an unshaken confidence in the truth of his principles, and in the mercy of God in Christ Jesus. This is evident from the following account of his last hours, with which we close our extracts:—

"The facility afforded him for his public confession was, accidentally, beyond his hopes. Between nine and ten o'clock on the 21st of March, the Lord Williams, with others of the neighboring gentry, arrived in Oxford, for the purpose of presiding at the sacrifice of the reclaimed arch heretic. The morning, however, happened to be so rainy, that instead of conducting him at once to the stake, they brought him to St. Mary's church, in the full expectation that he would there complete the triumph of the Romanists, by proclaiming, with his dying breath, his adhesion to their communion. On his way thither he was placed between two friars, whose office it was to murmur out certain psalms, which, it was conceived, were appropriate to his mournful situation. On his entrance into the church, the *Nunc Dimittis* was chanted; and the archbishop was then led forward to a scaffolding or platform, raised in front of the pulpit. When he ascended it, he knelt down to pray; and wept so bitterly, that many of the spectators were also moved to tears; more especially those among them 'who had conceived an assured hope of his conversion and repentance.'

"Dr. Cole then commenced his sermon; in which he stated that Dr. Cranmer had been the prime agent in all the pernicious changes by which the realm had been for so many years distracted. He had usurped the office of pronouncing the divorce between Henry VIII., and Queen Catherine; and though he might have been impelled rather by the persuasions of other men, than by any malicious motive, yet he had thus become the chief author of all the confusion that had followed. He had, moreover, not only been the notorious patron of all the heresies which had burst into the kingdom, but had persisted in maintaining them, both by disputation and by writing: and so long a perseverance in error had never, but in time of schism, been pardoned by the Church. The preacher also stated, that in addition to these causes of Cranmer's execution, the queen and her council were moved by certain other reasons, which it would not be fit or convenient to disclose.

"Having next exhorted the bystanders to profit by the melancholy example before them, Dr. Cole addressed his discourse to Cranmer himself. He reminded the prisoner of the mercy of God, who will not suffer us to be tempted beyond what we are able to bear; expressed a good hope that he would, like the penitent thief, be that day with Christ in paradise; encouraged him to meditate on the deliverance of the three children, to whom God made the flame seem like a pleasant dew, on the rejoicing of St. Andrew in his cross,

and the patience of St. Laurence on the fire; and assured him that if in his extremity he should call on God, and on such as have died in his faith, he would either abate the fury of the flame, or else would give the sufferer strength to endure it. He gloried in the final conversion of Cranmer to the truth, which could only be regarded as the work of God: and concluded with many expressions of commendation, and with a promise that masses should be sung for his soul in every church in Oxford.

"Having finished his sermon, the preacher desired that all who were present would offer up their supplications for the prisoner. On this, Cranmer himself immediately knelt down in secret prayer. His example was followed by the rest of the congregation. They all of them prayed together, as by one consent. Those among them who once hated him as an incorrigible heretic, were now melted by the spectacle of his repentance; while others who had loved him before, were yet unable suddenly to hate him, and fondly clung to the hope that after all he would return to his former profession, and make a public acknowledgment of his fall. This general feeling of compassion had been powerfully heightened by the appearance of the archbishop during the sermon. He had stood before the people the very image of sorrow; his face bathed in tears, his eyes sometimes raised to heaven in hope, sometimes cast down to the earth for shame, but still preserving throughout a venerable aspect and quiet solemnity of demeanor.

"When his silent devotions were concluded, Cranmer rose from his knees, and turning toward the people, heartily thanked them for their prayers. He then said, 'I will now pray for myself, as I could best devise for my own comfort, and say the prayer, word for word, as I have here written it;' and remaining still on his feet, he recited from his manuscript the following supplication:—

"'O Father of heaven: O Son of God, Redeemer of the world; O Holy Ghost, proceeding from them both, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me most wretched caitiff, and miserable sinner! I, who have offended both heaven and earth, and more grievously than any tongue can express, whither then may I go, or whither should I fly for succor? To heaven I may be ashamed to lift up mine eyes; and in earth I find no refuge. What shall I then do? Shall I despair? God forbid. O good God! Thou art merciful, and refusest none that come unto thee for succor. To thee, therefore, do I run. To thee do I humble myself: saying, O Lord God, my sins be great, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. O God the Son, thou wast not made man, this great mystery was not wrought, for few or small offences. Nor thou didst not give thy Son unto death, O God the Father, for our little and small sins only, but for all the greatest sins of the world; so that the sinner return unto thee with a penitent heart; as I do here at this present. Wherefore have mercy upon me, O Lord, whose property is always to have mercy. For although my sins be great, yet thy mercy is greater. I crave nothing, O Lord, for mine own merits, but for thy name's sake, that it may be glorified thereby: and for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake.'

"Having finished this act of devotion, he knelt down, and repeated the Lord's prayer, all the congregation on their knees devoutly

joining him. Then, rising on his feet once more, he addressed a solemn exhortation to the people, in which he warned them that *the love of this world is hatred against God;* enjoining them to remain in willing and cheerful obedience to the king and queen; besought them to live together like brethren and sisters; and, lastly, entreated the wealthy to lay up in their hearts the saying of our Lord, 'It is hard for a rich man to enter into heaven;' and also the words of St. John, 'Whoso hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?" He then continued his address to the people, in the following memorable words:—

"'And now, forasmuch as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and my life to come, either to live with my Saviour Christ in heaven, in joy, or else to be in pain ever with wicked devils in hell; and I see before mine eyes presently either heaven ready to receive me, or hell ready to swallow me up; I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith, how I believe, without color or dissimulation. For now is no time to dissemble, whatsoever I have written in times past.

"'First. I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of heaven and earth, &c., and every article of the Catholic faith, every word and sentence taught by our Saviour Christ, his apostles, and prophets, in the Old and New Testament.

"'And now I come to the great thing that troubleth my conscience more than any other thing that ever I said or did in my life: and that is, the setting abroad of writings contrary to the truth. Which here now I renounce, and refuse, as things written with my hand contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and writ for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be: and that is, all such bills, which I have written or signed with mine own hand, since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended in writing contrary to my heart, therefore my hand shall first be punished. For if I may come to the fire, it shall be first burned. And as for the pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false doctrine.'

"The amazement and confusion of the assembly at the utterance of this speech, may very easily be imagined. All his judges, and doubtless a very large portion of the audience, expected nothing from his lips but an open and penitent abjuration of his Protestant opinions. Instead of this, he proclaimed that he had nothing to repent of but his unworthy professions of the Romish faith. It was to no purpose that Lord Williams vehemently reminded him of his submission and dissembling, and exhorted him to remember himself, and play the Christian man. The archbishop remained unshaken. 'Alas! my lord,' was his reply, 'I have been a man that, all my life, loved plainness, and never dissembled till now against the truth, which I am most sorry for; and I cannot better play the Christian man than by speaking the truth as I now do.' He farther protested that, with regard to the doctrine of the sacrament, he still believed precisely as he had written in his book against the bishop of Winchester.

"By this time the exasperation of the Romanists had become outrageous. The assembly broke up, and the archbishop was hurried

to the place of execution. On his way thither, one of the friars, foaming with rage and disappointment, assailed him with reproaches for his inconstancy, and bade him remember his recantation; repeatedly crying out, 'Was it not thy own doing?' On his arrival at the stake, he put off his garments with alacrity, and even with haste, and stood upright in his shirt. When his caps were taken off, his head appeared so bare that not a single hair could be discerned upon it. His beard, however, was long and thick, and his countenance altogether of such reverend gravity, that neither friend nor foe could look upon it without emotion. While the preparations for his death were completing, a bachelor of divinity, accompanied by two Spanish friars, made one desperate effort to recall him to his apostasy. But their attempts were utterly fruitless. The archbishop was only moved to repeat that he sorely repented of his recantation, because he knew it was contrary to the truth. On this the friars said, in Latin, to each other, 'Let us leave him to himself; the devil is surely with him, and we ought no longer to be near him.' Lord Williams became impatient of farther delay, and ordered the proceedings to be *cut short*. Cranmer, therefore, took his surrounding friends by the hand, and bade them his last farewell; while his defeated monitor, the bachelor, indignantly rebuked them for touching the heretic, and protested that he was bitterly sorry for having come into his company. He could not forbear, however, once more, to urge his adherence to his recantation. The answer of Cranmer was, 'This is the hand that wrote it, and therefore it shall first suffer punishment.'

"The fire was now speedily kindled; and Cranmer immediately made good his words, by thrusting his right hand into the flame. He held it there with unflinching steadiness, exclaiming, from time to time, —'This hand hath offended,—this unworthy hand!' So immovable was his fortitude, that the spectators could plainly perceive the fire consuming his hand, before it had materially injured any other part of his frame. At last the pile became completely lighted, and then the fire soon did its work upon him. To the very last, his resolution continued firm. When the flames mounted, so that he was almost enveloped by them, he appeared to move no more than the stake to which he was bound. His eyes, all the while, were steadfastly raised toward heaven; and, so long as the power of utterance remained, his swollen tongue was repeatedly heard to exclaim, 'This unworthy hand!—Lord Jesus, receive my spirit.'

"That Cranmer's 'patience in the torment, and courage in dying,' were worthy of the noblest cause, is amply and generously attested by the Roman Catholic Spectator, who has left us an account of his last sufferings. 'If,' says the writer of that narrative, 'it had been either for the glory of God, the wealth of his country, or the testimony of the truth,—as it was for a pernicious error, and subversion of true religion,—I could worthily have commended the example, and matched it with the fame of any father of ancient time.' There is a sort of traditional story that, after he was burned, his heart was found unconsumed in the midst of the ashes. The tale is scarcely worth repeating. It is, indeed, just possible, that when the flames had nearly consumed the parts more immediately exposed to their action, the heart may have been separated from the body; and may have accidentally fallen upon a spot where the fire was less fierce;

and there it may have been found comparatively uninjured, or, at least, in a state which might enable a spectator to distinguish it. And this may have given birth to a report which credulity or superstition might exalt into a miracle.

"'Thus perished Archbishop Cranmer;—a man to whom the obligations of this country must ever be 'broad and deep:' for to his conscientious labors, and incomparable prudence and moderation, we are, under Providence, mainly indebted for the present fabric of our Protestant Church. The brightness of his last hour was preceded, it is true, by an awful interval of darkness. The shadows, however, most happily passed away from him; and his name resumed its lustre in the midst of the fires of his martyrdom. The revival of his courage was the bitterest of all imaginable disappointments to the Romish party. The final prostration of his integrity would, to them, have been a great and inestimable spoil. So blind was the impatience of the Church of Rome for the ruin of his fame, that it drove her to a prodigal application of her customary craft, such as must have tended only to the defeat of her purpose. She trod upon the victim whom she had allured into her toils, till his heart must have revolted against her perfidious cruelty. She thus, in effect, labored unconsciously to rekindle the slumbering fires of his faith and virtue, and to defraud herself of the satisfaction of utterly murdering his reputation before she consigned his body to torture and to death. Whether she might, at the last, have spared his life, and yet have been, eventually, gratified with his blood, is, indeed, a question which none can certainly determine, except Him who searcheth the heart. But yet, if he is to be *judged of man's judgment*, it seems impossible to believe that he could long have endured the miseries of a dishonored and despised old age. It appears that, all along, he was smitten with remorse and horror for yielding to the recoil of flesh and blood. He protested, just before his death, that 'he had oft repented of his recantation:' and the truth of this saying is irresistibly established by his whole demeanor in his last agony, as represented to us by his honest and candid 'Roman Catholic reporter.' And when we look at his self-possession and alacrity at the stake, and recollect at the same time his constitutional defect of firmness,—nothing can be well thought of more surprising than the heroism of his last hour. It has, indeed, been sometimes alleged that he derived courage to retract, *only* from despair of pardon. But his despair of pardon never can have inspired him with invincible fortitude, while the flames were devouring his flesh. His courage in the midst of sufferings, (which might well extort groans, even from men made of more stubborn stuff than Cranmer,) can never have been the effect of hypocrisy and dissimulation. It is impossible that he could be merely playing a part, when he held his hand immovably in the fire that was scorching every nerve and sinew, and accused that hand as the guilty instrument of his disgrace. We have here, at least, a substantial proof that, at that moment, all anguish was light, compared with the agony of his deep, but not despairing repentance. And justice demands of us, farther, to keep in mind that the language in which his penitence was proclaimed, relates wholly to his recent course of dissimulation. With regard to every other act of his life, he expresses

himself, throughout his prosecution, like one who had exercised himself to have a conscience void of offence toward God and man.

"In a word, then, we have seen Archbishop Cranmer in his last moments, surrounded as it were by the ruins of his own good fame; and yet, in the midst of that piteous wreck, enabled to resume his courage, and to rise, like the apostle who denied his Lord, from the depths of human frailty, to the honors of Christian martyrdom. It is scarcely to be credited that a man like this could have borne to live 'infamous and contented,' if the Church of Rome had allowed him to survive. Had his life been granted him, he must soon have loathed a gift which would only have reserved him for sufferings worse than the bitterness of death. He might then, possibly, have sunk under the silent, though inglorious martyrdom, of a wounded spirit: but, more probably, he would have been enabled to *renew his strength* to seek a refuge from his anguish by rushing a voluntary martyr into the flames."

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

AN ADDRESS,

Delivered before the Literary Society of the Oneida Conference, September 28, 1834.

BY THE REV. GEORGE PECK.

INTELLIGENCE and literature are at all times and in all places essential qualifications for a minister of the Gospel. But these qualifications are especially necessary in an age when the arts and sciences are cultivated with the greatest avidity, and in a country where they are the national birthright of all classes of the community. The improvements which have been made in the systems of education, and the multiplication of facilities for the attainment of knowledge, within these few years past, have greatly improved the literature of the country, and considerably elevated the literary character of all classes of the community. And it requires no extraordinary penetration to see that the Christian ministry must make corresponding advances or fall behind the times, and consequently go into disrepute, and so expose the cause of Christianity to contempt. An unlettered ministry at this age of the Church must be considered as fairly out of the question. The present is emphatically an age of inquiry. And it is an age in which skepticism and infidelity are disseminated and openly avowed. The enemies of truth abate not a whit of their zeal and malignity. They are incessant in their attacks upon the foundations of our faith. They assume a variety of false colors and deceptive garbs. Stale and antiquated objections to fundamental truths are diligently sought out and revived, and men's brains are put to the rack to find out new ones. Old heresies are daily dug out of the rubbish of antiquity, and novel ones are coined, and both are disseminated with more than apostolic ardor; and our own people are daily becoming more inquisitive and intelligent. How our ministry is to be qualified for the emergencies growing out of all these facts, is a question of the deepest interest, both to our Church and to the community. The present is not the

age of miracles. We are not now authorized to expect that "it shall be given to us in the self-same hour what we ought to speak." The object is now placed within the grasp of the ordinary means; and when this is the case, God does not ordinarily put forth his miraculous powers, but we are required to make use of the appointed means, and then look to him who gives the *increase* for his blessing.

Even in the apostolic age, when plenary inspiration was shed down upon the ministers of the sanctuary, there is abundant evidence that they did not neglect the cultivation of their minds. The holy apostles not only enjoyed the opportunity of receiving instructions from Christ himself, during his life and ministry, when Divine truth was unfolded to their minds as they were able to bear it, but the college of apostles remained together at Jerusalem for several years after the ascension, before they separated and went to their several departments of labor. And this, it is highly probable, was, that they might have the better opportunity for mutual improvement, as well as to unite their wisdom and experience in preparing for the work those who were to be their helpers and successors. St. Paul himself, with all his moral, theological, and literary endowments, did not enter upon the duties of his high and holy vocation, until he had first spent some time in retirement and study. For immediately upon his conversion, he went into Arabia, where he remained two years; and there is no evidence that during that time he preached publicly at all. Indeed had he given himself to the ministry of the word during this time, it would probably have been noticed by St. Luke, in his history of the Acts of the Apostles: but he passes over the apostle's residence in Arabia in entire silence, and the fact had never come down to us, but that St. Paul mentions it himself. Here we may suppose the apostle spent his time with some Christian family, in the study of the Jewish Scriptures and the targums of the Jewish doctors, and comparing them with the great facts alleged in the Gospel, and it was by this means, at least in part, that he became so thoroughly qualified to "reason out of the Scriptures," and "mightily to convince" his Jewish antagonists. And in perfect keeping with his own practice was his advice to Timothy: "Give thyself to reading. Study to show thyself approved unto God, a workman that needeth not to be ashamed, rightly dividing the word of truth." And if mental culture was necessary in apostolic times, in the days of inspiration; can it be any less necessary now? The enemies of truth are now, if possible, more numerous and subtle than they were. We live in an improved age of the world, and an improved state of society, and cannot call inspiration and miracles to our aid. And can it be possible that there is now no longer any necessity for a high state of mental improvement in the ministry? That the interests of truth and religion may now safely be intrusted to men who have neither heads nor hearts to study? None of you, my brethren, will hesitate a moment in giving your negative to these interrogations.

The present state of religious opinions furnishes a consideration upon this subject of immense weight. While some other branches of the visible Church are perplexing themselves with endless speculations, and have almost lost themselves in the fog of metaphysical refinements; how does it become our ministry to possess the intelli-

gence clearly to discern the ancient landmarks of our system, and to have logic and critical skill to defend them when assailed. There is, withal, amid this wonderful confusion, "the rush of mind." Master spirits are engaged, mental resources are developed; and a machinery is at work which bids fair to change entirely the grounds of controversy between them and us, and threatens to bewilder, if not indeed to destroy, the unwary upon both sides. The only check which can be opposed to this overwhelming deluge I conceive to be a clear and forcible development of the great doctrines of the Bible, unsophisticated and undisguised. And how are we to act our part in this great work, without an able and truly learned ministry? But I do not intend to prosecute an extended argument upon the importance of a thorough education upon the part of our ministry: this I must for the present take for granted. But thus much I have judged necessary by way of introduction to my main design, which is, to develope some of the principal causes of the sad deficiencies in the literature of the Methodist ministry, and by the way to make some suggestions as to the remedy for the evil.

In order to show what constitutes a capital deficiency in the literary qualifications of a minister, it might appear necessary to show what is absolutely essential to it. But the ground I take will not require this. I set up no infallible standard of literary qualifications, which must be a *sine qua non* for admission into the annual conference. Nor, by a *deficiency of literature*, must I be understood to mean *incompetency*, in the sense in which this term is used in the common parlance of the day. But I mean simply that, as a body of ministers, *we have less literature than is at the present day highly necessary to give us that commanding influence over the community, which will render us adequate to the emergencies of the times in which we live.* To this proposition I think all will concede; and I doubt not but all will unite most heartily in the inquiry after the causes and the remedy.

I. The first of these causes which I shall notice is the want of many of the means of ministerial education.

In order to the proper cultivation of the mind, in any department of knowledge, it must have *proper stimulants*, *timely aid*, and *suitable direction*. These objects are effected by *education*. Until subjects of interest are presented to the mind, it will remain dormant, or will rather roam at large, occupying itself in pernicious or useless vagaries. And though it may in its wanderings glance at some useful subjects, it will never so comprehend them as to make any substantial improvement. When stimulated to action by the presentation of important and interesting subjects of contemplation, it soon meets with numerous obstacles, which have the effect either to suppress, or greatly to retard investigation. Then it is that *effective aid* is indispensable. But remove these obstacles, and the faculties of the mind acquire fresh vigor, and it prosecutes its researches with a new and increasing vigor. But without timely and proper *direction* the mind is ever running astray: and by how much its energies are awakened, and called into action, without a suitable guide, by so much it is exposed to take some fatal course. And hence arises the necessity of education: for without it the mind, as to any useful pur-

poses, remains inactive, or in its undisciplined efforts is ever driving upon some fatal experiment.

General education lays the foundation for the cultivation of the several branches of science and literature. And hence a defective knowledge in any department of literature may originate in a defective general education. Here, then, we are undoubtedly to look for some of the causes of the deficiency in ministerial education. We shall find, upon due inquiry, that the difficulty commences with the very rudiments of knowledge. The teachers employed, the books and systems of instruction used in our early years, were most wofully defective. And hence the false notions which we imbibed in childhood from these sources have crippled our efforts in after life, and some of their evil effects we may carry to our graves. But some of us have labored under still other embarrassments, growing out of our circumstances in life, location, habits of thinking, &c., which, however, I need not here detail.

But as to the means of education in the *higher branches*, there is still greater cause of complaint. Until these few years past, the Methodist Church exerted next to no influence over the high schools and colleges in the country, and had none under its immediate patronage. Dr. Coke and Mr. Asbury made a laudable effort to raise the standard of literature among the Methodists, by erecting Cokesbury college. This institution was opened on the 8th of December, 1787, with twenty-five students. But it had scarcely begun to shed its genial rays upon our infant community, before, by a mysterious providence, its light was extinguished. It was destroyed by fire, December 4, 1795, about eight years after it was opened, and about ten after laying the foundation of the edifice. A long and gloomy night succeeded the catastrophe of this rising institution; during which no effectual provision was made for the literary improvement of our Church. Our fathers were so constantly occupied in meeting the numerous and pressing calls for labor, which came up from every quarter of our widely extended country; and in thrusting themselves into the thousand doors which were opening for the preaching of the word and the conversion of souls; (and some of them, too hastily concluding that the destruction of Cokesbury college was an indication of Providence that the Methodists did not need, and ought not to have, literary institutions,) that no similar effort was made, no college or seminary erected, or brought under the special patronage of any annual conference, for more than twenty years!

The consequence was such as would be naturally expected. The literature of the Methodist Episcopal Church, struggling under such disadvantages, remained low. Most of our people who had the means of giving their sons a liberal education, were averse from putting them under the influence and instructions of such men as branded Methodism as a novel heresy, and might think it a good work to alienate them from it. Consequently, few who became Methodist preachers ever had it in their power to take a regular course in the higher branches of education: not to say that many of us, from the necessities of honest poverty, (which I suppose ought not to be reckoned to us a sin,) never had the means to find our way into a college, or even an academy or high school, had we been ever so

much disposed, or had there been institutions of these classes ever so much to our liking.

But, thanks to a gracious Providence, a brighter day now dawns upon our Church. Erecting colleges and seminaries, under the special patronage of the annual conferences, has become the order of the day. These have had the effect to raise the standard of literature among our people generally; and whatever does this, will, of course, exert a vast influence upon the literary character of our ministry. There is the clearest evidence of the truth of these remarks in all those conferences where these institutions are located. And in our own conference we have the clearest evidence that in these institutions lies the principal part of our remedy.

But still there seems to be upon the present system a want of adaptedness in them to several important points in the case, which it appears to me are perfectly within their reach. *The literature of the Bible* at present constitutes no part of the regular course pursued in these institutions. In my reflections upon this momentous subject, I have been led anxiously to inquire whether an improvement could not be effected in this respect, which would not be in the least prejudicial to the interests of general science, and which would render very effective service to the cause of ministerial education. It may be objected to this suggestion, that the alteration proposed would turn our *literary institutions* into *theological seminaries*, and this would of course cross their chartered limits, and be a breach of public faith. To this I would answer, that it is not intended, in the proposition, to introduce into these institutions, a *theological course;* but simply to teach *the literature of the Bible*. Using the Scriptures as a class book, as any other class book is used, i. e. teaching their languages, antiquities, geology, geography, chronology, natural history, &c., in our literary institutions, would no more turn them into theological seminaries, than teaching the Greek and Roman classics in them constitutes them mythological seminaries,—or seminaries for the purpose of educating heathen priests. Must a student necessarily become an apostle of the religion taught in his class book? Who ever supposed that all the students, in our higher seminaries of learning, were preparing themselves for teachers of the corruptions and fooleries of heathenism, merely because the Greek and Roman classics constitute a prominent part of their course? Surely this never entered the mind of any sensible person; and yet this would seem to be the natural and necessary consequence flowing from the ground assumed by the objector.

Though the sacred writings certainly have higher and holier claims upon our attention, yet their mere *literature* is of the first importance to the general scholar, whatever be the profession which he may pursue. This is most evident from the fact, that they contain authentic records of the highest antiquity; some parts of them being more ancient than any other book in existence: that they set forth a system of theology, principles of morals, and historical facts, concerning which, every man, and especially every scholar, is bound to make up an opinion. This obligation, if there were no other reason, would rest upon this fact, that the Scriptures contain and set forth the religion of the country in which we live. But how is any one to be qualified to make up a rational judgment upon the subject,

without consulting the only sufficient source of information? Merely as a magazine of interesting facts and useful knowledge, the Bible is by no means second to any other book in existence, in its claims upon the attention of the student and the scholar. It is, in fact, the only authentic record, in existence, of the creation of the world, the origin of nations, and the physical, civil, and moral revolutions of ancient times; and it reflects a world of light upon primitive usages and customs, which, but for this book, would have been, long since, shrouded in impenetrable darkness. How obvious, and how lamentable is the want of information, in these matters, in some of the wisest and most philosophical of the infidel writers. How often do they blunder, and absolutely beat the air, for want of a little Hebrew and Greek, and a slight acquaintance with the antiquities, laws, customs, &c., of the Jews, and the surrounding nations, alluded to in the Bible! Whether a man be a Christian, an infidel, or a skeptic, he is bound to make use of the best means in his power to acquaint himself with the Scriptures; and this he cannot do, as a scholar, without a thorough acquaintance with their literature. And if so, how has it come to pass that the fact is so entirely lost sight of in all our systems of general education? Have we not, by common consent, conceded, in this, to popery and infidelity almost every thing they could wish? For, surely, if the Bible possesses a fund of literature, to be found no where else, unless it be regarded as too mischievous in its tendency to be committed to our children, to be studied as they would study any other class book, how is it to be accounted for, that it has not a place in our literary institutions with the Greek and Roman classics?

An eloquent Christian orator* expresses himself upon this subject in the following forcible language:—"We have said that the Bible is the only original, pure, and inexhaustible fountain of thought, the only storehouse of the elements of universal literature, the only safe, unerring standard of taste: the richest, noblest specimen of the awful or the majestic, of the graceful or the beautiful. We have said that sacred literature sits enthroned amid the grandeur and serenity, the loveliness and purity, of her own heaven of heavens, far above the idolatrous temples of Grecian and Roman genius. We have said that the exclusion of the Scriptures from all our systems of education, even in a literary point of view, is an astonishing, a melancholy fact. We gaze on the long line of the institutions of literature, through the centuries that are past, and missing their first model, the Scriptures, we feel as the Roman when he beheld not the statue of Brutus or Cassius in the funeral procession of their families, '*Prefulget, qua non cernitur.*' But, like the Roman, we mourn, as a calamity, the banishment of its noblest ornament from so noble an array of genius and learning. Let us, pause, then, and inquire into the origin of this phenomenon." The cause this gentleman traces to the times of the reformation, and gives a condensed view of the subject in the following paragraph:—

"The Old Testament was in Hebrew, a language, at the time of the reformation, scarcely known to Christians. The founder of the modern school of Hebrew learning was Reuchlin, a Catholic, but

* Mr. Grimke, of Charleston, S. C.

the progress was very slow, and only a few engaged in its study.* The Hebrew, indeed, was not then, and never has been regarded, (to the disgrace of Christianity be it spoken,) as a classic, in point of language and style. Another principal reason for the exclusion of the Bible is found in the fact, that the study of its languages and history, of its evidences and antiquities, of its exegesis and connection with profane history, of its doctrines and mysteries, had always been considered peculiar to a theological course, and in no respect an appropriate part of general education: as though the Bible was not, in the language of Chillingworth, the religion of Protestants; and as though to be ignorant on these subjects were not disgraceful to any intelligent man who professes to have received a liberal education. Yet no provision has been made for it in systems of general education: doubtless, in some measure, because these things have been considered as confined to a theological course, which has been always decidedly sectarian. But a liberal course of truly Christian studies, not indeed of sectarian divinity, ought to constitute the noblest feature in liberal education, commencing in the family, continued in the school, expounded in the academy, still farther perfected in the college, and accomplished in the university."

That the improvements proposed would render our literary institutions much more effective helps in the work of ministerial improvement, no one can doubt; and that, it would be the smallest detriment to the interest of general science, I think no one can ever prove. But if this object were to be effected to an extent consistent with the purely literary character of these institutions, (and surely I would ask nothing more,) would not something still be wanting, in our plans for ministerial education, to give them full effect, and to render them adequate to the exigencies of the times? As things now are, and, as it is to be feared they may but too long continue, our candidates for the ministry are left with very little to aid them in plodding their way through the preparatory studies which we appoint them; and these are comparatively limited, and in several branches quite inadequate. *Regular instructions*, in a portion of these studies, if not absolutely necessary, are certainly of vast importance to the facile, thorough, and speedy execution of it. But what should be the particular *mode* and *circumstances* under which such instructions should be provided for in our Church, I will leave at present for the wisdom of the Church to determine. I shall content myself with simply showing the emergency, hoping that the combined wisdom of the Church may be put forth to devise plans for meeting it. What I insist upon is, that *some scheme for furnishing adequate instructions to our candidates for the ministry, in several important branches of knowledge, not provided for in any of our*

* We may form some idea of the ignorance even of the clergy in those days, from what Hersback relates. He states that he heard a monk announce from the pulpit to his audience, "They," I suppose the heretics, "have introduced a new language, called the Greek. This must be shunned. It occasions nothing but heresies. Here and there these people have a book in that language, called the New Testament. This book is full of stones and adders. Another language is starting up; the Hebrew. Those that learn it are sure to become Jews."

institutions, or in any existing regulations, is now important to the interests of our Zion.*

Perhaps it may not be amiss to turn aside, and answer an objection with which I may be met. It may be said, We have done well enough without such helps. God has signally owned and blessed the labors of the Methodist preachers, and there is consequently no call for an experiment of this kind; that our ministry has done more for the reformation of the world since our Church was organized, without a regular course of preparation for the work, than the ministry of any other Church has done with such a course, and therefore we do not need it. To all this I would reply,—

1. That we have done much without any such aids, I am free to acknowledge; and would indeed be the last to detract in the least from the vast amount of good which has resulted from the labors of those self-denying men who sustained such incredible toils, and braved so many dangers, in first planting the Gospel standard in the new settlements in our country. It is to their labours, under God, that I owe my spiritual birth, and under them I had all my early training. But the good which has been done does not prove to my satisfaction that the helps contemplated would not vastly increase our moral power: nor indeed does it at all convince me that, could they have been added to our present system, our ministry would not have done *vastly more* in the cause of moral reform, with them, than it has done without them. This part of the objection is indeed opposed to all improvement, of whatever name or nature. Had it been acted upon, it must have prevented the existence of our *literary institutions*, our *missionary society*, *Sabbath school associations*, our *Magazine*, and our *Advocate and Journal!* For it might have been objected to all these important auxiliaries to our Church, that "we have been greatly owned and blessed without them, therefore we do not need them!" Surely no stress ought to be laid upon an objection in this case, which, had it been acted upon, would have prevented our participation in some of the greatest schemes of benevolence which adorn the present age; and which, if we act upon them in future, will shut the door against all improvement, and keep our Church stationary, while all others are rushing forward with accelerated motion to keep pace with the improvements of the times.

* I leave the particular mode for the wisdom of the Church to decide at the proper time; as there are various and conflicting opinions as to this among those who would perfectly agree in the main principle, and as I wish not to trust the fate of my argument to the solidity of my particular notions of the best manner of doing the work. Perhaps any, and every mode which promises success, and is practicable, should be resorted to at once, without waiting to get up some general system. There might be voluntary associations, as classes, organized in connection with our literary institutions, embracing all the licensed preachers and exhorters belonging to those institutions, with others at discretion, for the purpose of studying Biblical criticism, under the instructions of the principal or one of the professors. And those young brethren who cannot have access to this means, might avail themselves of private instructions. And associations for the purpose of mutual improvement in science and Biblical literature might be organized in each annual conference, by which means the junior preachers might have the advice and instructions of their elder and more experienced brethren in some of their more difficult studies. These expedients, or any similar ones, would probably afford much relief to our young men, and materially facilitate their progress.

2. That God has greatly blessed our labors is true. But that a much greater blessing would have followed our labors, had we been able to call into our ranks annually a host of auxiliaries thoroughly imbued with science and Biblical learning, who can doubt? But that such auxiliaries are not loudly called for *now*, who will assert? Has God been wont less to bless the labors of those men who, in addition to deep piety, possessed also extensive learning, than of those who were not learned? I trust we have not forgotten our Wesley, our Fletcher, our Clarke, our Benson, and a host of others, who, though they were among the first in the republic of letters, were by no means among the last in their success in winning souls to Christ.

3. If it be admitted that the success of the Methodist preachers has been much greater than that of any other set of ministers, and if the disproportion were sevenfold greater than any one would pretend, yet it by no means follows, as a consequence, that the *Methodist preachers* have done more good than *they* would have done with some of the helps to ministerial improvement which some other ministers enjoy. And certainly it does not thence follow, that they will in future exert a wider and more salutary influence upon society, and more effectually aid in the great work of Christianizing the world, without them than with them. But to return:—

The call for more effective and systematic exertions on the part of the Church, in the business of ministerial education, arises from the increasing demands which are made for thoroughly educated ministers in our Church. The demand greatly exceeds the means we now have in operation of bringing them forward. Who has not observed, with the deepest interest, the rapid growth of our country; the rising up, as by some mighty enchantment, of towns and cities in every direction, the march of improvement in the arts and the sciences, and the earnest calls which this state of things brings up to us annually, from every part of the work, for *able ministers*? I know that our literary institutions, courses of study, &c., are doing much, under God, to provide the men. But the work goes on too tardily. Where one is well prepared to take the field, we want a score. And whereas many of us are now ten, or fifteen, and even twenty years, working our way, in connection with pastoral duties, through a course of Biblical studies, which should in most cases be considered preparatory, we ought to be able to accomplish it much more thoroughly in three or four years. We have all remarked the disadvantages which accrue to the Church from the course which some of our most talented ministers feel themselves compelled to pursue. During their two years' probation they have so much to study, and with so few helps, that they have little time for any thing else. After entering, they feel that they have *but just commenced* their course of reading and study, and that nothing should occasion a relaxation of their application to books, or retard them in their regular course. And so, at least in the opinion of many of the people, they prosecute their studies at the expense of regular pastoral duties. And who knows how much the work has actually suffered from this source? But that such ministers do themselves suffer indescribably, every one knows who has made the experi-

ment. And that it is no small source of mortification to be frequently called in question by the people for neglecting to visit them, and to feel that many things of more or less interest to the Church must be left undone, or a regular course of reading and study be abandoned, or but partially attended to, many have proved by sad experience. Many, influenced by these difficulties, have abandoned their regular course of studies early in their ministry, and have labored for many years, and perhaps will continue to do so through life, with but scanty literary qualifications. All these facts are perfectly obvious to every one who has been but a cursory observer of the Methodist ministry for these few years past. But what can we do, when so pressed by a sort of rivalry between the present and the remote claims of the Church? To be obliged to sacrifice the present and pressing interests of our Zion, to those which are remote, as we do by spending an undue amount of our time in study, and preparing for more efficient service in future, considering the importance which the present exigencies of the Church often assume, and the shortness and uncertainty of human life, is indeed a most fearful dilemma. But here we are: we have commenced in the work of the ministry with few qualifications. We have few helps: and now the tremendous alternative is before us, either to remain but poorly furnished for the work, and of course do comparatively but little good, or devote much of our time to the toilsome and arduous struggle of acquiring the requisite qualifications alone and unaided!

But where shall we find the remedy? This is the grand question. Should it be said, Increase the action of the present system by extending the course of study, and adding to the rigor of the examinations; this the slightest observation will convice us is impracticable. Our course of study is already complained of as being, under the circumstances, quite too extensive, and our examinations too rigorous; and the complaint is not without reason. For we require *much* reading and study in a *short time*, and without affording the least assistance. And should we require *more* in the same time, and add no facilities, the effect would necessarily be, that many will shrink from the task we appoint them, and will either abandon the object in despair, or go where they can be afforded means to qualify themselves for the work. And a few, a precious few only, who may have been favored with extraordinary opportunities in early life, or have extraordinary powers of mind, and vigor of constitution, will find their way into our itinerancy. This is a result much to be deprecated. But all past experience, and the philosophy of the human mind, prove that, without a miracle, it will be inevitable. Let us not then bind new burdens upon our young brethren, without giving them some additional strength or advantages to enable them to bear them.

But perhaps some may propose to continue those candidates who may be deficient in literary qualifications, upon trial three or four years. This would indeed have the effect to keep out of the conference some who are unqualified, who would otherwise enter. But it must be seen that it would not materially expedite the work of preparation. It would add no new facilities to bring forward the candidate sooner and better qualified for the work, and consequently would not meet the case. Any expedient whatever which gives the

student no *help* is inadequate, and not to be relied on in this case. *How we may furnish the candidate for the ministry the most effective aid in his preparatory studies*, is the grand question. And this inquiry comes within the range of the duties and responsibilities of the Church. The age of miracles is now passed; and the Church is as much thrown upon her own resources in providing means for the education of her ministers, as she is in providing means to carry on her missionary operations, or any other of her benevolent enterprises. Is it then anti-Christian or anti-Methodistic to say that she must address herself to this work just as she does in any of these departments of labor? That is, *she must provide the means*,—the means of ministerial education. Now how could a community or a nation ever raise up an adequate number of educated men for instructers in the public schools, for the learned professions, and to fill the offices of the government, without supplying the means of general education? No more can the Church supply her altars with the requisite number of thoroughly-educated ministers, without supplying the means of ministerial education? The cases are precisely parallel. For the studies which are now important to all those who have the means previous to their entering upon pastoral duties, can be pursued to as much greater advantage, under regular instructions, as any of the branches of a classical education. This will be obvious upon but a glance at some of these studies. A liberal course would embrace *Biblical criticism*, technically called hermeneutics; embracing exegesis of the Hebrew Bible, Septuagint, and the Greek Testament, with the principles of interpretation; *Biblical archaiology*, *geography*, and *chronology*; the *evidences*, *doctrines*, *morals*, and *institutions* of Christianity; and, finally, *ecclesiastical history*, *Church government*, and *practical theology*. And who would pretend that there is any less need of the assistance of competent instructers in order to the successful prosecution of these studies than in the study of the classics or the mathematics?

It will not avail any thing to object that many of our preachers have encompassed all these branches without the aid of regular instructions. For it may be answered, that many have mastered the Greek and Roman classics, a full course of mathematics, and run almost the whole circle of the sciences, without the advantages of a college course, or of regular instructions in any form. But does this prove that provisions for regular instructions in the sciences are unimportant or unnecessary? This no one will pretend. In both cases some few master spirits, unaided, may, by dint of application, and the force of extraordinary intellect, conquer the difficulties of an extensive course. But let any one who has made serious attempts at this, in either case, say whether the assistance of competent instructers would not have been an acceptable relief to his aching head, and as a cordial to his fainting spirit. But as to the great mass, without such aid, as well Biblical as merely literary students, they will remain at the foot of the hill of knowledge, and the world will be deprived of the services which, if they were enabled to ascend it, they would be prepared to render. Some have not the intellectual strength, others have not the perseverance, others have not the relish for hard study;—and a precious few, who have all these, have the iron constitution absolutely necessary for such a

work. And of these how great a part of their precious lives is spent in feeling their way through the dark, and in grappling with the ruggedness of the way, empty handed and without a guide? And much of this time, let it not be forgotten, had they been favored with the proper aid, might have been employed in active service for the benefit of society: but now this time is lost—absolutely and irrecoverably lost! And as we see these observations so often verified in those ministers whose public labors are likely to be of the greatest benefit to the world: whose services are most pressingly demanded in every direction, and whose days of public labor are at the most but too few for the interests of the Church; is it not high time that we were casting about for some grand remedy? Or, at least, that we were seeking some relief from an evil so threatening?

An argument of no little force, in favor of some provision for efficient aid in the study of the higher branches of theological literature, is derived from the advanced and constantly advancing state of *Biblical learning* in the country. An increasing attention is now paid to the original Scriptures; and the real importance of a knowledge of the languages in which our sacred books were written, to a minister of the Gospel, appears now to be universally felt and acknowledged. The originals are now studied and referred to as the last and highest authority, by theologians and preachers of all classes, orthodox and heterodox. So much is this the case, that it is thought disreputable for a minister, under ordinary circumstances, not to have some knowledge of them; and one is constantly liable to meet some antagonist who makes pretensions, either true or false, to a knowledge of the original languages of the Bible.

The famous German scholar, Dr. Jahn, observes: "Jerome, in his letter to Sophronius, says, 'A Jew, when disputing with you, and wishing to elude the arguments which you adduce, will affirm, as often as you quote any passage of the Old Testament, *It is not so in the Hebrew.*'" Such an opponent may every theologian now have; and if he is unacquainted with the original languages of the Bible, he must either have some Jerome at hand, whom he may consult, or he will be thrown into great perplexity, as he professes to teach what he has not himself learned. A dexterous opponent in theology, (and opponents there are in our age, both numerous and respectable for talents,) may not only answer like the Jew, for the sake of eluding your arguments from Scripture, but in serious earnest may reply, much oftener than is commonly supposed, that "the original does not convey the sentiment which you assign to the translation."

Professor Stuart gives his views upon this subject as follows: "1. No translation is or ever was made by inspired men; none, therefore, is secure, in all respects, from the effects of human frailty and error. The original Scriptures then are, and always must be, the only *ultimate* and *highest* source of appeal to establish any sentiment pertaining to doctrine or practice. Such has been the grand maxim of the most learned Protestants in all their disputes with the Roman Church.

"2. All revealed religion, or *Biblical theology*, depends solely on what is contained in the Scriptures. 'The Bible is the *only* and sufficient rule of faith and practice.' What this says is orthodoxy;

and what this does not say, or plainly imply, is not necessary to our faith and practice. The ultimate appeal, of course, in every point of theology, is the declarations of Scripture. It matters not, to the unprejudiced inquirer, what writers or preachers have inculcated as theology, if it be not supported by the word of God.

"3. Who is in the best situation to make and judge of the appeal in question; which, for the reason above stated, must always be made to the *original* Scriptures? The man who does not understand them, or the man who does? And is it desirable that a teacher of religion should be able, in case of dispute, or to satisfy his own mind, to make the *highest* appeal which can be made, to the book on whose decisions he depends for support?"

Professor Robinson, with his usual perspicuity and force, says:—"The day, we trust, has passed away, in which the body of our clergy will remain contented to receive their knowledge of our sacred books through the medium of mere translations, or on the authority of commentators. The spirit of the reformation is again at work; the rights of private judgment are beginning to be felt on this subject as they long have been on all others; and if these be exercised with proper dispositions, the results cannot but be most auspicious. To those who have reflected upon the subject, it cannot but be evident that an *intimate* acquaintance with those oracles of our religion can be acquired only by an attentive study of the originals. The great outlines of Divine truth are indeed so prominent and obvious, that no version, however inadequate, can entirely conceal them from view; so that even in the worst translation there may yet be found all that is essential to salvation. In this secondary form of translation, too, the great body of Christians in every country must necessarily be content to receive the Scriptures. But they who are to be the teachers of religion; who are expected to become familiar with the word of life, that they may illustrate its power, and enforce its application upon their fellow men, ought never to rest satisfied with the imperfect knowledge which can be acquired through the medium of versions."

To the testimony of these eminent scholars and theologians we add that of the venerated Wesley; which, though it was entered when sacred philology was comparatively in its infancy, is scarcely less conclusive:—"But can he do this in the most effectual manner," [i. e. "be mighty in the Scriptures; able to instruct and to stop the mouths of gainsayers,"] "without a knowledge of the original tongues? Without this, will he not be frequently at a stand, even as to texts which regard practice only? But he will be under still greater difficulties with respect to controverted scriptures. He will be ill able to rescue these out of the hands of any man of learning that would pervert them; for whenever an appeal is made to the original, his mouth is stopped at once."

To these views it is often objected, that we have the results of the labors of the most learned critics in our own language: and, as we cannot hope to exceed them in our knowledge of the original languages, but at best can obtain but a smattering, it is a useless expense of time and labor to attempt to learn them. To this it may be answered, that we must not suppose that all has been done by critics that can be done to any good purpose, by way of illustrating

the language of the sacred writings. That much has been done by learned and judicious commentators to remove difficulties and clear away obscurities from the Scriptures, will not be questioned; but the diligent student of the Bible and of sacred criticism, cannot but be convinced that much more remains to be done. And a share of this, by reading the originals, any one may do for himself, much more to his own satisfaction than another can do it for him. Indeed it is impossible that all the beauty, force, and shades of meaning, contained in the originals, should ever be fully developed by translators and commentators. If it could be done, as St. John says of a history of all the actions of Christ, "the world itself would not contain the books which would be written" upon the subject. But by a bare ability to read the originals with tolerable facility, the Biblical student is able to explain many passages, upon which he would find nothing satisfactory in the critics and commentators if he should search the whole of them. And it deserves farther to be remarked, that it is impossible for a person fully to enter into the labors of competent critics, without being able to see how they arrive at their conclusions: and this it is often impossible to do, without being able to follow them in their investigations of the original text. And how often do we meet with Greek and Hebrew words and sentences, and criticisms upon them, in the plainest commentaries upon the Bible, which the merely English scholar is either not able to understand at all, or which he sees so little force in, that he passes over them with little attention and no interest. Not to urge that modern theologians and critics throw so much of the ancient languages into their pages, without an attempt at translation, that it is little less than in vain for a person to attempt to read some of the most valuable of their works without some knowledge of those languages.

Another objection, which perhaps deserves a passing notice, is, that those who learn the dead languages commonly forget them again—and so lose their labor. To this it is sufficient to answer, that languages may be retained in the memory as well as any other kind of knowledge, provided they be constantly reduced to use, and this is the only way to retain the knowledge of any branch of science. *Constant reading* will enable the student of the originals not only to retain what knowledge he has of them, but to make daily improvement in that knowledge. And it is truly mysterious that a minister of the Gospel, of sound judgment and good taste, who has been at the great pains of learning these languages, should throw them by and forget them. His object in learning them should be that he might more profitably read, and better understand God's word. He should therefore make it a part of his daily duties, and he would find it a pleasing and profitable exercise to read the Bible by course in the original languages. This course would not fail to familiarize these languages to his mind, and to imbue his soul with the spirit and sentiments of the lively oracles of God.

And these views most unquestionably present a powerful plea for adequate provisions for instructions in the languages in which the Scriptures were written. I grant that these languages may be advantageously studied, under some circumstances, without regular instructions; and that the study of them is earnestly to be recom-

mended to every minister who has health and advantages to do so. But how much the regular assistance of a competent teacher would *facilitate* his progress, I need scarcely urge.* It is, indeed, cause of gratitude and congratulation, that such are now the facilities for acquiring a knowledge of Greek and Hebrew, that a tolerable knowledge of these languages may now be said to be within the reach of every thorough and diligent student. We have improved grammars of the Greek language, and Greek and English lexicons, both classical and Biblical, containing the results of the researches of able linguists. The works of the great Hebraist, Gesenius, upon the grammar and lexicography of the Hebrew language, are given us in an English dress; the grammar by Professor Stuart, and the lexicon by Professor Gibbs. So that we are now no longer under the necessity of acquiring Greek and Hebrew through the medium of the Latin, but are conducted directly to the best sources of information in our own vernacular tongue; through which means the student is saved a world of painful labor and vexation in the acquisition of them.

The following remarks of Professor Stuart upon the study of the languages are so much to my purpose, that I hope I need make no apology for inserting them:—"If a man really loves study,—has an eager attachment to the acquisition of knowledge,—nothing but peculiar sickness or misfortune will prevent his being a student, and his possessing, in some good degree, the means of study. The fact is, that when men complain of want of time for study, and want of means, they also show that, after all, they are either attached to some other objects of pursuit, or have no part nor lot in the spirit of a student. They will applaud others, it may be, who do study, and look with some degree of satisfaction, or a kind of wonder upon their acquisitions; but, for themselves, they cannot spare the time nor expense necessary to make such acquisitions, or they put it to the account of their humility, and bless themselves that they are not *ambitious*. In most of all these cases, however, either the love of the world, or genuine laziness, lies at the bottom. Had they more energy and decision of character, and did they redeem the precious moments that they lose in laboriously doing nothing, or nothing to the purpose of the Church, they might open all the treasures of the east and the west, and have them at their disposal. I might safely promise a good knowledge of Hebrew and Greek to most men of this sort, if they would diligently improve the time that they absolutely throw away in the course of three or four years. While one man is deliberating whether he had better study a language, another man has attained it. Such is the difference between decision and energetic action, and a timid, hesitating, and indolent manner of pursuing literary acquisitions. And what is worst of all in this temporizing class of students, is, that if you reason with them, and convince them that they are pursuing a wrong course, that conviction operates no longer than until the next paroxysm of indolence, or a worldly spirit comes on. These syren charmers lull every ener-

* The assistance necessary in conquering the grammatical forms of the languages, may be had in the academies where they are taught. But what I have particularly in view, in this connection, is a *critical reading* of the Hebrew Bible and the Greek Testament; embracing the study of the peculiar idioms and *usus loquendi* of these languages, not now provided for in the literary institutions.

getic power of the mind to sleep. The mistaken man, who listens to their voice, finds himself at the age of forty just where he was at thirty. At fifty his decline has already begun. At sixty, he is universally regarded with indifference, which he usually repays with misanthropy. And if he has the misfortune to live until he is seventy, every body is uneasy because he is not transferred to a better world."

It is no wonder that to such men the study of languages is intolerably hard and dry. This is, in fact, the case with every other study that lays a tax upon their diligence and patience. But I must not be understood to denounce all who do not engage in the study of the languages. Undoubtedly there are many, very many, of my fellow laborers whose age, health, and opportunities for prosecuting these studies are such, that it would be altogether improper for them to undertake them. "Nor," says the gentleman just quoted, "am I such a strenuous advocate for the studies in question, as to maintain that no cases can occur where young men should not be licensed to preach," [and ordained too,] "without the knowledge of them. Does not the Church need teachers of all degrees of knowledge? May not ardent piety, united with good sense, inculcate the fundamental principles of religion, and be the means of saving multitudes, though it is associated with a very moderate stock of learning? I answer, without hesitation, in the affirmative. The Church needs in her service officers of all ranks; and soldiers too may surely be employed to a very valuable purpose. Every day's experience shows this where the trial is made. And thus, too, did the primitive Christians, 'They that were scattered abroad, went every where preaching the word;' that is, publishing the doctrines of the Gospel. These were not apostles, but Christians of the common rank. I should not hesitate a moment in employing pious men of all degrees of knowledge, *to teach what they are adequate to teach.*"

These would be but common-place observations, coming from a *Methodist.* I have quoted them with approbation, not only to show that this eminent theologian and scholar has, as the result of his own observation, arrived at the same results with Mr. Wesley, and taken up the principles upon which he organized the Methodist ministry,—but also that there might not be left the shadow of a reason for a supposition, from what I have advanced upon this subject, that I have forsaken those principles.

But, before I leave this point, I must notice another material deficiency in the means of education. I refer to the entire want of pecuniary provisions for the education of young men of approved piety and gifts, who have not the means to support themselves at school. Many such there are who *feel an inward drawing* to the high and holy relation of a minister of the Gospel. But they have not the literary qualifications which they see to be necessary to the office, and they have not the *means* to sustain themselves at school. Some of these young men are struggling *slowly* along, by teaching school, or attending to some other employment, for the greater part of the year, and attending school the remainder of the time. In this way they *lose much time.* If some provision were made for their *gratuitous education*, so that they might be permitted to devote the whole of their time and strength to their studies, at some one of our literary institutions, more than half of their time would be saved to

the Church, and they would come forward much better furnished for the work. But there are still others who, unable to sustain themselves at school, and knowing that the Church has made no provision for them, shrink from the least approach to the duty to which they feel themselves called, and are in their shops, or offices, or fields, withering and dying under that fearful wo which constrained Paul to assume the awfully responsible work of a watchman, upon the walls of Zion. Can nothing be done to bring out these men, and to afford them encouragement and aid under the heart-breaking pressures and difficulties of their condition? Might not education societies be organized in every annual conference, for this purpose? And if a plan for such societies were carried out among our people, can it be possible that they would draw tight their purse-strings with one hand, and raise up the other in annual supplications to our bishops, for *more able ministers* to fill their circuits and stations? Let them know that the men are already called, "*moved by the Holy Ghost*," and are panting to be thrust out into the field, but are *delayed* and *held back* by the stern hand of want. Let them know that the means to prepare a host of vigorous, effective, and acceptable laborers are in their own hands, and that if they will furnish them, they shall be economically and faithfully applied: and I doubt not these means will be forthcoming; and the gates of our Zion will soon be made glad by reason of an abundant supply of watchmen upon her walls. Upon this subject I feel much, and could say much, but have not time now to enlarge. A hint only must suffice: and with this I must dismiss this part of my subject, already protracted to a tedious length.

II. The *second* cause which I shall notice, as operating unfavorably upon the cause of ministerial improvement, is the defects which I conceive to exist in our courses of study.

The first I shall notice is, that in these courses we begin too low. All the courses I have seen, take it for granted that the student may be ignorant of the common branches of an English education,—such as English grammar, geography, &c.: and consequently prescribe the small elementary works upon these subjects, used in the common schools. Now, how is any one to begin with the very elements of an English education,—pass through the sciences,—study theology,—and attend to the duties of a travelling preacher at the same time, within the term of *two years!* It strikes me forcibly that the time has gone by, when these small studies should stand upon the catalogue of studies appointed for candidates for admission into the annual conferences. That *now*, no person (except under very extraordinary circumstances) ought to receive a license to preach, or even to exhort, without a knowledge of the lower branches of an English education. At least, as many of them as a child of eight or ten usually masters in our common schools. But so long as men commence these branches, and commence travelling a circuit simultaneously, so long we shall continue to find many of them deficient, even in the common branches, when they come to be examined at the end of two years.

Another defect is in the catalogue of books. This often consists in a list of books, jumbled together without much classification or order. And commonly so many of them upon the several branches,

that the student is lost in the maze, or absolutely discouraged. The course prescribed in this conference has been several times revised and improved. And it is probable that it will be judged expedient to revise it again, and to substitute some new works, which have come before the public since it was drawn up, for some now upon the catalogue, of less value, or less adapted to such a course.*

Another defect is the want of suitable *text books.* Upon several of the branches, this has hitherto been a deficiency of no small magnitude. A text book for our candidates should embody the subject in as close and compendious a form as possible, and be characterized by a perspicuous and natural method. It is therefore to be hoped that the time is not far distant when our committee will not be under the necessity of putting into the hands of our candidates a series of volumes, or a pile of pamphlets, upon any one subject, but will be able to supply them with suitable text books upon all the branches. When this shall be the case a great difficulty will be removed.

The last defect I shall notice arises from our manner of examining the candidates. We examine them on all the branches prescribed, from the first to the last, *at the same time.* The prospect of such a terrible seige so excites some of the candidates as to induce them to overact; and so overwhelms others with dread, that they either recede from the fiery ordeal, or enter it void of all self confidence, and are not able to answer questions which are at other times perfectly familiar to them. If the studies were divided into two parts, and one portion of them appropriated to the first year, and the remainder to the second, and an examination had at the end of each year, it would undoubtedly much relieve the candidate, and enhance the utility of these examinations.†

But an improvement of much greater importance than any here suggested, is the extension of the course to *four years.* It is a lamentable fact that some of our young men exert themselves commendably until they are admitted; and when they have passed the straits they relax their efforts, and sometimes appear to give them entirely over. But if they were to be subjected to four successive examinations, they would continue to apply themselves to their studies until they had acquired a competent stock of knowledge, and formed regular habits of study. But until this arrangement shall be made by the General Conference, we hope in this conference to find a partial remedy, at least, for the evils of the present system, in the annual examinations of this association.

III. The *third* cause of the want of literature among us arises from the fact that many are prematurely called into the work. So numerous and pressing are the calls for laborers in our opening fields, that we often employ young men of few or no scientific attainments, and scarcely any theological knowledge; and give them so much work to do, that they have very little time for pursuing a regular course of studies. Many of these, could they have time and means, would be amply furnished for the work. But now it is next to impossible, or at least so very difficult, that but few such ever attain the object. It has ever appeared to me much better

* This was accordingly done. † This arrangement was adopted by the conference.

that the work should suffer a temporary inconvenience, than that the Church should be ultimately deprived of an able ministry. It is urged in excuse for this policy that the necessities of the Church are great. Of this I am by no means insensible. And it is for this very reason that the best care should be taken of all the materials which can be wrought into efficient instruments of usefulness. None of these should be spoiled by calling them into use prematurely. If we compel our young men to buckle on the harness before they have acquired the strength and vigor necessary to sustain and use it to advantage, they will quite break down under its weight: or, at best, their growth will be so stinted and cramped that they will for ever remain dwarfs. I have, to my deep regret, seen this observation verified in very many instances. It is not a case of rare occurrence for young men who had made a fair beginning in their literary pursuits, and were successfully prosecuting their studies, under competent instructers, to be torn from their appropriate work, and put upon a circuit or station. Here they relinquish their scientific pursuits, and turn their attention to sermonizing, in which they are obliged to occupy most of their hours of study. Not having gone far enough in the elements of general science to enable them to pursue their course under so many difficulties, and without assistance, much of their former labor is lost. And here, very frequently, it may be said of them, '*They have finished their studies.*'

But is this good economy? Is it the most successful course to meet the continued and multiplied calls of the Church for efficient laborers? Is it not cutting off our resources, and perpetuating the very evils it is designed to cure? In bringing forward a young man, a regard should no doubt be had to circumstances. As some will be prepared for the work much sooner than others, under the same circumstances, no invariable rule should be established as to the time they should occupy in preparatory studies. But when a young man has acquired sound practical knowledge sufficient to enable him to labor acceptably and successfully as a preacher, and to prosecute his theological investigations in connection with ministerial duties, he may then safely be employed, whether he has been preparing a longer or a shorter time.

It is found a very difficult task to unite much study with so much ministerial labor as is required of a Methodist travelling preacher. He has to preach from three to ten times a week: he has to visit the sick, to bury the dead, to administer the discipline, to attend to the interests of the great benevolent institutions, and to those of the Book Concern, &c., &c. With all this labor upon his hands and heart, after preparing himself to meet his congregations, what time will he be likely to find for a systematic course of study? If he finds any time for this purpose, and certainly if he finds time to prosecute the study of the sciences, in connection with theology, it can only be by a close and uniform attention to the rules of a preacher, laid down in the Discipline:—'Be diligent. Never be unemployed. Never be triflingly employed. Never trifle away time. Never spend any more time at any place than is strictly necessary. Be punctual. Do every thing at the time.' A close attention to these rules was the grand secret of the Herculean labors performed by

Mr. Wesley. And the same attention upon our part will not fail, under any ordinary circumstances, to secure to us at least respectable qualifications for the work. But, alas! how few of us, my brethren, strictly adhere to them? In consequence of this irregularity, an attention to our official duties consumes all our time, and we have none left for study.

It is indeed cause of great joy and gratitude to the great Head of the Church, that he has thrust the Methodist preachers into so many open doors, and has rendered them the instruments of so much good. But there are new doors daily opening, that we shall not be able to enter, but which will be entered by others, unless the literary character of our ministry generally assume more elevated ground. In order to this a spirit of emulation and enterprise, upon the subject of literature, must be diffused through the whole mass! (And that this will soon be the case, if I am not mistaken, there is daily and increasing evidence.) And if it should not be judged best speedily to enter upon some new and well-concerted project for the more rapid and thorough training of our young preachers, we must make the very best use of the means we have already in operation, and the plans we have already on foot must be followed up with system and energy. Unless this is the case we cannot rationally indulge the hope that we shall be able to meet the expectations of the American public, or fill the sphere of action to which we are evidently called by the providence of God.

IV. The *fourth* cause of the evil complained of which I shall notice, is the want of method in reading and study. Some pursue no method at all. They read just as the fit takes them,—and any book that may chance to fall in their way. They read no book regularly, but a little in this and a little in that, and finally know little or nothing about any. Ask such a man whether he has read the most common work, and he will probably answer, "I have read a part of it." But if such readers get through a work, it is in so desultory a manner that they can give little account of what it contains. A book that is worth any more attention than barely to look over the table of contents, in most cases, should be thoroughly read. And very few books which we do not intend to *study*, as well as read entirely through, should occupy our attention for an hour after gaining a general idea of their contents. To this observation, however, I should of course except all works of reference. But he that would read to purpose must not only read diligently, but he must read *methodically*. He must always have a book on hand which he is reading and *studying* by course.

Others there are who *read too much*, and *reflect too little* upon what they read. They throw more materials upon the mind than it can retain or digest; and so great part of their labor goes for nothing. And there are still others who read *too slow*. They are so long going through a book, and their reading seasons are so "few and far between," that the chain of thought is broken, and the author is not comprehended. The subject studied exists in the minds of such readers in disjointed parts and broken fragments, and adds little or nothing to their stock of knowledge.

Light and unprofitable reading is too frequently indulged in. Some there are who read little or nothing excepting periodicals;—news-

papers, magazines, &c. Though this species of reading has its use, yet it should not be made a leading object, much less should it constitute the whole range of a minister's literary resources.

V. The *fifth* cause of the evil under consideration, at which I would just hint, is a want of taste for reading and study. It is a happy circumstance that this evil is every day subsiding. Still, however, we have reason to fear that it does exist, even now, in too many instances. The evidence of the fact, and the mischief it occasions, I cannot now enlarge upon. I would, however, just say that though I am far from having a disposition to make unkind reflections upon any class of ministers, yet I cannot but feel that the advice of Mr. Wesley, and of our excellent Discipline to such as have "no taste for reading," is most just and appropriate: "Contract a taste for it by use, or return to your former employment." For I can but think that the man who engages in the ministry without a taste for books, and is not able to contract such a taste by use, has sadly mistaken his appropriate calling; and that he cannot remain in it without great hazard to the Church.

VI. The *sixth* and last source of the difficulty complained of, is the want of books upon sacred criticism. Though this reason may now scarcely be said to exist, yet we still feel the chilling effects of the iron age which is but just passed. Your speaker, though but of yesterday, can recollect reading every word of Wood's Dictionary of the Bible for the sake of the scraps of Biblical criticism which are found scattered through the work; and also studying thoroughly, and by course, Wesley's Notes upon the New Testament, as furnishing the best exposition of the sacred text within his reach. But thanks to Providence, and, under Providence, to the editors and publishers of our books, that the more recent race of our preachers are not so straitened. We now have learned and critical commentaries upon the whole Bible, with many other critical works, upon detached parts of the Scriptures, having for their object the illustration of their language, and a faithful exhibition of their doctrines. And we confidently hope that the time is not far distant when there will be no lack of books in any department of sacred literature, in the catalogue issued from our own press. And if I may be permitted, I would here suggest an opinion that a periodical of a highly literary and critical character, issued from our press, appears to be a desideratum. It is a mortifying fact that we are doing but little upon the subject of Biblical criticism. And, indeed, we scarcely know what is doing in this and other countries upon this subject, only as we go abroad for information. If we had a periodical in which should be published translations of select articles from the German critics, critical notices of new foreign publications, with reviews of the new works which are published at home and abroad, it would, at least in the judgment of your humble speaker, make a work which would be a vast means of improvement to the Methodist ministry in Biblical learning. And I should be sorry to doubt whether such a work would be sustained. If none but the travelling and local preachers, or all the travelling and *half* the local preachers were to take each a copy, it ought to pay the expenses of editing and publishing. Look at what our Presbyterian brethren are doing in this way! Their quarterlies are sent out from

all the great cities, and many of the large towns in the union. They are ably conducted and well sustained. The work I would have, need not interfere in the least with the Magazine.* That should be a popular work, this should be highly literary and critical; and should call out powerful pens which are now slumbering, and no doubt will continue to slumber until some such vehicle of communication is introduced. But I must now hasten to a conclusion, with a few words to the members of this association.

Brethren of the society, this is the first anniversary of this association. Its formation affords cheering evidence that the spirit of enterprise is at work among us; that there is a disposition not only to use the ordinary means of improvement, but to put forth new and extraordinary efforts to raise the tone of literature in our conference. The measure was entered upon as an experiment; not knowing what might be its result; yet hoping that it would at least furnish new stimulants to mental efforts, and no inconsiderable aid to such as are pursuing a regular course of advanced studies. Hence its formation met with general approbation, and was, indeed, hailed by many with a high degree of joy. What may yet be the success of the enterprise is, perhaps, problematical. But we can but hope that this association is destined either to run a long and brilliant course, or to be merged in something still better calculated to effect the high object of its organization.

But that it may succeed to our wishes, *two* things are indispensable. *Energy* and *concert*. Without the former, it will die a lingering death: and without the latter, it will expire by the violence of its professed friends. It is for us to say what it shall become, and what influence it shall exert upon the subject of mental improvement within our bounds. Though it proffers its benefits to all classes of the preachers, yet it is hoped that it will be found especially beneficial to the younger members of the conference. To them it will serve as a guide in their course, and its annual examinations will operate as a spur to diligence. Indeed we hope it may prove a nucleus around which shall be encircled all the mental and moral power of the conference, and that every member will feel himself sacredly bound to further its great objects by every exertion in his power. This it is particularly desirable should be the case with

* These are very important suggestions. But we would submit whether the Magazine and Quarterly itself might not be improved into such a work? With a view to its enlargement and literary improvement, the present editor, soon after he came into office, submitted a paper to one of our oldest and most respectable annual conferences, recommending such improvements as should comprehend a greater variety of critical and literary pieces; but so little attention was paid to these suggestions, that the paper was merely read, and laid on the table, and never taken up for consideration. The editor has also, on a variety of occasions, urged this subject upon his brethren without receiving scarcely a cordial respond by way of encouragement; but he still hopes that measures will be adopted both for the enlargement of this work, and for the improvement of its character, literary and scientific, by enlisting the talents and securing the labors of able and industrious correspondents. A reference to its pages, even in its present small size, will show that there is room enough for many more original compositions than are admitted. And surely it cannot be expected that an editor, from his own resources merely, can furnish original matter to fill and enrich the pages of such a work. While, therefore, we thank our brother for his suggestions, we invite a continuance of his favors, as well as the pens of others to render the pages of this periodical the more valuable.—Editor.

the leading members, that their example may act upon the junior preachers. Finally: let us all recollect that we are not acting for ourselves, nor for the present generation merely: but that our conduct, and particularly our plans for improvement, will affect posterity to the end of time; and that it is perfectly within our power to bring upon ourselves the blessings of future ages. Generations yet unborn may look back to the organization of this society as to a new and interesting era in the literary history of this conference. Let us then, brethren, take hold of the work like men, and give "a long pull, and a strong pull, and a pull all together," and nothing shall obstruct our progress or mar our success; but our most enlarged expectations shall be realized.

REED'S AND MATHESON'S NARRATIVE.

A Narrative of the Visit to the American Churches, by the Deputation from the Congregational Union of England and Wales. By ANDREW REED, D. D., *and* JAMES MATHESON, D. D.

WE have become so accustomed to the abuse of foreign travellers, that whenever we take up a book of travels, purporting to be written by a British tourist in the United States, we are prepared to con over pages of misrepresentation, calumny, and ridicule. We expect, indeed, to see our institutions the butt of sarcasm, our manners caricatured, our country defamed, and our usages, civil and religious, severely criticised. Nor are we at all displeased at having our faults told us plainly, if their exposure be accompanied with an apparent desire that they should be corrected, and with a suitable allowance for those foibles which arise out of our youth and inexperience, and which are characteristic, less or more, of all nations; for we no more consider ourselves exempt from the common frailties of human nature, nor yet from actual faults which might and therefore ought to be corrected, than we expect to be treated with justice by a bigoted foreigner.

Whether it be a lingering resentment which is still fostered against us for asserting our independence, and maintaining our civil and religious rights, or a spirit of jealousy on account of our growing prosperity, or whether it be owing to that partiality which all true patriots feel for their own domestic firesides and political peculiarities, or whether all these things co-operate to produce their appropriate results, it seems that most of English tourists who have visited our shores, and have published the results of their observations, have betrayed a want of that candor and strict regard to justice and truth which should characterize all who write for the information of the public.

As before remarked, we do not complain that our defects are noticed, if it be done in a becoming manner, nor that our character should be critically analyzed, if allowance be made for those frail-

ties which are inseparable from human nature. But it appears to us unreasonable to expect that perfection in America which can be found nowhere else. If all the inhabitants of England were angels and not men—if every stage driver, every innkeeper, farmer, and mechanic, in England, exhibited the perfections of polished gentlemen, the profound thought of a thorough-bred philosopher, and every rustic exemplified the graces of a well-educated and practical Christian,—then might the American stage drivers, innkeepers, farmers, and mechanics be held up as objects of reproach by English writers for not showing off to the best advantage all the elegances of refined life, and all the intelligence and grace of a genuine Christian. And even though those persons in America, holding the same stations in society as those in older countries, may fall beneath them in their general demeanor, it may not be so much owing to themselves as to their circumstances—circumstances over which they have no control—and to which therefore they are compelled to bow whether they will or not.

The manners of different nations are formed, in a great measure, from the institutions under which they live. Those who have had their birth and education where monarchy is established, and where the nobility form a distinct class, into whose presence the common people dare not intrude but with their hats under their arms, and in the posture of inferiors, necessarily contract a different form of manners from those who have grown up in a republic, where distinctions are less artificial, and where the tests of human character are principally moral worth and integrity, intelligence and patriotism. We do not say, indeed, that these tests belong exclusively to republics, nor yet that they are always resorted to for the purpose of selecting such a man as the nation shall delight to honor. But what we mean to say is this:—that in an aristocratical country, where the king and nobility tower up above the rest of the nation to such a height that they are accustomed to look down upon those below them with a sort of scornful indifference—where wealth marks the boundaries between man and man—there is such a wide gulf between the one and the other, that they are unapproachable by that sort of familiarity which is exemplified in those countries where a greater equality generally prevails; and that this circumstance, of itself, forms a difference in the manners of the p ople; and, furthermore, that this ought to be taken into the account in the estimate which is made of the character of different nations.

Without pretending to deliver a lecture upon the qualifications of a traveller in foreign lands, to enable him to make a judicious use of his opportunities for remarks on the character of the people he may visit, we may be permitted to say that such a one ought, as far as possible, to divest himself of all partiality for his own country,

its customs, habits, institutions, and manners—otherwise he will but detail his own partialities and prejudices—he will spread before his readers his own views of right and wrong, of proprieties and improprieties, instead of exhibiting facts as they are, and of delineating characters, customs, and habits, as they exist in real life. Those who place themselves upon the iron bedstead which has been thus prepared for them, must cut and mangle to an alarming extent, to make all others fit it, or be thrown aside as too long or too short. Nor is it less exceptionable to infer the character of a nation from the opinions and conduct of a few—to conclude that that belongs to the whole which is peculiar to one class, to one individual of a class, or to one section of a country. From not observing this most obvious rule, some who have hastily traversed our country, have made their remarks from conversations in stages, steam boats, and at public houses, without spending one moment's time in exploring the heart and soul of society in order to ascertain the true state and character of the nation.

These remarks apply chiefly to such as have visited our country from political motives, for amusement, or merely for the sake of enlarging the boundaries of their knowledge of mankind by actual observation. The reports of these travellers have often been as destitute of truth and candor as their authors were of proper qualifications to make a just estimate of the human character. And as for those whose infamous libels scarcely deserve a serious refutation, who, like Basil Hall, and others, denounce every thing American which does not coincide with their partialities, we cannot expect them to treat us with any degree of truth or justice; and hence their caricatures fall harmless at our feet.

From Drs. Reed and Matheson we had a right to expect better things, and we rejoice that in many respects we have not been disappointed. Though they evidently came here under an impression that we had far degenerated from our fathers, and with a determination to be displeased with many things, which they had been informed were not as they should be, or of which they had imbibed imperfect or confused notions, yet it is manifest that they were prepared to put a favorable construction on every thing as far as their prejudices would allow. If they had not previously made up their minds to be discommoded, why was it that almost the first thing they inquired for, on their entrance into a public house in the city of New-York, was a single-beded room? They certainly must have taken it for granted, probably from such gossipping writers as Mrs. Trollope, that such a thing was a rare luxury at an American hotel, or they would have asked simply to be accommodated with a room and a bed. And then, behold, they were annoyed amazingly because, coming into the inn at an unseasonable hour, and not representing

themselves as strangers who had just arrived, and asking for refreshment, they were put off with some cake and cheese, instead *of* a regular meal. Was not this their own fault? Had they made known their character and circumstances, we dare venture to say that there was provision enough; if not in the house, at least in the city, and servants enough to prepare it, to satisfy the most voracious appetites. Thus they transfer their own blunder to the fault of the innkeeper. We merely select this instance to sustain the truth of our assertion, that these reverend travellers, who came to serve a Master who had not where to lay His head, were not free from that petulance, so characteristic of our nature, and from that prejudice which is so apt to show itself in our transatlantic visiters.

Allowing that there are many excellences in the volumes before us; enough to insure them a favorable reception, at least to a certain class of readers; yet there is, in our estimation, one fault which pervades the whole performance, and ought, therefore, to induce caution in the reader how he receives what is here related. These tourists were clergymen of the Congregational Union of England and Wales. They came on a pastoral visit to the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches of this country. And if they had confined their published remarks to these denominations only, we should not be disposed to find any fault with either their eulogies or censures, had they been just or unjust. In that case it would have been a business of their own, and of their immediate brethren: and if they had committed faults or made erroneous statements, they would have injured comparatively few beside their own denomination. But instead of pursuing this course, apparently without going beyond the precincts of their own immediate circle for information, they have made remarks, and stated, as facts, things respecting others as opposite to truth and charity, as is the zenith to the nadir. This we shall show in the course of our remarks.

Instead of sowing beside all waters, they merely traced the stream of Presbyterianism and Congregationalism, which they found, in general, tolerably pure, while, if they deigned to cast a look at any other of the many rivulets which water the land, it was to pronounce them impure, or to throw across them a broken plank, that the next traveller might beware how he ventured upon it. Now we should have supposed that if they intended to give an impartial account of the sects of Christians in our country, they would have searched the records of their Churches, have associated with their leading ministers, and have opened an impartial and fraternal intercourse with them all. Did they do this? If they did they have strangely falsified facts. If they did not, they have written in the dark, and hence may put in the plea of ignorance as an apology for their egregious

mistakes. In either case they forfeit the public confidence. They cannot be relied on as vouchers. We are aware that this is saying much. But we shall sustain ourselves by unquestionable authority.

There is another capital fault running through these hastily compiled volumes; it is the air of dogmatism and egotism so apparent in almost every page. Dr. Reed especially, who holds himself responsible for the first and most of the second volume, assumes the air of an *ex-cathedra* teacher, never dreaming that he is a fallible mortal, but pronounces judgment upon every thing which comes under his notice, with all the confidence of plenary inspiration. Of his egotism, take his account of a camp meeting which he attended. Although as a descriptive piece merely, drawn up for the sake of dramatical effect, it shows the hand of a master, yet it is so manifest that he is the principal *personæ dramatis*, that it becomes absolutely disgusting to good taste. Till "I," Andrew Reed, "arose in Israel," all was wrong—the singing, the praying, exhortation, and preaching, were wrong—but no sooner did I arise and preach, than the troubled elements were hushed, order arose out of confusion, and affectation gave place to sincerity. That the reader may judge for himself, we give him the account. It is as follows:—

"It was now the hour of morning worship. The pulpit was full; the seats were covered with waiting worshippers. I approached the stand; and was welcomed by the brethren. We rose and united in a hymn of praise. I had never, in such circumstances, joined in offering such worship. I could scarcely tell what sensations possessed me. I hope I was not void of those which are devotional, but I was chiefly filled for the moment with those of wonder. When I looked around on the scene which had broken so suddenly upon me, every thing was so novel, so striking, and so interesting, as to appear like the work of enchantment, and to require time fully to realize.

"But I must endeavor to give you some of the services in detail, as you will desire exact information. The singing, to which I have referred, was followed by prayer and a sermon. The text was, 'If God spared not his own Son,' &c. The preacher was a plain man, and without education; and he had small regard either to logic or grammar. He had, however, as is common to such persons, an aspiration after high-sounding terms and sentiments, which stood in strange opposition to the general poverty and incorrectness of his expressions. The proposition, for instance, raised on his text was this:—That the gift of Christ to sinners is the thing set forth with most life, animation, and eloquence, of any thing in the world. Such a proposition, though badly propounded, was of course above such a man; but though what he said did but little for his proposition, it was said with earnestness and pious feeling, and it told on the plain and serious portions of his audience. He was followed by a brother of higher qualifications, who took up the close of his subject, and addressed it to the conscience with skill and effect. The exhortation was terminated by an invitation to come and take a seat within the altar. These seats were, when wanted, in other

words, the anxious seats; two of them were cleared, and a suitable hymn was sung, that persons might have time to comply. Very few came; chiefly a mother with her boy, who had previously seemed to court notice. The lad had indulged in noisy crying and exclamation; he was in the hand of an indiscreet parent, and had not been sufficiently discouraged by the ministers. The exhortations, and then the singing, were renewed; but still with small effect, as to the use of the prepared seats; and so this service closed. Whatever may be the claims of the anxious seat, it was a hazardous experiment, where it was evident the previous services had produced no deep and controlling impression.

"The afternoon service was very similar in arrangement and in effect. The text was, 'Let the wicked man forsake his way,' &c.; but the preacher certainly made a feeble use of a powerful passage. It was interrupted, too, by a noisy and intemperate man, who had found his way hither; yet it was followed by exhortations superior to itself, and an urgent appeal to the people to come forward and separate themselves. The results were not better than before. The only apology for thus pressing under unfavorable circumstances was, that the meetings had been held now for three days; that the solemn services of the Sabbath had just passed over the people; and the worthy ministers were anxious for visible fruit, not only as arising from the present appeal, but from past impressions.

"These were the more public and regular services; but other engagements were always fulfilling. The ministers were invited by their friends to the several tents, to exhort, and sing, and pray, so that when they ceased in one place, they were renewed in another. And at all times those who liked to gather within the altar, and sing, were allowed to do so; and as, when they were weary, others came up and supplied their places, the singing was without ceasing.

"What you cannot escape wearies you. The services had been long, and not very interesting; and still the singing was continued. After getting some refreshments with kind friends, I was glad to stroll away into the forest, and to ruminate on what I had seen and heard. Now that I had leisure to admire, it was a lovely evening. Through many a green alley I wandered; and often did I stop and gaze on those exquisite combinations of light, shade, and picture, which forest scenery supplies on a fair summer evening. In all my wanderings, the singing followed me, and was a clew to my return; but it now formed a pleasing accompaniment to my solitary walk, for it did not force itself on the ear, but rose and fell softly, sweetly, on the evening breeze.

"Soon, however, the hoarse notes of the horn vibrated through the air, and summoned me to return. It was the notice for worship at sundown; and as there is little twilight here, the nightfall comes on suddenly. I hastened to obey the call, and took my place with the brethren on the preachers' stand. The day had now expired, and with it the scene was entirely changed, as if by magic, and it was certainly very impressive. On the stand were about a dozen ministers, and over their heads were suspended several three-pronged lamps, pouring down their radiance on their heads, and surrounding them with such lights and shadows as Rembrant would love to copy. Behind the stand were clustered about 300 negroes, who, with their

black faces and white dresses, thrown into partial lights, were a striking object. Before us was a full-sized congregation collected, more or less revealed, as they happened to be near or distant from the points of illumination. Over the people were suspended from the trees a number of small lamps, which, in the distance, seemed like stars sparkling between their branches. Around the congregation, and within the line of the tents, were placed some elevated tripods, on which large fires of pine wood were burning, cracking, blazing; and shooting upward like sacrificial flames to heaven. They gave amazing power to the picture, by casting a flood of waving light on the objects near to them, and leaving every thing else in comparative obscurity. Still at greater distance might be seen, in several directions, the dull, flickering flame of the now neglected domestic fire; and the sparks emitted from it, together with the fire-fly, rose and shot across the scene like meteors, and then dropped into darkness. Never was darkness made more visible, more present. All the lights that were enkindled appeared only to have this effect; as everywhere more was hidden than seen. If the eye sought for the tents, it was only here and there the dark face of one could be dimly seen; the rest was wrapped in darkness; and if it rose with the trees around you, the fine verdant and vaulted roof which they spread over you was mostly concealed by the mysterious and thickening shadows which dwelt there. Then, if you would pierce beyond these limits, there lay around you and over you, and over the unbounded forest that enclosed you, a world of darkness, to which your little illuminated spot was as nothing. I know of no circumstances having more power to strike the imagination and the heart.

"But to the exercises. The singing, which had been sustained in all the interval by some younger persons, now showed its results. Two or three young women were fainting under the exhaustion and excitement; and one, who was reported to me as a Methodist, was in hysterical ecstasy, raising her hands, rolling her eyes, and smiling and muttering. It appeared that she courted this sort of excitement as many do a dram, and was frequent at meetings of this character, for the sake of enjoying it.

"However, after disposing of this slight interruption, the regular service began. It was to be composed of exhortation and prayer; and it was excellently conducted. The leading ministers, who had been wearied by the claims of the Sabbath, had evidently reserved themselves for this period. The first address referred to the past; the effort which had been made; the results which ought to follow, but which had not followed, and which the speaker feared would not follow. It was closed by an affectionate expression of concern that they would now show that it had not been in vain. The next exhortation was on conversion. Some skilful and orthodox distinctions were established on the subject, as it involves the agency of the Spirit and the agency of man. It was discriminative, but it was plain and pungent; and threw all the responsibility of perversity and refusal on the sinner. It made a strong impression.

"The third exhortation was on indifference and despondency. The subject was well timed and well treated. The speaker combated these evils as likely to be a preventive in most persons in coming to a decision; and he made a wise use of evangelical truth for this pur-

pose. He supported the other addresses by an earnest appeal to separate themselves, and show that they were resolved to rank on the Lord's side. The people were evidently much more interested than they had been; and the preachers were desirous of bringing them to an issue. Exhortation and singing were renewed; and it was proposed that they should go down and pass among the people, for the purpose of conversing with them, and inducing them to come forward. By these personal applications and persuasions, a considerable number were induced to come forward; and fervent prayer of a suitable character was offered in their behalf.

"It was already late, and here, at least, the service should have stopped. This was the opinion of the wiser and elder brethren, but they did not press it; and those of weaker mind and stronger nerve thought that the work had only just begun. It was wished that I should retire, but I was desirous of witnessing the scene. Other exhortations and prayers, of a lower but more noisy character, were made, with endless singing; favorite couplets would be taken up and repeated without end. The effect was various, but it was not good; some, with their feelings worn out, had passed the crisis, and it was in vain to seek to impress them: while others were unduly and unprofitably excited.

"None discovered this more than the blacks. They separated themselves from the general service, and sought their own preacher and anxious seat. A stand was presently fixed between two trees; a preacher was seen appearing and disappearing between them, as his violent gesticulation caused him to lean backwards or forwards. The blacks had now things to their mind, and they pressed around the speaker, on their feet or their knees, with extended hands, open lips, and glistening eyes; while the strong lights of a tripod, close to which they had assembled, fell across the scene, and gave it great interest and power.

"As the scenes on either side the stand were not dumb show, the evil was, that the voices and the parties speaking met each other, and made confusion; and as either party raised his voice, to remedy the evil, it became worse. To myself, placed at the centre of observation, this had a neutralizing, and sometimes a humorous, effect; but to the two congregations, which were now reduced in numbers, it produced no distraction: they were severally engrossed, if not with their particular minister, with their particular feelings. It was now considerably past eleven o'clock; I thought I had seen all the forms which the subject was likely to take; and I determined to answer the request of my friends, and retire.

"I had been assured that a bed was reserved for me at the preachers' tent, and I now went in search of it. The tent is constructed like the rest, and is about eighteen feet by fourteen. As the ministers are expected to take their meals at the other tents, this is prepared as a lodging room. An inclined shelf, about six feet wide and four high, runs along the entire side of it, and it is supplied with six beds. I chose the one in the farther corner, in the hope of escaping interruption; as the bed next to me was already occupied by a person asleep. I relieved myself of my upper garments, and laid myself down in my weariness to rest. The other beds soon got filled. But still the brethren were coming to seek accommodation. One of them

crept up by the side of the person next to me; and as the bed would only suit one, he really lay on the margin of his and mine. Thus discomposed, my resolution was immediately taken not to sleep at all. There was, however, no need of this proud resolution, for that night there was to be no sleep for me. There were still other parties to come, and beds to be provided. After this there was the singing renewed, and still renewed, till youth and enthusiasm were faint and weary, and then it died away. Still there remained the barking of the watch dogs, the sawing of the kat-e-dids and locusts, and the snoring of my more favored companions, and these were incessant. Sometimes I found diversion in listening to them, as they mingled in the ear, and in deciding which was most musical, most melancholy; and frequently I turned away in weariness, and fixed my eye on the open crevices of the hut, looking for the first approach of day; and, in my impatience, as often mistaking for it the gleaming lights of the pine fires.

"When the sun actually rose, the horn blew for prayers. To me, all restless as I had been, it was a joyful sound. I waited till others had dressed, that I might do so with greater quiet. I stole away into the forest, and was much refreshed by the morning breeze and fresh air. It was a very pleasing and unexpected sight to observe, as you wandered in supposed solitariness, here and there an individual half concealed, with raised countenance and hands, worshipping the God of heaven, and occasionally two or three assembled for the same purpose, and agreeing to ask the same blessings from the same Father. This was, indeed, to people the forest with sacred things and associations.

"On my return, the ministers renewed their kind application to me to preach on the morning of this day. I begged to be excused, as I had had no rest, and had taken cold, and was not prepared to commit myself to the peculiarities of their service, and which they might deem essential. They met again: and unanimously agreed to press it on me; 'it should be the ordinary service, and nothing more; and as an expectation had been created by my presence, many would come, under its influence, and it would place any other minister at great disadvantage.' My heart was with this people, and the leading pastors, and I consented to preach.

"The usual prayer meeting was held at eight o'clock. It was conducted by Mr. Jeter. Prayers were offered for several classes, and with good effect. To me it was a happy introduction to the more public service to come. I wandered away again to my beloved forest, to preserve my impressions, and to collect my thoughts. At eleven o'clock the service began. I took my place on the stand: it was quite full. The seats, and all the avenues to them, were also quite full. Numbers were standing, and for the sake of being within hearing, were contented to stand. It was evident that rumor had gone abroad, and that an expectation had been created, that a stranger would preach this morning, for there was a great influx of people, and of the most respectable class which this country furnishes. There were not less than 1,500 persons assembled. Mr. Taylor offered fervent and suitable prayer. It remained for me to preach. I can only say that I did so with earnestness and freedom. I soon felt that I had the attention and confidence of the congregation, and this

gave me confidence. I took care, in passing, as my subject allowed, to withdraw my sanction from any thing noisy and exclamatory; and there was, through the discourse, nothing of the kind; but there was a growing attention and stillness over the people. The closing statements and appeals were evidently falling on the conscience and heart with still advancing power. The people generally leaned forward, to catch what was said. Many rose from their seats; and many, stirred with grief, sunk down, as if to hide themselves from observation; but all was perfectly still. Silently the tear fell; and silently the sinner shuddered. I ceased. Nobody moved. I looked around to the ministers for some one to give out a hymn. No one looked at me—no one moved. Every moment the silence, the stillness, became more solemn and overpowering. Now, here, and there, might be heard suppressed sobbing arising on the silence. But it could be suppressed no longer—the fountains of feeling were burst open, and one universal wail sprung from the people and ministers, while the whole mass sunk down on their knees, as if imploring some one to pray. I stood, resting on the desk, overwhelmed like the people. The presiding pastor arose, and, throwing his arms around my neck, exclaimed, 'Pray, brother, pray! I fear many of *my* charge will be found at the left hand of the Judge! O, pray, brother, pray for us!' and then he cast himself on the floor with his brethren, to join in the prayer. But I could not pray! I must have been more or less than man to have uttered prayer at that moment! Nor was it necessary. All, in that hour, were intercessors with God, with tears and cries, and groans unutterable.

"So soon as I could command my state of feeling, I tried to offer prayer. My broken voice rose gradually on the troubled cries of the people, and gradually they subsided, so that they could hear and concur in the common supplications. It ceased, and the people rose. We seemed a changed people to each other. No one appeared disposed to move from the spot, and yet no one seemed disposed for ordinary exercises. Elder Taylor moved forward and remarked—"That it was evident nothing but prayer suited them at this time. And as so many had been impressed by the truth, who had not before, he wished, if they were willing, to bring it to the test of prayer." He therefore proposed that if such persons wished to acknowledge the impression received, and to join in prayer for their personal salvation, they should show it by kneeling down, and he would pray with them. In an instant, as if instinct with one spirit, the whole congregation sunk down to the ground. It is much, but not too much, to say, that the prayer met the occasion. When the people again rose, one of the brethren was about to address them; but I thought nothing could be so salutary to them as their own reflections and prayers, and I ventured to request that he would dismiss the meeting.

"Thus closed the most remarkable service I have ever witnessed. It has been my privilege to see more of the solemn and powerful effect of Divine truth on large bodies of people than many; but I never saw any thing equal to this; so deep, so overpowering, so universal And this extraordinary effect was produced by the Divine blessing on the ordinary means; for none other were used, and one-third of the people had been present at none other. I shall never forget that time—that place; and as often as I recur to it, the tear is still ready to start from its retirement.

"The immediate effect was as good as it was conspicuous. At first there was such tenderness on the people that they looked silently on each other, and could hardly do it without weeping; and afterward, when they had obtained more self-possession, there was such meekness, such gentleness, such humility, such kindness, such a desire to serve one another by love, and such calm and holy joy sitting on their countenances, as I had never seen in one place, and by so many persons. It realized, more than any thing I had known, the historical description of the primitive saints; and there was much in the present circumstances which assisted the impression. It was indeed beautifully true—'that fear came on every soul; and all that believed were together, and had all things common; and they continued with one accord, breaking bread from house to house; and did eat their meat with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God!'

"Besides this happy effect on those who had already believed, there were many in an awakened and inquiring state which demanded attention. Among them was a representative of the state government, who acknowledged that he had always resisted the truth till then, but hoped it had overcome him at last. Some of these cases, of course, came under my own knowledge; and all the ministers showed them, as, indeed, they had uniformly done, great attention and solicitude."*

We alluded to the want of candor in these reverend gentlemen in respect to other denominations of Christians. As a sample take the following account of his visit to Morristown, in the state of New-Jersey; and the reader will better appreciate the *kindness* of his misrepresentations, when he is informed that Mr. Cooke, the gentleman mentioned by Dr. Reed, whose hospitalities he enjoyed while in that town, was himself a member of the Methodist Episcopal Church.

"In the evening I went with Mr. Cooke and my friend to the Episcopal Methodist Church. It is not large, and has been recently built. The men occupied one side of the place, and the women the other; an unsocial plan, and more likely to suggest evil than to prevent it. We were there before the service commenced. The silence was interrupted disagreeably, by continued spitting, which fell, to a strange ear, like the drippings from the eaves on a rainy day. They have

* That we are not alone in our censures upon the authors of this work, and particularly in reference to this account of the camp meeting, may be seen by the following extract from the Religious Herald, a Baptist paper, published in Richmond, Va. He says,—

"Our correspondent, Omega, is not the only one who has complained of the description given by Dr. Reed in his narrative of the camp meeting in the Northern Neck, Virginia. Several of our readers, present at this meeting, have informed us that they considered the narrative defective in many respects, and illiberal in others, more especially in reference to the sermon delivered by Elder Claybrook.

"We did not consider the description as a faultless production. We suspected that the sermon alluded to was not so defective as the writer alleged, for we were confident that the brethren who had the management of the meeting had too much discretion to place an individual so incompetent, according to the representation of Dr. R., in such a prominent post. We could not also overlook the obvious display which the Dr. has made of his own services on this occasion, and of the estimation in which they were held by his hearers. Yet notwithstanding these and other defects, such as the reference to minute and uninteresting particulars, we were of opinion that the description would be interesting to many of our readers. We were also solicited by some of them to give it an insertion in the Herald."

the custom of turning their back to the minister in singing, that they may face the singers; and they have also the practice, to a great extent, of interlining the prayer with exclamations and prayers of their own. Such as these, for instance, were common:—Amen—Do so, Lord—Lord, though knowest—Let it be so, Lord—Yes, yes, Lord—Come, come, Lord, &c. You will recognize in this only what you have witnessed at home.

"Their minister came out from Ireland. He is an intelligent, humble, pious man; and preached a sound and useful sermon. But he has no management of his voice; it was at one elevation, and that the highest, throughout. By this means he lost the power to impress; and threatens, I fear, to wear himself out with vociferation. The ministers in this connection, I found, are allowed to settle. He is just settled; he has a wife and three children, and has 500 dollars a year."

The rebuke here given for spitting upon the floor of the meeting house, if true and not exaggerated, is well merited, and should serve as an admonition to all pious worshippers to avoid, as much as possible, the disgusting practice. The bespattering, and even staining the floors of churches, by the saliva of tobacco-chewers, which is sometimes emitted in no stinted measure in time of Divine worship, is a practice so loathsomely indecent and detestable, that we should rejoice to witness its speedy banishment from the house of God, as also from the saloons of more private houses. But did these reverend travellers witness nowhere else but in a Methodist house this reprehensible practice? Are there no other people in the United States who 'spit,' and no other religious people who amuse themselves with masticating and smoking this narcotic weed? These gentlemen might have recollected that calling for wine at taverns, which it seems they sometimes did, is quite as reprehensible, in the estimation of a thoroughgoing temperance American, as chewing the quid and smoking the segar are to the delicate nerves of an English tourist. When, however, tobacco shall cease to become an article of trade in England, and wine and brandy in America, we may be exempted from reproaching each other for practices in which we both indulge, to the no small annoyance of well-bred gentlemen and decent Christians.

But that to which we more particularly object in the above account is this:—"The ministers in this connection, I found, are allowed to settle." Where did *he find* this? In his own brain only, as every one must know who has the slightest acquaintance with our eco omy. The expression "I found," seems to imply that he *sought* for correct information, and hence it amounts to an intentional misstatement. There is another thing in this extract which presents an invidious aspect. This is the only place that we have noticed where he has mentioned the amount of *salary* which ministers receive, as though it was a strange thing for a minister, and especially for a Methodist minister, to receive a salary from the people. Whether he has here stated the amount correctly or not, we do not know, nor do we care

to know, as it is a matter of no consequence; but we are certain that the mere statement of the fact by this writer, considering the many inaccuracies he has published with the means of correct information within his reach, entitles him to little credit, and hence, allowing it to be false, is no slander. But why did not this tourist, who was charged by those under whose sanction he came to our country to make a true report, also state the amount of salary received by ministers of his own denomination? We might then have heard of their receiving from $500 to $3,500 a year. But this would not have answered his purpose. For he seems to have had in his eye continually the exaltation of his own order, at the expense of all others—while the Methodists, whenever mentioned at all, are held up as objects of ridicule.

While reading the above paragraph, we were reminded of the old proverb, "Evil to him who evil thinks." The "unsocial plan," of men and women sitting apart, "is more likely to suggest evil than prevent it." Could not this chaste minister of Jesus Christ think of no other reason, but to prevent impure desires, for seating the men and women separately in our churches? Did he not know, or might he not have informed himself that this separation of the sexes in our houses of worship, arises almost necessarily from the free-seat system? In those churches where the slips are rented, families sit together as in all other churches without the slightest inconvenience or objection.

But our author visited Baltimore—and being much pleased with the city and its inhabitants, he was led, it seems, to rank it among the *second* cities in the union, instead of the *third* or *fourth*. Perhaps as he reports that there is but one Baptist, and that one a *Christian* Baptist church, in Philadelphia, he persuaded himself that it is but a "very little city." But these mistakes are mere trifles, in comparison to some others he has made. If the ten or eleven Baptist Churches in Philadelphia were treated with the same scurrilous contempt with which he has treated the Methodists in Baltimore, they might feel but little gratitude for his notice of them. Only read the following, which is given as a sample of Methodism in the city of Baltimore!

"When returning from an excursion in the town and some needful calls, I found a church open and lighted. I desired to close the day in a quiet act of worship, and went in. My wishes were but poorly gratified; but the service was somewhat remarkable, and even more amusing than I desired. It was a Methodist church, of full size and commodious. There were not one hundred persons present; and the preacher, in both exercises, was feeble and noisy, with good intentions. I was surprised to find more of the peculiarities of this people here, in the Monumental City, than are sometimes to be found in a sequestered village. There were not only interruptions and ex-

clamations in prayer, but in singing and in the sermon also. With many, it was a sort of chorus taken together; but there was one reverend old man, certainly a leader among them, who spurned association, and literally kept up a sort of recitative with the preacher. The following is an instance, which I could not help preserving that night.

Having passed through the explanatory portion of his discourse, the preacher paused, and then said,—

Preacher. 'The duty here inferred is, to deny ourselves.'

Elder. 'God, enable us to do it!'

Preacher. 'It supposes that the carnal mind is enmity against God.'

Elder. 'Ah, indeed, Lord it is!'

Preacher. 'The very reverse of what God would have us be!'

Elder. 'God Almighty knows it's true!'

Preacher. 'How necessary, then, that God should call on us to renounce every thing!'

Elder. 'God, help us!'

Preacher. 'Is it necessary for me to say more?'

Elder. 'No; O no!'

Preacher. 'Have I not said enough?'

Elder. 'O yes—quite enough!'

Preacher. 'I rejoice that God calls me to give up every thing!'

Elder (clasping his hands.) 'Yes, Lord, I would let it all go!'

Preacher. 'You *must* give up all!'

Elder. 'Yes—all!'

Preacher. 'Your pride!'

Elder. 'My pride!'

Preacher. 'Your envy!'

Elder. 'My envy!'

Preacher. 'Your covetousness!'

Elder. 'My covetousness!'

Preacher. 'Your anger!'

Elder. 'Yes; my anger!'

Preacher. 'Sinner, how awful, then, is your condition!'

Elder. 'How awful!'

Preacher. 'What reason for all to examine themselves!'

Elder. 'Lord, help us to search our hearts!'

Preacher. 'Could you have more motives?—I have done!'

Elder. 'Thank God! Thank God for his holy word. Amen!'"

Now we have been acquainted with the Methodists for about thirty-five years, and we must confess that we never witnessed such a scene as this. We have, to be sure, heard noises and expressions that were highly censurable, but such a representation, so perfectly ridiculous in all its bearings, we never before read of, much less witnessed. While we contend that regular responses to petitions in prayer are both scriptural and praiseworthy, we should deprecate the day when such jargon as the above should be sanctioned in the Methodist Episcopal Church. Dr. Reed has several other characteristic notices of Methodist worship, all in perfect keeping with these, and they stamp upon his character that of a bigoted sectarist, an un-

fair reporter of facts, and a slanderer of his neighbors. These hard epithets would not be applied to him, had there been any redeeming quality found in any portion of his book in regard to our Church, other than the nauseating slang of his prototypes in this work of caricature, which simply allows that we may be good *intentioned* in the midst of our *ignorance* and *fanaticism*. But even this seems to be wrung from him with such apparent reluctance, that we receive it merely as a lame apology for his wilful abuse.

That there may be defects among us in regard to the manner of conducting public worship, we readily grant, and we should not have been displeased with our author for detecting and exposing them, had his exposure been accompanied with an acknowledgment of those good things which all but the merest bigots allow may be found. That there are preachers and people among us who may be tinctured with enthusiasm, and hence may at times exhibit those weaknesses which arise from ignorance and a heated imagination, we are not disposed at all to question; but if Dr. Reed had sought for them, we do not doubt but that he might also have found some "masters in Israel," with whom he might have been edified, and whose characters for eminent literary, scientific, and spiritual attainments, would not suffer by a comparison with his own. Had he informed his readers of these facts, while he was recording those instances of human weakness, or of pious incoherences, our remarks upon his performances would have partaken of less severity.

We need hardly to say to those who are acquainted with our churches in the city of Baltimore, that they are among the largest and most respectable in the city; and that the ministers who generally fill the pulpit, as well as the people who occupy the seats, are not behind their neighbors for intelligence and piety; and that it is very seldom that there are not over one hundred people attending upon public worship, in one of their large churches. Dr. Reed has been careful not to tell his readers in what street this church, into which he casually entered, is situated; but from his description we presume it must have been an African congregation; and as, from his peculiar sympathies for these people, he doubtless found it more congenial to his own feelings and views to associate with them; and more especially as it might afford him a better opportunity to gratify his spleen against Methodism, he preferred them, on this occasion, to a white congregation, which might have afforded him a more scriptural and rational sample of Divine worship.

But though we may have dwelt long enough upon the glaring defects of this deputation to the American Churches, yet we cannot forbear noticing some other instances of its obliquities. Bringing with them their prejudices against Episcopalians in their own country, and associating chiefly with their own denomination in this,

whenever they speak of others they betray a narrow-minded bigotry utterly unbecoming Christian philanthropists, and impartial observers, and reporters of facts and circumstances. Hence the Protestant Episcopalians fare but little better in their hands than do we. Indeed, a writer in the Protestant Episcopalian is so dissatisfied with their treatment of his Church, that he remarks that their account of it is so meagre and mean as to be beneath his notice, or unworthy of a public exposure. And perhaps self-respect might have led us to treat them with a similar contempt, had we not thought that our entire silence would have been construed into an acquiescence in the justness of their remarks.

As an evidence of this, we give one more extract, in which the reader will perceive that though there is some credit given for our "zeal in carrying the means of instruction and worship to the most neglected and scattered portions of these regions," yet there is so much of sneering at our method of doing business, and one such glaring misstatement, as to spoil the whole. The passage follows:—

"The Methodists are quite as numerous, and are more efficient. They show a less amount of ministers, but a much larger one of communicants; the one being 2,223, and the other 619,771. Like the Baptists, they have a large proportion of slaves in their communion; and, like them, they are beginning to take decided measures to secure an educated ministry. They are, in fact, exceedingly like their kindred body in our own country, both in their virtues and failings. There is a considerable measure of ignorance and extravagance in that as there is in this; and they are certainly quite as sectarian. They have their own papers, their own books, their own tracts, their own psalmody, and, I believe I may say, are about to have their own version of the Bible. They depend here, as every where, rather on their method than the talent of their ministry, or the peculiarities of their faith; and this method has wonderful compactness and adaptation to its ends. They are a hive of bees, in which each one has his place, and each one his work to do; and where each, by the movement of all, is constrained to fulfil it; and thus the whole duty of the busy and happy community is completed. The perfect order and unity which reigns at home prevents the loss of energy by domestic bickerings; and allows them to seek and cull their treasures from the wild and waste world around them. Whatever may have been their failings, they have done more, both in America and Canada, than any other body of Christians, to carry the means of instruction and worship to the most neglected and scattered portions of these regions, and have been most successful in their efforts of Christian philanthropy."

In the first place, we would ask where this reverend gentleman learned to *believe* that we were "about to have our own version of the Bible?" The man that will write and publish such a manifest *falsehood*, with the means within his reach of correct information, surely forfeits all title to public confidence. But we "have our papers, books, and psalmody." And are we *singular* in this? Have not the

Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Baptists, and Protestant Episcopalians, "their own books, their own tracts, and their own psalmody?" And are we to be proscribed the rights which all others enjoy? Or to be censured and sneered at for availing ourselves of these rights? But we have the same "virtues and failings" with our brethren in England. And are we *singular* in this? Or are all other denominations become so *perfect*, that they are exempt from *failings*? We believe, whatever failings we may exhibit, that we have not been guilty of drawing such contemptible caricatures, and uttering such palpable untruths of others, as this tourist has respecting us. And this "new version of the Bible," a thing never once thought of by a single member of our communion, caps the climax of absurdity and evil surmising.

Another instance of his extreme partiality is to be found in his account of the Bible, Missionary, Tract, and Education Societies. He is evidently enumerating these societies for the purpose of showing the salutary influence which they exert upon the American character. But from the account given of these institutions, the reader, who is a stranger to our country, would assuredly infer that there were no other missionary, tract, and Sunday school societies than those connected with the Presbyterian and Congregational Church, there being not the slightest allusion to the missionary societies of the Protestant Episcopal, Baptist, and Methodist Churches, or to their exertions in the tract and Sunday school cause. Had these gentlemen also imbibed the notion that all the institutions under the patronage of the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches were of a *national* character, and consequently that all denominations were absorbed in them? As we have already remarked, had they professedly restricted their report of the state of things to their own order, we should have no right to complain: but as they profess to give an account of the religious state of the *country*, instead merely of a sect, they should, it appears to us, have included the religious and charitable institutions of all denominations.

These are lamentable evidences of the power of prejudice, and of sectarian partiality over the human mind. And though we have tried to find an apology for such manifest departures from that impartial regard for truth which ought to characterize all such public documents, we find it extremely difficult to reconcile them to either honesty of intention, liberality of sentiment, or that accurate knowledge which should have guided them in recording facts. These things prevent our receiving even the praises of these gentlemen with that cordiality with which we otherwise should. They seem to come rather as a reluctant homage to truth, than as a willing compliment to excellences which do really exist. As an illustration of this, let us glance at Dr. Reed's account of his visit to the

American congress. After some cold praise on a few of the distinguished men who composed the senate at that time, we have the following remarks, as complacent to his own superior intelligence as they are detracting from the American legislature:—

"On the whole, I was much gratified in becoming acquainted with the congress of this great empire. Yet I must candidly admit, that it fell somewhat below my expectations. In its presence I was not impressed, as I think I should have been in the presence of the men who signed the declaration; and my eye wandered over the assembly, anxiously seeking another Washington, who, by his moral worth, mental sagacity, and unquestionable patriotism, should, in a second crisis, become the confidence and salvation of his country; but it wandered in vain. Such a one might have been there; the occasion might bring out many such; but I failed to receive such an impression. Nor do I think, on the whole, that the representation is worthy of the people. It has less of a religious character than you would expect from so religious a people; and it has also less of an independent character than should belong to so thriving a people. But as matters stand, it is now only a sacrifice for the thriving man to be a member of congress; while, to the needy man, it is a strong temptation. In this state of things, it is not wonderful that the less worthy person should labor hard to gain an election; or that, when it was gained, he should consider his own interests rather than those of his constituents. The good Americans must look to this, and not suffer themselves to be absorbed in the farm and merchandise; lest, on an emergency, they should be surprised to find their fine country, and all its fine prospects, in the hands of a few ambitious and ill-principled demagogues."

Mark how his philosophical "eye wandered over the assembly, anxiously seeking another Washington—but it wandered in vain." And suppose there had been a half dozen personages in that assembly, equal to Washington in intelligence and patriotism, is it certain that this jaundiced eye would have detected them? Did he not know that it requires a genius to measure a genius? And though we do not wish to underrate the intellectual acuteness of Dr. Reed, yet we doubt not but there were many sages, in that august assembly, whose mental calibre was far beyond the reach of his ken. But what is amusing is, that among them all there was not one who gave any evidence of a "truly Christian character," except Mr. Frelinghuysen. It is well that there happened to be *one Presbyterian* within the halls of the American legislature, else they might all have been set down for reprobates.

It is true that Dr. Reed pays a merited homage to the virtues, patriotism, and intelligence of Washington. This, however, he could do without a single effort. The man who, by the wisdom of his conduct, his courage in arms, and fidelity to his country, has extorted the praise of all nations, needed not to have his eulogium pronounced at this late period in these volumes to make his fame the more en-

during. And to unite in the general voice of approbation, only shows a willingness to imitate the ejaculations of others, without evincing any superior discernment to discover excellences. But if Washington had been then living, and exhibiting, in real life, those virtuous dispositions and that patriotic conduct, by which he was so eminently distinguished, we very much doubt, from the brief and censorious notices which are taken by our author of our anniversary celebrations, whether his notes of disapprobation would not have been as profuse, as his praises are now liberal and just. In that case, we doubt not but his eye would have wandered over the American camp in vain for the hero whose head he is now willing to crown with laurels—and, more especially, if Washington's heart had been tinctured with any thing like Methodism, or it had been whispered in the ear of the tourist that he was partial to the established Church of England.

We have already remarked that the volumes before us afford internal evidence that these gentlemen associated chiefly with their own denomination, and hence that their personal observations were restricted principally to men of kindred spirits with themselves. Nor do we blame them for this. It was, indeed, to be expected, as they were commissioned especially as messengers to the Presbyterian and Congregational Churches, that they should devote their attention and labors chiefly to them; but we had a right to expect, at the same time, that if they found it their duty to speak of others at all, they should observe that urbanity of manners, and strict regard to truth which become Christian gentlemen, and not by selecting a few insulated facts of an exceptionable character, hold them up to the contempt of the public. Let a man travel through the country, and select isolated facts respecting any denomination of Christians, of a heretical or unchristian character, and charge these upon the whole sect, and he would, by these reprehensible means, easily render them odious.

But we would not be guilty of the very evil we condemn. We will not, therefore, condemn all that we find in these books because there are so many exceptionable things. When freed from sectarian jealousy, and speaking merely as citizens, there is more appearance of truth and candor, unless, indeed, we may suppose that in the remarks they make upon the American character, their application is to be restricted to the Churches of their partial fondness. However, that our readers may see for themselves what estimate these strangers have made of our general character, we present them with the following extract:—

"It is now time that I brought both my narrative and disquisitions to a close. The field, however, is so extensive, and so interesting, that only to glance at the various objects within the scope of this communication, and which demand observation, requires considerable space.

"Although I have endeavored to convey my honest and first im-

pressions, as I have passed onward, you may desire that I should yet express the general amount of these impressions, on a review of the entire subject of remark. This is certainly what I should like in my own case; and, expecting that you will make reasonable allowances for the delicacy and difficulty of reducing so many subjects, and such multifarious impressions, to a common conclusion, I will not hesitate to meet your wishes. I shall have the more readiness in attempting this, because if that conclusion should need to be qualified in any degree, the previous statements will, I trust, amply supply you with the means of independent judgment and salutary correction.

"The impression, then, left on my own mind, as the result of combined observation, is that of satisfaction and hope. When I say this, however, you must bear in remembrance what was the state of mind with which I went out to this country. My expectations were certainly not so high as many might entertain; they were certainly not so low as those of many; they were, I think, moderate; and *they have been exceeded.* Allowing, as I did, for the difficulties of a newly settled country, and for the disadvantages of emigration, the state of education, morals, and religion, was decidedly better than I expected to find it. Indeed, I have never visited a country in which I have seen them equalled. England herself painfully suffers in the comparison.

"There are, undoubtedly, some points in politics, in science, and in domestic life, in which the advantage may still be with the parent country; but on the subjects in question, and which are legitimate to this inquiry, the advantage is with America. Education with us may, in certain cases, be more refined and recondite; but it is not spread over so large a surface, and is less in the sum total; and if, as Johnson says, the state of common life is the true state of a nation, the nation must be considered to be better educated.

"In morals, too, you are constrained to receive the same impression. It is impossible to compare New-York with Liverpool, or Boston with Bristol, and not to be struck with the difference. It was Sabbath evening when I landed at Liverpool, but I was grieved to admit that at no time, in New-York, had open vice met my eye with such prominence, and to such a degree.

"I know it has been said, as against the higher morality of this people, that their merchants are less honorable than ours. I have given some attention to this, as it is certainly an important allegation; and as I had found reason partly to give it my acquiescence. I suppose it will be easily admitted that no mercantile interests were ever more honorably conducted than are those of Great Britain. But honor is conventional, and of slow growth; and when matured it has a tendency to self-preservation; so that a person finds with us that he can scarcely be a merchant without being a man of honor.

"To try the American merchant by such a test, may be sufficiently severe; yet he need not shrink from it. He is certainly less influenced by what is conventional; but he is, at least, equally affected by what is properly moral. I have every reason to think that the regular and accredited merchant of the states is as upright in his transactions, as steady to his contracts, and is governed by as high a sense of justice, as are the merchants of the old world. Still I am willing to admit, so far as it regards the New-England cha-

racter, that, with all its excellences, it is liable to temptation here. It participates, in some particulars, with the Scotch character, and, like it, may require watchfulness. Those who pride themselves in their shrewdness in driving a 'keen bargain,' are commonly in danger of being 'over keen.'

"Apart from this, it is allowed that there is some cause for such an impression being hastily received in London; and it arises from the circumstances of the people. The fact is, that one-half the men in Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, who announce themselves as merchants, are not known as such to the accredited merchants of those places. They are mostly men of desperate fortune, who have fled from their creditors in Europe, and are seeking to establish themselves where they are not known. Frequently they succeed: and in shaking off some of their necessities, free themselves from some of their vices; but surely it is not to be expected that they should be governed by any fine sense of honor. More commonly their bad propensities remain; and they play the rogue with more freedom, because they can do it on a larger field, and with greater safety and advantage. The very honor and integrity of which we are speaking, require that such distinctions should be allowed and appreciated.

"Then the appearances in favor of religion are to their advantage. They have no law for the regulation or observance of the Sabbath, but public sentiment secures its sanctification better with them than with us. I have never seen that day observed in Bristol or Bath as it is in Boston and Philadelphia. In the large towns the people attend in larger numbers at their respective places of worship; there are more places for their accommodation; and the average size is greater with them than with us. The communicants in that country are far more numerous than in this; and you will regard this as important evidence on the subject, especially when it is known that the principle of strict communion prevails. The ministry, as a whole, is better adapted to the people and to usefulness. The spirit of regeneration animates it; and evangelical truth is more familiar to it. It is neither so rich nor so poor as with us, and is therefore more efficient. One portion of it is not degraded by the political elevation of other portions; but, as a body, it is entitled to common and equal respect, and it has decidedly more respect, and, therefore, more influence than with us.

"With these visible signs in favor of religion, and with the knowledge that the Americans have far less reason to preserve appearances than ourselves, it is impossible not to arrive at the conclusion already suggested.

"These statements are to be understood to have a special, though not an exclusive application to the leading states, which have been longest settled, and are the most populous. It would be most unreasonable to expect that the states in the far west and far south should equal them in privilege and attainment. They are rather, as a candid Episcopalian writer has allowed, to be compared with our colonies than with ourselves. Let me add, however, that we have no colonies that would not suffer by the comparison; and that their average means, as I have shown, will actually bear to be tried by what we most admire at home.

"Still it is admitted that much remains to be done. All the states are capable of great improvement; and the rapid settlement taking place everywhere, seems to mock all past effort, and to demand that it shall be put forth on a continually expanded scale, even to exhaustion. The west, especially, has almost overwhelming claims. If this empire shall retain its integrity, the west promises to become the seat of power; and whatever it ultimately becomes, the whole country will be. Every eye is fixed on it. The worldling looks to it as his paradise; the papist looks to it as to another centre, where he may again elevate the crucifix, and assert the claims of St. Peter; and the infidel looks to it as a refuge where he may shake off the trammels of religion, and be at peace.

"Do I then regard these circumstances with apprehension? No; I look on them with hope—I regard the entire exigencies of this great country with the assurance of hope. If there was a time for apprehension, that time is now past. Had the Church remained as dormant and secure as she was even ten years ago, there might have been cause for alarm; but she is awake, and the people are awake. The Home Mission, the Education, and the Sunday School Societies which have risen to such mighty and rapid action, are directing chiefly their energies to the west. Missionaries in the cause of religion and education are traversing all its regions; schools, and even colleges, are springing up amid the stumps of the smouldering forest. The wants and claims of the west are made to ring and reverberate over the east, and the north, and the south; and the common attention is not summoned in vain.

"Then it is not merely that public attention is awakened to these growing exigencies; the people in the more settled states are strikingly prepared to benefit those that are settling. They are so by circumstances, and they are so by character. The circumstances of the New-England people, for instance, remarkably dispose and fit them to aid the west. Their soil is comparatively sterile and ungrateful, and this inclines them to emigrate. They carry with them the very institutions which are wanted by the west; they are never contented with a settlement till it has its school and its church; and their force of character—their thrift, their energy, and their morals—gives them a controlling influence by which society around them is modelled. The hand of Providence seems conspicuous in this provision, and in making it so effectual. In the whole, about twenty-one thousand persons were delivered from the mother country on these shores; their offspring are now spread over all the states, and amount to upward of three millions of persons!

"Not less does their character inspire hope. So far as it affects this subject, it may be said that they have remarkable versatility in adapting themselves to the occasion, and great earnestness in moving to their object. Their *versatility* and tact may possibly be greatly fostered by their circumstances—this is not material to a question purely practical: that it exists is without doubt. The difficulty which would be felt with us, of passing from an occupation which we had learned, to one of which we were ignorant, is scarcely felt with them. They may not be over careful in selecting means, nor over steady in the use of them; but they certainly have a degree of French facility in falling on them, and in accommodating themselves to them.

Many find no difficulty in becoming students at forty, if they should have been denied the opportunity before; and it is a common thing for those who do not succeed to their wishes in one avocation to apply to another, though years should be the price of acquisition. Forms in society, as well as personal habits, are far less fixed here; and where there is so much freedom to move, you may expect it to abound and vary in proportion. I knew a gentleman who had been trained to mercantile pursuits; as a Christian, he thought he could be more useful by preaching: he renounced, therefore, his profitable merchandise, to employ himself in public teaching. After some pains and lengthened trial, he had reason to think he had miscalculated on his talent. Having made the experiment, he again became a merchant; remarking that, as by merchandise he could afford to sustain five preachers better than himself, there could be no doubt that, as a merchant, he might best promote the cause of religion. He felt no difficulty in these transitions; and if he did not display the clearest judgment, he showed that he had no double or dubious motive.

"It must be evident to a practised judgment that this aptitude to become all things to all men and all occasions, is a valuable qualification for real usefulness, in a country where the form and fashion of things are continually varying under the influence of increasing civilization and refinement. The free institutions of the people possess just the same pliancy. The *principle of adaptation*, the want of which a high authority has lately admitted to be the great defect of an establishment, is certainly the life and virtue of the voluntary system. Whatever may otherwise be its character, its adversaries cannot disallow the inherent power of adaptation; and if they did, America would confound them. The school house and the church are seen to accommodate themselves precisely to the state of the people, never behind them, never too much in advance. Their very form and structure pass through the gradations of wood, brick, and stone, as do the residences of the people; and their lessons are dispensed by 'line upon line, and precept upon precept, here a little, and there much,' as they can bear them.

"Especially, the Americans have great *earnestness* of character; and as this is essential to all true greatness, so it is the very quality to inspire hope. I think I have never seen more of it in any people. It may not always express itself as you would desire; but its very presence and name is power. Their character, like their climate, has great decision about it; it may be hot, it may be cold; but when it is cold it freezes, and when it is hot it burns. Only let them fully apprehend the importance of an object; and you will see them move to it with a directness of mind and a scorn of sacrifices, which would surprise weaker natures.

"When this is associated with Christian principle it confers a striking power of self-devotion. Endless instances illustrate and confirm this. It is this quality, thus sanctified, that gives to their missionary his highest praise. It is this, through the form of the temperance societies, that has astonished the world with the noble example of a nation renovating itself. In smaller circles the principle is perpetually at work with equal power, though with less observation. I have been charmed and refreshed with it everywhere. It inspires private Christians to revolve great things, and to compass them by

great means. I know of no country where there are more examples of beneficence and magnificence. The rich will act nobly out of their abundance; and the poor will act as nobly out of their penury. There are refreshing instances of individuals sustaining schools, professorships, missionaries, and evangelists. Ministers are repeatedly making movements in which it was evident that every thing was to be sacrificed for usefulness. I have seen the pastor, at sixty, beloved and happy in his people, give up all, and go forth into the wilderness, because he thought that his example, more than his labors, might bless the west; while the Church has been as ready to relinquish him, though with tears, when she has been satisfied that it was for the good of the Church catholic. I have seen a band of students, careless of ease and reputation at home, forsake the college which they have passed with honor, and covenant together to go forth some two thousand miles, to rear a kindred institution in the desert; and I have seen the aged man kindle at their enthusiasm, and support them with his purse, when unable to be their companion. Does a neighborhood rapidly outrun the existing means of religious instruction? it immediately creates effort; and individuals in different Churches volunteer to give up their endeared privileges, and to go forth, as a little colony, to benefit that district.

"Woman, too, has at least an equal spirit of self-devotion here. I have never been more impressed with this. The females move less out of their own sphere than most; but in that sphere they are employing a thousand womanly appliances in favor of the good cause. They have a loftiness of character about them which requires that they should have some great object before them; and none know better than they, how truly little means are sanctified and ennobled by great ends. They band together for all sorts of benevolent and religious uses. The maternal societies are their own, and are at once a testimony to their well-regulated as well as exalted feeling; the mother is not forgotten in the Christian, nor home in the world. They work, or collect in company, for the support of a student or missionary; they prepare linen and other garments for the poor scholar; and all their deeds are anointed by their prayers. We have seen the spirit of piety kept alive in a Church, the Old South, through a long period of darkness and heresy, by the prayers of a few females. The Foreign Missionary Society is considered to have its origin in the prayers and exhortations of one sainted woman. I have known of three excellent matrons who, when a Church was afflicted by a worldly ministry, devoted themselves to secret prayer for its and the Church's renovation, and who have lived to offer praise for an answer to prayer, of which none knew but themselves.

"Who shall doubt of such a people? They are full of hope themselves, and they create hope in others. Every thing about them contributes to nourish it. They are born into national existence in the most auspicious times. All the lessons of wisdom which have been suggested through ages to other nations are at their command. They begin their course just where other empires have closed theirs. Their field of action is so vast that they may put forth the mightiest energies, without exposure to hostile interests and barbarous warfare. They need fear no foe, and therefore they need not embarrass themselves with alliances which might lead to conflict and bloodshed.

They have the fairest opportunity of showing how little a government may be felt as a burden, and how much as a blessing, silently diffusing life, liberty, and joy over an immense community. The people are aware of this, and are ennobled by their circumstances. They believe all things, and they will accomplish all things.

"Yes, they will accomplish all things, with the single provision, that *they remain under the influence of religion.* Religion is requisite to the welfare of any people; but they have made it emphatically necessary, not only to their prosperity, but to their political existence. The evils to which their promising circumstances chiefly expose them, are worldliness and presumption; and these can be quelled only by religion. No approaches to the experiment they are now making on the liberty of the subject, have been made with success; and they can only succeed by making religion their best ally. Universal suffrage, whatever may be its abstract merits or demerits, is neither desirable nor possible, except the people are the subjects of universal education and universal piety. AMERICA WILL BE GREAT IF AMERICA IS GOOD. If not, her greatness will vanish away like a morning cloud."

On the importance of maintaining a fraternal intercourse between the Churches, so auspiciously begun in the present instance, Dr. Reed has many pertinent and judicious remarks, going to show that it must tend to cement the two nations more closely together, and thus enable them by their combined influence, to fulfil their high destiny as instruments in the hands of Omnipotent power and grace, of the world's renovation. This is a most interesting view of the subject. And though from the exceptionable manner in which our author has deigned to notice us, he may think we are so many incumbrances in the way of accomplishing an event so desirable, yet he might have known that the Methodists first set the example of this sort of religious intercourse, by the interchange of delegates from one country to the other, and that it is still kept up from a conviction of its beneficial effects, and without producing, so far as we have learned, any of those disastrous results which are likely to arise from the publication of these volumes—we mean those results which are already witnessed in the alienation of affection among the several denominations by the sectarian partialities which so manifestly characterize these productions.

But the observations of Dr. Reed on the utility which will result from maintaining the principles of unity between the two nations, meet our most hearty approval, and therefore we give them to our readers:—

"To enjoy the intercourse we seek, *peace* must be maintained. The native of either country cannot possibly visit, and become associated with the inhabitants of the other, without deep lamentations that ever war should have existed between them. The resemblances are so great, the connections are so close, the interests so much in common, as to give to conflict all the horrors of civil war. If,

in an ordinary case, war, not sustained by the plea of extreme necessity, is homicide; in this case it is *fratricide.*

"Another impression I could not help receiving while in this country. It is, that if the religious community here, and the religious community there, were to adopt just views of the subject, and to express themselves in union and with decision on it, the government would not be able, but in a case of self-preservation, which is not likely to occur, to prosecute a war. The accumulating feeling and determination of New-England almost prevented the last war; and it is likely it would have been prevented altogether, but for the untoward provocation of firing their capital.

"I believe this view of the subject has not been fairly taken by the Churches; and, so far, they have failed in their duty. In America, the very evils of the last short and unnecessary war have had the good effect of awakening many generous minds in the cause of peace; and considerable advances have been made, by prizes, addresses, and sermons, to correct and arouse religious feeling especially on the subject. With us, the peace society has been too hastily regarded as a Quaker, and not a Christian institution; and because it began by asking too much, nothing has been granted to it, and nothing has been done apart from it. But we must not deceive ourselves. The Churches, in both lands, if united on this subject, possess within themselves a moral power which, as it can destroy slavery, so it may make war all but impossible. This power it is not only legitimate to use, it is obligatory; and they are responsible for all the misery and carnage which arise from its not being used.

"There is yet another view to be taken of this interesting and momentous topic. If the religious communities, by a due exercise of their influence, could make war between the two countries, in almost any supposable case, nearly impossible; the two countries, remaining in peace, might secure peace to the whole world. If those very nations, which have the least to fear from war, should be the first to keep the peace, what would be the silent influence on all other nations! And if they should actually employ their advice and influence against angry dispute swelling into deliberate murder, how soon would war become a stranger, if not an exile from our world!

"Not only by power, but even by situation, they seem remarkably fitted to set this example, and to arbitrate these differences, till the troubled nations shall have rest. They are so far from each other, that they are freed from those irritations which too commonly originate serious conflict; so that, if disposed to peace, they can scarcely go to war; while their reciprocal interests may continually strengthen their bonds of union and amity. And they are so placed in relation to other nations, the one by a boundless territory, and the other by her insular situation, as that necessity can hardly occur for them to participate in the quarrels of others. By station and by power they are prepared to act, not as parties, but as arbiters.

"Here, then, is a field of service, worthy of the Church—worthy of angels! And it can scarcely be considered as saying too much to state, as I deliberately do, that it is a field the Church has not yet occupied. And still it may be asked, in reply, 'Why should she occupy it? What has she to do with the ambition of the world and the "strife of the potsherds?"' As a mere question of policy or ex-

pediency, I would say, Nothing—just nothing. But the cause of peace can never be established among men on the principles of expediency and political advantage; and if it could, then it is rather the work of the citizen than of the Christian. Here has been the great error. It may be well and wise to refer to secondary considerations as dissuasives from war; and, with Burke, we may attempt to horrify the imagination, by calculating that it has destroyed as much life and property as are to be found, at the present time, on the globe, fourteen times told. Yet these representations are short of the mark, and show a feeble and imperfect conception of the monstrous evil. The only effectual argument against war is, that WAR IS SIN. This will lay hold on the conscience; this will justify the Christian in interfering; and this will not allow the Church to slumber, while, for the purposes of vulgar ambition, one hundred thousand men are commanded to massacre another hundred thousand men, and to hurry them away into an awful eternity, uncalled, in their sins and in their blood.

"It is not to be supposed that, in thus glancing at the subject, I should discuss all captious objection. But I would crave to have it observed, that it is no part of my intention to place the principle of peace in opposition to the principle of self-preservation. I can conceive of a case, whether of an individual or of a nation, in which resistance may be a virtue; though I am persuaded that this supposable case has been used to justify a thousand actual cases which have no resemblance; and in which resistance is not a virtue, but a crime.

"And as civilization and religion advance, why should not the barbarous and brutal practice of appealing to power, rather than to justice, be superseded by wiser and more humane methods? As in a community, the persons composing it are brought to commit their persons, property, and honor, to the provisions of that community; so, in the family of civilized mankind, composed of a number of nations, why should there not be a common and recognized authority, which should arbitrate the differences, and protect the interests of each and of all; bringing to the weak power, and to the injured righteousness? If any thing is characterizing the times in which it is our privilege to live, it is, that right is taking the place of might; or, in other words, that moral power is supplanting physical power. And nothing can be more favorable to the subject we are contemplating. Right is the harbinger of peace; while force is the very sinews, and soul, and inspiration of the demon, war.

"But this appeal, if worthy of the name, is to the Churches. This subject has not been duly considered by them; let them now consider it. Let them remember that they are 'children of peace;' that they obey the 'Prince of peace;' and that their religion breathes peace, not only on a nation, but on the world. Let them not condemn the evil in the abstract, and plead for it in the detail; nor deplore its soul-harrowing consequences, while they connive at its plausible pretences. Let them strip the demon of all his pomp and circumstance and glory: and let him appear in all his naked and horrible deformity, that men may confess him to be a fiend of the lower, and not a resident of the present world. Let them glorify their religion by banding together as an army of pacificators; and

when the crisis for action arrives, let them raise their voice, and make it to be heard above all the clamor for war, distinctly, calmly, one. Nothing would be more worthy of them; nothing would contribute more to general civilization; nothing would so efficiently promote the advancement of religion and virtue; and nothing would so forcibly place the future, which would be the history of benevolence and peace, in contrast with the past, which is the history of blood-shedding and murder.

"So far as America and England are concerned, peace, intercourse, and union should be employed and sanctified as means of energetic *co-operation* for the conversion of the world. This is the end to which we should be steadfastly looking in all our intercourse; and, great as this end is, it may be thus contemplated without despondency. These nations are singularly prepared by Providence for this high service; so much so, indeed, as to indicate that it is consigned to their hands. Where shall we find two nations placed so advantageously on the surface of the globe to this end? Where shall we find them in possession of so much of the world's commerce, which is a direct means to this end? Where shall we find a people whose civil and religious institutions are so prepared to bless mankind? And where shall we find any people who are so ready, by desire and effort, as these, to bestow whatever makes them distinguished and happy upon all other nations? Blot out England and America from the map of the world, and you destroy all those great institutions which almost exclusively promise the world's renovation; but, unite England and America in energetic and resolved co-operation for the world's salvation, and the world is saved.

"It is not only important that they should render these services: they should render them in union. It should be felt that what the one does, the other virtually does also; and the very names, indicating the two people, should be a sort of synonyme, which might be applied to the same works. The service is arduous; the difficulties are great; and the adversary of liberty, light, and religion, should be suffered to gain neither advantage nor confidence, by regarding us as separable. We shall have more relative, and more real power, by acting together. In this connection, one and one make more than two; they exert a triple force against every opposing obstacle.

"Here, then, is the province of these two great countries. They are to consult, act, and labor in union for the conversion and blessedness of the world. For this they are made a people; for this they are evangelized; for this they are privileged, and blessed themselves. Theirs is no common destiny; and theirs should be no common ambition. They are to find their greatness, not in the degradation of other nations, but in raising them to an elevation of being which they have not known. They should rise from the patriot into the philanthropist, and express love to man from love to his Maker. Great as they then would be, their greatness would not create fear, but admiration and confidence; and He who made them great would not withhold his approbation.

"Let them look to this! Let no one 'take their crown.' Let the man that would enkindle strife between them, be deemed an enemy alike to both countries. Let them turn away from the trivial and

the temporary; and look on the great, the good, the abiding. Let them faithfully accomplish their high commission, and theirs will be a glory such as Greece, with all her Platonic imaginings, never sought; and such as Rome, with all her real triumphs, never found."

PROFESSOR CALDWELL'S ADDRESS.

An Address, delivered before the trustees and students, at the annual commencement of Dickinson college, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, July 16, 1835. *By* MERRITT CALDWELL, A. M., *professor of the exact sciences.*

THE cause of education, for its prosperity, depends on the interest taken in it by its friends; and when it is thought how much all are indebted to it, it might at first seem strange that it should ever want the encouragement which it is in their power to give. But when we look out upon the jarring interests of community,—the noise and strife which pervade the business world;—when we see the rush there is to improvement, to discovery, to invention, to every thing indeed that can interest the feelings, promote pecuniary advantage, or add to the pleasures of sense, we find a satisfactory solution of the fact. Indeed, we see even the devotees of learning in danger of being turned aside by these counter influences; and any of those who are called to mingle in these commotions, and to listen to the world's discordant harmony, may well consider themselves fortunate, if they have never felt the paralyzing influenee of these things on their love of letters.

It is then good for us to be here,—good for us thus to turn aside to commune with the days of our youth, and to shake hands with those associations which the memory of the past will always hold dear. Were it not for occasions like the present, we might forget the interest we have in the cause of learning, and devote ourselves exclusively to the world. But the recurrence of these reminds us of our obligations, calls us back to our duty, and makes us feel that we have an alliance with society more strong than the feeble tenure by which we hold our lives, and that our influence may be felt in the generations that are to come after us. Associating, as I do, such ideas with the occasion that has called us together, I should consider it little less than sacrilege to attempt to amuse my audience with the figures of rhetoric, or to while away the hour in idle speculations or visionary theories. I have assumed to myself the graver task of pointing out some of the *practical errors connected with intellectual education.* And here I will premise, that I shall consider education not as confined to the learning derived from books, or that communicated by set lessons of instruction; but as embracing all the means by which the mind is improved, its susceptibilities developed, or its views expanded; and extending consequently from the early lessons gathered from parental precept and example, up to that mental discipline which is implied in the term *self-education.*

With this explanation, the first error to which I shall call your attention, is that which leads the scholar to too sudden a rush from *truth* to *causes.* It often happens, that truth is not remarkably difficult to be substantiated. Observation, even though careless, teaches

us a thousand truths,—a thousand facts, which are fully established without any reference to their causes. And by consciousness we become acquainted with another class of truths, connected with our mental operations. Well established truths, then, of various kinds, may exist, without ever leading the mind to the contemplation of their cause. Thus, for example, the savage knows well, that his arrow when hurled will return to the ground, though he may never have thought of the cause that draws it downward; and the most unthinking rustic, too, is fully aware that those things which interest his feelings most deeply are the things to which the memory adheres the most readily and the most strongly, without even thinking whether there *be* any cause for this, or not.

But the intellect of man is an inquisitive principle. Truth will not long be before the intelligent mind, without leading to an inquiry for the cause; nor is the mind patient of long delay in its researches. Hence the importance of caution and watchful care. For want of these, facts are often attempted to be accounted for on wrong principles, and false causes are assigned. This has come in as a fruitful source of error in every department of science; and giant minds have been compelled to waste their strength in combatting and doing away errors which have had such an origin. Even the leading truths connected with the philosophy of the mind, have but recently been traced to their true causes; and many are the phenomena, witnessed both in the intellectual and natural, as well as in the moral world, the causes of which are still left for true philosophy to discover, notwithstanding the many hasty solutions already given.

Not only are causes radically wrong often assigned to explain known truths; but general laws,—which, if deserving the name of causes at all, are only nominal,—have often been assigned as the satisfactory causes of the things to be explained. Gravity, electricity, magnetism, vitality, vegetation, etc., when referred to as ultimate causes of natural phenomena, are of this description. The mere pretender to learning is full of this kind of causes; and the boasting pedant is the last one to say in relation to any thing, however abstruse, that he does not know the cause. How different this from the spirit of true philosophy! Hear the concession of Mr. Locke, that Hercules in mental science,—a concession which the half-educated would think too humiliating for himself to make: "He that knows any thing," says he, "knows this in the first place, that he need not seek long for instances of his ignorance. The meanest and most obvious things that come in our way, have dark sides that the quickest sight cannot penetrate into. The clearest and most enlarged understandings of thinking men find themselves puzzled and at a loss in every particle of matter."

A leading cause of the error to which we have referred is found in that mental indolence that refuses to search for remote causes,—that refuses to go back behind the scene, and to contemplate the hidden wires which in truth move the whole apparatus, but which are concealed by the curtain which intervenes. It is not then an error of reason, but of indolence. It however puts into the hand of the designing a most dangerous weapon, and one which he too often uses to ruin the unwary and the young. Few mature intellects have ever been themselves deceived by this kind of sophistry;

but many, how many! have had to employ their powers in counteracting the influence of early prejudices which have had such an origin; and to exercise the philosophy peculiar to gifted souls, in rejecting and dashing from them errors which have come up from childhood with them, growing with their growth, and strengthening with their strength.

To him who in the pursuit of truth would be able clearly to trace facts to their true causes; and thus avoid the errors which are everywhere found among the ignorant and the superficial, extensive knowledge is absolutely necessary. Nothing can supply the place of this. But, in addition, the power of patient investigation and an honest love of the truth are needed. The fact that men of profound learning and extensive knowledge have long continued in error, abundantly proves that candor and patience are not less necessary to lead us into truth, than knowledge itself.

Another power, to him who would be able to trace back facts to their true causes, is exceedingly important; and that is, the power to suspend judgment. To this we are peculiarly reluctant. Not only is there a feeling of impatience in the mind which prevents it, and a degree of mental indolence which it is not easy to overcome; but with most mere superficial scholars there is a pride in exhibiting a readiness on all important questions, which prevents them from the exercise of careful inquiry, till they have committed themselves; and till they are thus disqualified to make truth the object of their research. Bacon, and Euler, and Locke, and Newton, and Reid, and Franklin, had the power of predicating their judgments on full and mature reflection. Nor will he who would cultivate a philosophic mind, deviate much from the course they have marked out for him. The truth is, we often have to acknowledge our ignorance. The causes of a thousand things are designedly hid from us, and of a thousand others are so remote, as to require time and care to search them out.

Another popular error connected with education is, that useful learning can be acquired without intellectual effort. This error is not often expressed in words, though in practice it has prevailed to a fearful extent. It is the counterpart of that which would deprive the student of the necessary aids to improvement, that the whole might be the result of his unaided effort. Each of these systems has had its turn. While the latter only delayed the student in his progress, and threw unnecessary discouragements in his way; the former has had a much more pernicious influence in lowering the standard of education, debilitating the mind, and thus disqualifying the individual for the more responsible and arduous duties of life. This principle has found its way into every department of learning, from the infant school to the university,—from the A B C to the learned profession.

For instance, go into the infant schools of our cities, and hear children, almost as soon as they can speak at all, taught to talk about rectangles, prisms, and parallelograms, or about meridians and ecliptics; or hear them chant the tables of arithmetic, or repeat the unintelligible dogmas of the catechism; as though the sublime truths of geometry, astronomy, and theology, could be embraced by the infant mind, and mathematics and religion consisted in names alone.

Sure one would think this must be the "royal road to learning." Again, go into the primary schools of our country, and see there the rising youth conning the lessons of their grammars, or spelling book; or endeavoring to *cipher through their arithmetics*, by learning the rules and getting the answers to the sums. Here the process is as mechanical as are the motions of the automaton; nor does it differ from them more in any other particular, than in the want of correctness in its results. Instances of the same error are to be seen in those who would learn the application of mathematical principles, without first attending to the elements; or who would become proficients in the natural sciences, without going abroad to look at nature as she is. The error thus far seems to consist in not accurately distinguishing between names and ideas, and in substituting the exercise of memory for judgment and reason; and the blame in these cases attaches principally to teachers, who should never permit a pupil to enter upon or prosecute the investigation of any subject, which he is not fully prepared to understand.

A similar effect is produced on the minds of most of their students, by those institutions which render effort unnecessary for obtaining their highest honors. And in this respect, no system is perhaps so faulty as that of communicating instruction by lectures. This does well in lyceums, and on other occasions where the object is to illustrate by experiment, or to communicate general instruction on popular subjects; but to give it the place it has in at least one class of institutions in our country, is but to substitute the interesting for the useful, and to open another "royal road to learning." Even the profound mysteries of the law, which can be illustrated neither by diagrams nor skeletons, are taught by lectures, and this method of instruction is introduced into many other schools. Judging from the immediate results, we might suppose some magical influence attached to this system; for the process of making what they call educated or professional men goes on in these schools with as much regularity at least as any mechanical process; and the regular graduation and bestowment of honors is much more uniform, than where personal effort is called into requisition, and personal excellence made the rigid test of success.

One hour of close application to the pages of Homer, or to the demonstrations of Euclid, is preferable to a dozen lectures; and a thorough recitation to one deeply read in law or medicine, and well versed in its practice, will give more practical instruction to a student in these departments, than any lecture which can be delivered. Godman, whom, though a distinguished anatomist, no profession can claim, but whose name remains as a legacy to the nation, and to the world, was not made in the lecture room.

He built his own stature, made himself.

He has himself given us his early history, in a letter to a friend.—"Before I was two years old," says he, "I was motherless;—before I was five years old I was fatherless and friendless. I have been deprived of property by fraud, that was mine by right. I have eaten the bread of misery, I have drunk the cup of sorrow. I have passed the flower of my days in a state little better than slavery, and arrived at what? Manhood, poverty, and desolation."* Such

* Quoted from the N. A. Review, for Jan. 1835. Art. Memoir of Dr. Godman.

does he represent himself, when he commenced the study of medicine; and it is interesting to inquire, how he acquired, in his short life, the envied eminence to which he attained.

One who knew him well, says,—"His eagerness in the pursuit of knowledge seemed like the impulse of gnawing hunger, and an unquenchable thirst, which neither disease nor adversity could allay." "His ambition and thirst for knowledge," says another, "were such, that having commenced an investigation, or a language, no difficulty could stop him; and what he had no time to accomplish in the day, he would do at night, instead of enjoying that rest of which he often stood in so much need."* It was thus by intense application and untiring industry, that he made himself what he was; and his biography speaks volumes in favor of the omnipotence of these. No error can be more fatal, than that learning can be acquired without them; unless it be that other error, which is nearly allied to it, that learning when acquired must be associated with ease and luxury. Let him, who in the pursuit of science would get along without toil and effort, or him who having received the honors of an institution would contemplate his education as finished, and settle down in the enjoyment of ease and luxury, think of Godman; and let such think, that the price he paid for his undying fame is that toil they affect to despise. And let them also remember one other fact, that amid all his multiplied pursuits, he found time to commence and carry through the most thorough investigation of the truth of the Christian revelation, and in his later years to attend to the duties and cultivate the virtues connected with the religion of Christ. Yes, Godman was a Christian.

The error of which we have spoken often seems to have its origin in an excessive feeling of haste, on the part of the learner, to complete his education. All the means that can be devised to facilitate the onward course are brought into requisition; and as far as possible the pleasing is substituted for the useful, and the showy for the more solid. Nor does the feeling of the young girl, who is eager for her *three months* at a boarding school to close, that she may return home to be looked upon as a *lady*, differ from the feelings of the more advanced scholar, who eagerly looks forward to the time when *his education shall be finished*, and he shall go out into the world *a learned man*. This feeling of haste is encouraged by the book-making community: and to such an extent have mechanical facilities been introduced into our systems of education, that we can, with no small degree of propriety, speak of the mechanical character of this our boasted age. And to such self-styled improvements, the ignorance or the indifference of our teachers but too often gives a ready introduction; and thus our schools and institutions of learning are becoming flooded with but poor substitutes for industry and common sense.

The practice of reading without reflection may well be introduced under this head. "Nothing," says an extensive and accomplished writer, (Stewart,) "has such a tendency to weaken, not only the powers of invention, but the intellectual powers in general, as this." Yet by how many is it practised? Forgetful of our maxim, that nothing valuable can be acquired without great effort, how many amuse themselves with the idea, that the time thus spent is usefully employ-

* These extracts are quoted from Dr. Thomas Sewall's eulogy on Dr. Godman.

ed, at the same time that they read merely from indolence. Others read from a curiosity to learn what an author says, without once inquiring whether what he says be true. By such reading nothing but the memory is called into exercise; the higher faculties of the mind fall into disuse, at the same time that the mind itself becomes unsettled in relation to every important sentiment or opinion. There are others still, who read in the same way, not so much from any personal curiosity, as for the want of moral courage. For, as has been well said, "It requires courage indeed to remain ignorant of those useless subjects which are generally valued." (Helvetius.) How necessary, however, such a courage is, to him who either loves the truth, or is in pursuit of an enduring fame, I need not say.

Another popular error is, that all education should have for its basis practical utility; by which is meant, that all the pursuits of the scholar should have a direct reference to this principle. Bringing the various objects of pursuit which call the attention of the scholar to this test, some reject from a course of study one thing and some another. And to such an extent has the principle been pushed, that scarcely a branch of learning remains, whether connected with science or literature, which has not been assailed by it. Some utterly reject all knowledge of the mathematics, except what is necessary to present those truths which are of actual service in the practical business of life; and even these truths may be learned, say they, without attending to the tedious demonstrations by which they are established. Thus the study of the exact sciences is reduced to the simple process of committing to memory a few propositions which are susceptible of an application to the common concerns of life.

All the objections which are raised against the study of the sciences on the ground of practical inutility are based on an entire forgetfulness of one of the leading objects of education,—that is, *mental discipline*. This, with the acquisition of useful knowledge, constitutes the education; and of the two must be considered far the most important. For with a mind well disciplined, a mind trained to close and accurate thought, practical knowledge to any extent may be readily acquired; but without this previous discipline, even knowledge itself, if possessed, would be of little avail. But no truth can be considered better established, than that application constitutes the only effectual discipline of the mind. For the purpose of mental discipline, then, if for no other, the foundations of science should be laid permanent and deep in the human mind.

Objections which rest on the same general principle are brought against the pursuit of the natural sciences; and we often hear the inquiry in relation to the collection of the botanist and the zoologist, as well as the cabinet of the mineralogist,—"What are they all worth?" And the mere pretender to learning often joins in the laugh, when the unproductive folly of the naturalist is the topic of conversation. Is it indeed, then, in vain that God has spread out his works before us? and is there no advantage derived from looking through nature up to nature's God? Suffice it to say, that God has implanted in the mind that becomes cultivated, a love for the study of his works; and has connected with this study a hidden charm, which he who feels, though he may pass a life of toil, and go down to his grave in poverty, unhonored and unsung, envies not the idle man his ease, the miser his stores, or the statesman his honors.

For their supposed practical inutility, almost every branch of polite learning also has been rejected from the list of useful study. In relation to language, history, rhetoric, and a few others, the question is settled; and few now think of objecting to them on this account. But poetry and music are of a more doubtful character. In relation to these, however, permit me to say, that they are the first lessons which man has ever learned from his Maker. Nature's children have always been poets, from the Hebrew of old, to the native inhabitant of our soil,—from the hyperborean snows of the Goths and Scythians, to the torrid zone, where wanders the African in his native glory. The praises of God have in all ages and in all climates gone up, associated with all that is inspiring in poetry and song; and many of the choicest portions of inspiration have been given in poetic numbers.

Painting and sculpture are but sister arts; and those only who have had the pleasure of looking on the master pieces of the first artists, are prepared to judge with any degree of correctness on the subject. If asked, in general terms, why I would have a taste for the fine arts cultivated, my answer should be,—because we are so constituted by our Creator that these become to us sources of happiness. And it yet remains to be proved, that the pleasure derived from this source is less pure, than that which the man of the world derives from his industry, his titles, or his gold.

An error, the opposite of that to which we have alluded, has an existence at least in practice; and, the principle of utility has been lost sight of in some of our systems of education. This also has been pushed to strange extremes. On the one hand, mental discipline, without any regard to its practical application, has been consulted; and on the other, all reference to this has been lost, and external accomplishments have received the whole attention. In regard to its former application, I may be permitted to add to what I have already said on the subject, that there should be a proper blending of mental discipline with the acquisition of useful knowledge. The amount of attention, therefore, given to the abstruse sciences, should depend on the extent to which the education is to be carried. Thus the study of the calculus, or even of geometry, would not be thought as important to him who is simply preparing himself for a farm, as would be that of chemical and mechanical philosophy, and some of the other branches of natural science. In a limited course of study, then, the principal dependence for disciplining the mind, must be on the effort necessary to the acquisition of useful knowledge. In a full and complete course, however, the abstract sciences properly claim a high share of attention; nor should any one, who would acquire the power or habit of close consecutive thinking, think lightly of such a course.

In regard to the latter application of this erroneous principle, which attaches too much importance to mere external accomplishments, and in their glitter loses sight of the principle of utility, I may say, it has been principally confined to female education. Happily for the rising race, however, there are becoming more and more Cornelias in our country,—more and more, who consider their children as their jewels; and who prefer, that their daughters should compare with the diamond of the mine, rather than with the lily of the val-

ley. But how many have we seen,—accomplished young ladies to be sure,—of whom it might be said, that a genteel form, a graceful movement, and a store of romantic lore, accompanied perchance with a smattering of music and French, constitute the whole of their education. Yet perhaps years had been given to its acquisition. The object of female education in these cases seems to be lost sight of. The young lady is not always to remain that fantastic being she is at sixteen. Her education should be such as to fit her for other scenes, when she shall become, what indeed she should always be, the *companion* instead of the *idol* of her friends. In many cases education has accomplished this object; and not a few are found, who, when addressed as the mere creatures of feeling, the proper subjects of flattery, and as unable to enjoy even an intellectual repast, know well how to appreciate *such* a compliment to their intelligence.

Yet all is not as it should be. The standard of female education is not raised sufficiently high. How many there are yet, whose highest object is to acquire some of the more graceful accomplishments; and who value some trifling work of taste, or skill in the fine arts, higher than the literary gem, or a much more valuable treasure drawn from the mines of science. The object of a knowledge of the fine arts, or the lighter literature, is to add a polish to a more thorough intellectual education; and should be attended to, only to sweeten the toils connected with the acquisition of solid learning, or to give a healthful acuteness to the imagination and a perfection to the sentient powers, which the pursuit of the sciences had failed to yield. At the same time, then, that the principle of utility, as it has been defined, should not predominate, so as to swallow up every thing else, neither should it be lost sight of, in any system of education or department of learning.

Another grand practical error connected with education, very different in its nature from those I have noticed, arises from the supposition, that the mind is divided in its action into separate powers. Thus we often hear philosophy contrasted with feeling; and taste and imagination with judgment; and (to represent the subject more clearly) we have seen the will set in array with the passions, as if they sustained to each other only a relation like tribes or clans inhabiting the same district; and have had it presented to us, as *one power* of the mind engaged in a conflict with the *other powers*, and liable to have its acts even annulled by them. Thus the volitions are represented as the acts of but *a part* of the mind, instead of being, as they are, the acts of the *whole* mind, in the exercise of that susceptibility, by which is exhibited the result of its own deliberations. Passing, however, this last erroneous application of the principle, which is here introduced only for illustration, the powers or faculties of the mind are often spoken of, not only as distinct and capable of independent action; but their acts are represented as incongruous the one with the other, so that the ability to perform one class of mental operations is made to preclude the power of performing others. This is the point we shall first examine. Here is opened a broad field of discussion; and I have only to regret, that I must delay but a few moments, where I might linger an hour. By way of introduction, let me inquire, where are found the power of philosophical research, and the deep-toned emotion,—the accurate taste,

and the powerful judgment?—where but in the mind? And what is the mind, but *one undivided intelligence?* I think it not difficult to be made to appear, that every mental act, of whatever character, is an act of the *whole* mind. If so, however great be the difference in the strength of different minds, the inference is strong, that that mind which is powerful to feel, is powerful to reason; and that the vigorous and well regulated imagination is never unassociated with the strong judgment.

In the examination of this subject, however, we will be particular. In common parlance, as we have suggested, strong thought is supposed to be inconsistent with deep feeling; and, on the contrary, a want of feeling is dignified by the name of philosophy. Judging from the frequency of such admissions, we might almost be led to consider it a moral axiom. It has been strongly expressed by one of our statesmen, (Ames' Essays—Equality, No. 1,) where he says, "A true philosopher is superior to humanity; he could walk at ease over this earth, if it were unpeopled; he could tread with all the pleasure of curiosity on its cinders, the day after the final conflagration." With this sentiment, the hypothesis I have just advanced is altogether at variance. I can indeed have an idea, that the conceit of the poet, (Campbell,) might be realized; that the last of our race, wrapped about with the sublimity of emotion, and lost in the consciousness of his own dignity and of his alliance with the Supreme, might tread on the fragments of the ruined world, and, as his eye caught the last lingering ray of the extinguished sun,

> The dark'ning universe defy
> To quench his immortality,
> Or shake his trust in God.

But I cannot conceive, that it is the part of true philosophy to look upon human wo without emotion, to tread unmoved upon the ruins of time, or to gaze, as a disinterested spectator, upon the operation of any thing which concerns the welfare of our race.

But, to take a philosophical view of this subject, what is feeling? What, but an emotion arising from the perception of some object, or truth; and consequently, associated with some thought, or idea? If it be thus, then intense feeling, so far from being opposed to thinking, is but another name for intense thought; and that mind alone is powerful to feel, which is powerful to think,—powerful to reason. And if it indeed be thus, it is interesting to inquire, how a sentiment the opposite to this came to be so generally diffused. The argument, briefly stated, is this. The philosopher,—he who really deserves the appellation,—is seen to pursue whatever he purposes in his heart, with an inflexibility and decision which seem much more like the result of cool reason than of passion. Whatever conscience or reason dictates, he never shrinks from, whatever inducements indolence or passion suggest to turn him from his purpose. The warrior too, it is said, mingles in the strife of conflicting armies, issues his orders and sustains his broken troops, surrounded by the dead and dying, with a coolness utterly incompatible with the exercise of the tender emotions. Again we are referred to the orator, who, with "quiet dignity and unruffled self-possession," can sway at pleasure the feelings and judgment of his audience, bring into violent conflict all the excitable ingredients of human nature,

> With terror now can freeze the cowering blood,
> And now dissolve the heart in tenderness;

and who, meantime, looks apparently unmoved,

> On hearts and passions prostrate at his feet.

And the inference from these premises is, that these men do not feel as intensely as do inferior minds.

This inference is erroneous. Matter of fact proves that these men have passions capable of being aroused to tremendous action. They differ from other men simply in this, that their passions are under the control of their wills. The joyous *Eureka* of Archimedes, the trembling frame of Newton, as he came near to the conclusion of those calculations which gave laws to the universe, and the swooning of Rittenhouse, when his prediction was realized, and he was gazing at a phenomenon* which no eye should again see till other generations should people the earth,—demonstrate that these men could *feel* as well as *reason*. Washington, on parting with his compatriots, at the close of the revolution, gave silent, but affecting and impressive evidence of the deepest emotion; and Napoleon—even Napoleon! could be agitated to trembling, on hearing the piteous moans of a dog that lay by the side of his master on the deserted battle field. That orator, too, who stands in all the dignity of self-collection,—if it but subserve his purpose, can throw off the restraints from his passions; when at once his voice, his action, the flashes of his eye, the vitality he gives to every expression of sentiment— all become indices of the raging of that tempest which has till then been confined within. It remains to be shown that such feel less strongly than did Homer when he described the tears of Andromache; or than Virgil, when he sung the fate of Nisus and Euryalus; or that any of these did not feel more strongly than *can* the common vulgar mind.

This error has led thousands to cultivate a stoical turn of mind,—an apathy and indifference to human weal and human wo, which has proved ruinous to the finer feelings of their nature, destroyed the delicate texture of the soul, cut them loose from the sympathies of life, and blighted those nice sensibilities without which society is but a name, and intercourse with the world but loneliness and solitude. If the views I have advocated be correct, then it follows that that philosophy which forbids deep feeling, must at the same time remove from its possessor the power of deep thought, or at least the propensity to indulge in it. Or, if deep thought be allowed at all, it must be confined to such subjects as have no tendency to make him either a happier or a better man.

We also hear it said that there is an incongruity between the imagination and the judgment; at least, that they are distinct and opposite attributes of the mind. If I do not misunderstand the reason, which is so often given for the careless perusal of fictitious writings, it is based on this sentiment; for those who resort to this source for the avowed purpose of cultivating the imagination, are the last to peruse them in a way to improve the judgment. But does this incongruity actually exist? In answering this question, it is important to remark that *imagination* and *fancy* are not synonymous terms; the latter representing the faculty by which the mind forms its conceptions, and the former, the power of combining and modify-

* The transit of Venus, which occurred in 1769.

ing these conceptions at pleasure. Milton speaks of the creations of the fancy, as,—

> Airy shapes,
> Which reason joining or disjoining, frames;
> All what we affirm or what deny, and call
> Our knowledge, or opinion.

Nor is this the theory of the poet only. Now of what use are these "airy shapes," till joined and arranged by the reason? Yet these are the very things with which the minds of thousands of young females are filled, which give them only a morbid sensibility to every circumstance of excitement, whether real or imaginary, and which are the legitimate offspring of the careless perusal of novels and works of taste.

When these "airy shapes," which fancy presents to the mind, are combined and arranged into harmonious pictures by the imagination, then, and not till then, they become useful. But how can this harmonious arrangement be made, without an exercise of the judgment? If this view be correct, it follows that the imagination implies an exercise of the judgment; and that taste cannot be exercised without it. This is in accordance with the sentiment of a recent writer on rhetoric,* when he defines taste as "a judgment of what is fitted to excite emotions of beauty, grandeur, and sublimity, founded on the experience of past emotions."

The inference I shall draw from this view of the subject is, that the cultivation of the imagination without an exercise of the judgment involves an absurdity, and cannot take place. The imagination and judgment, instead of being at war with each other, are mutually necessary to each other's strength and perfection. A fine imagination cannot exist without a correct judgment; and in relation to the judgment, it scarcely need be said that without imagination to aid in the combination of thought, it could be applied to no extensive object of utility. Their cultivation, then, must go hand in hand; and when one of them is neglected, they are both neglected. A luxuriant fancy, it is true, may exist without judgment; but then it exists also without imagination, and is a thousandfold worse than the possession of neither. To the poet or the painter, judgment and imagination are not less necessary than fancy itself; and are as necessary to them as to the philosopher, the architect, or the statesman. As a final inference from the whole subject, I conclude that the imagination, like the other treasures of the mind, is the price of toil. He who would drink at Castalia's sacred fount, must first labor up the rugged steep of Parnassus.

On the general subject of dividing the mind into faculties, I would not longer dwell; but that the strange error has grown out of this, of exempting certain faculties from the necessity of study. We hear men talk of a genius for poetry, for mathematics, for painting, for extemporaneous speaking, for the languages, and, in fact, for almost every thing; and all this is well enough, if the phraseology be rightly understood. If by genius is meant simply a natural aptitude or power of acquiring talents of a particular kind, we will not object to it. For we do not believe all men to possess originally the same constitution and powers of mind; nor that the most fixed applica-

* Professor Newman, of Bowdoin College.

tion can supply all the native defects of the mind. But by original genius is often meant something more than this. *Poeta nascitur non fit*, has long since passed into a proverb, with a broader signification than this exposition would give to it. And a recent writer in a foreign review* says, "Genius is heaven-born and fortuitous, and depends comparatively little upon culture." This is precisely the sentiment I am about to oppose; for the circumstance, that what is here called *genius* depends *at all* on culture, proves that the writer means something more than a natural aptitude to learn. But if it mean any thing more than this, then it depends essentially and primarily on culture. Otherwise genius is a mere imaginary thing. It may exist, any length of time, without culture, without application, without exercise. Thus he who passes for the veriest blockhead, may be the greatest genius; and all that is necessary for a display of this imaginary power, is the recurrence of some appropriate circumstance to call it into action. This notion, how gratifying to many a fond parent; while he can compliment his son, and flatter his own vanity, by saying that "the boy has a great natural genius," at the same time that he says, "he never could be made to apply himself to study." Than this, no error could be more fatal to the growth of the youthful mind.

Genius, if it means any thing, means the power and the disposition to study. Genius will study; it is the very nature of it to study; and where there is no love of study there is no genius. This is the ground I take;—that no natural gift can supply the place of hard study. In relation to taste and imagination, it would seem that enough had been already said. Their exercise implies an exercise of the understanding,—and such an understanding as can be acquired only by the most careful examination of every thing to which it relates. Yet, to hear some talk, we should think Homer's an undisciplined mind. Of Shakspeare we have indeed been told by a modern reviewer, that "after having written his thirty-eight plays he went carelessly down to the country, and lived out his days apparently unconscious of having done any thing at all extraordinary." As though some magic charm, some enchanting spell, like the gift of prophecy, rested down upon him for a time, and then left him, like the Nazarite of old, weak and like another man. The immortal productions of West's pencil we are taught to consider as the work of some fairy hand. And we have learned to look upon Henry, in the midst of his mighty efforts, with scarcely less reverence than though the direct inspiration of Heaven had been visibly upon him.

These are strongly marked cases; and are often quoted as examples of the developement of genius without previous discipline. And the reason that there are any cases like these, is, that study is not always *formal*, but simply a concentration of the mind upon its object, whatever it may be. It consists not alone in midnight vigils, not alone in poring over books, nor in putting on an air of thoughtfulness; witness this same Henry. What means it when he is seen hour after hour, apparently watching his motionless fish-line; nor heeding the approach of footsteps, or the shades of night. To me, that gives evidence of intense study,—all-absorbing, abstracted

* Foreign Quarterly Review for July, 1834.—Art. Madame de Stael.

thought. His was a genius that studied everywhere; and this is a bliss not unlike that

> The lonely bard enjoyed, when forth he walked
> Unpurposed; stood, and knew not why; sat down,
> And knew not where; arose, and knew not when;
> Had eyes, and saw not; ears, and nothing heard;
> And sought—sought neither heaven nor earth—sought naught,
> Nor meant to think; but ran meantime, through vast
> Of visionary things, fairer than aught
> That was; and saw the distant tops of thoughts,
> Which men of common stature never saw.
> He entered into Nature's holy place,
> And heard unutterable things;

things then indeed unutterable; but afterward uttered boldly forth before multitudes of assembled men.

Not unlike this must have been the history of Homer, of Shakspeare, and a thousand more. That a particular bent of mind, or aptitude for a particular study or employment often exhibits itself in early life, I do not of course deny. On the contrary, I admit that this was the case with Euler, with Newton, with West, with Fulton, and a host of others who have become eminent in the world; and only assert that this is all that should be embraced in the word *genius*, when used in the connection of which we are speaking. And if this be what is properly called genius, permit me to inquire how it exhibited itself in these cases; how it could have exhibited itself; or how such a power can exhibit itself in any future case, but in a love of study, and in the power of attention to its object? If these had been wanting, what would have remained? When we refer to the attainments of these men,—to any talents or skill which they possessed, these were with them, as they are in all other cases, the purchase of labor and toil. Indeed I should want no better comment than these furnish on the text, that genius is application. And could we become familiar with the history of the world's master spirits in general, and see, from infancy to the active scenes of life, the hidden workings of those gifted souls, the result would be the same. Could we see the poet's twilight abstraction and the painter's deep and unwearied study of the models of excellence in nature and in art,—could we see the orator's midnight musings, and feel his soul-thrilling interest, his overwhelming pressure of emotion, and his intense thought; we should no longer think of genius, in connection with them, as consisting in aught but powerful feeling, strong and vivid perception, and a clear and discriminating intellect. And even though it should break forth sudden, like lightning from the cloud, we should only think that, like the ethereal fire, it had been collecting its power, long ere it flashed out before the admiring gaze of men. Excellence, then, without effort, in any department of the arts or sciences, is but a schoolboy's dream; worthy of him only who would become a learned man by reading novels and the reviews; or who would master the sciences, at the same time that he is indulging in all the pleasures and refinements of social life.

The last error I shall notice attaches itself particularly to those who are commencing their education; and this class of course embraces all who are pursuing their studies at our colleges and seminaries of learning. It seems to be based on the forgetfulness of the high and ennobling motives which should ever be before the American scholar. Some of these motives are,—the love of usefulness; the

opportunities offered in our country for honorable distinction; and a sense of obligation to one's friends, to his country, and to his God. In the influence of these may be found the magic of the success of our self-made men; and it is here precisely that their great strength lies. Nothing but high considerations like these could carry them through all the various discouragements they have to meet; but with these in view, nothing has power to prevent the accomplishment of their purposes. By losing sight of these high and holy motives, how many a scholar has passed his years of improvement in indolence; relying perchance on the influence or the wealth of his friends to carry him through the world. How many others have sacrificed their literary rank to the comparatively worthless pleasures of society. How many others still, like him of old, who sold his birthright for a mess of pottage, have exchanged all that is valuable in a literary reputation, for the pleasures of the cup and the luxuries of the table. How many more have lost sight of the permanent and rich endowments of the mind in the glitter of present popularity, and in pursuit of the objects of a vain ambition. And O! how many, even of those who have enriched their intellects by the highest culture, have permitted their moral natures to lie waste and desolate; and have prostituted their talents to the subversion of human happiness! Not so with him who is looking for the reward of his toil, either to the rewards of virtue, or to that estimate which the world shall set on his talents or his labors.

In conclusion, permit me to say to the young gentlemen present; —You are at liberty to appropriate these last remarks particularly to yourselves. Look not too much at the immediate rewards of your desert. Think not too much of the present distinction which any course of conduct can purchase for you. And when tempted to turn aside from the great work in which you are engaged, to indulge in pleasures and in the dissipating amusements of society, think of the future. There are fields of honor in our country to be reaped; there are stations of usefulness to be filled. With yourselves it chiefly rests to say, whether you will become the pride of your families, go up to stations of honor and usefulness, and be remembered with gratitude by those who come after you; or whether you will become "the hewers of wood, and drawers of water," to those who shall be more deserving than yourselves. In a word, remember that the *world* is your theatre, and *public life* the stage on which you are destined to act; and that that fame which is associated with unyielding virtue and sterling integrity, and which is bought by a generous self-devotion to the public good, is the only renown which shall cheer the decline of life, or which shall be rewarded by the love and veneration of after ages.

AN ORATION

Pronounced before the Philorhetorian Society of the Wesleyan University, August 25, 1835. By the Rev. John Dempster.

Perceiving before me an assembly, the most of whom might instruct the speaker, I would dare to challenge your attention for a few moments, only on the ground that my theme is important.

This bright array of talent and literature, of mental and moral excellence, imposes on the speaker higher obligations, as it consists

of blooming youth and honorable age; of those who look to be led nearer the acme of human attainments, and of those who demand our accordance in the great principles with which they are familiar.

The infant, but far-famed institution with which you are connected, demands the attention of such minds, so cultivated; for in this great republic thousands are looking to the WESLEYAN UNIVERSITY, as to a radiant point, from which should diverge, in all directions, the rays of deep literature and correct philosophy. Nor does the object that unites the society which I particularly address, claim too much when it calls into requisition the highest powers that grace the assembly—this object consisting in that wondrous art by which one mind is made to animate a thousand—by which one individual melts and moulds the spell-bound throng that hear him into his own manner of conceiving and purposes of acting.

This art, which is called ELOQUENCE, has been cultivated by the most highly endowed minds of which the history of our race speaks. It has achieved deeds at which the world wondered, and by which the destinies of nations were swayed. This art received more attention, and wrought greater feats, when Greece was young and vigorous, and when Rome was powerful and classic, than during the long chain of ages that has succeeded those illustrious periods.

And though a land of *liberty* furnishes the only soil in which eloquence can bud and bloom, it has never received an attention in the new world, proportioned to the measureless sway it is capable of exerting. In our times it seems to be too generally assumed that a speaker becomes eloquent as a season becomes fruitful, depending neither on the goodness of the seed deposited, nor on the skill and diligence of the cultivator; but on hidden causes entirely within the control of mysterious power. Or, on the other hand, the most arduous labor has been bestowed to furnish qualifications which nature alone can give; while those attainments which the most protracted life is not too long to make, have been expected to flow, unsought, from the hand of nature.

Now, that something may be contributed toward rightly directing efforts to accomplish this great object, permit me to glance at what belongs to *nature*, and what to *art*, in *furnishing an orator*.

When I affirm that the intonations of the voice, and the gesticulations of the speaker, depend on art only to correct what is wrong, I merely repeat what has often been insisted on by the greatest masters of rhetoric.

If he speaks the most eloquently who speaks the most naturally, then whatever makes his manner less natural, makes the orator less eloquent. Nature, then, so far as manner is concerned, furnishes the only correct standard of eloquence; whatever, therefore, adds to simple nature, or diminishes its powers, derogates from the standard of good speaking. Every attempt to improve nature embarrasses her; for if it be not entirely useless, because utterly inefficient, it must be positively injurious.

Is it, then, demanded why the prince of Grecian orators deemed himself unfit for the forum, until he had passed the mirror and seaside training? Why the master spirits of every age have insisted on the most rigid discipline for the future orator? The only correct answer is, that Demosthenes, in all this training, aimed not at improving nature, but at disenthralling her—not to make his gesticula-

tions artificial, or less natural, but more accordant with nature—not to rise above nature, but to free her from that awkwardness induced by early embarrassment—not to teach his voice when to rise, and when to fall, but to give it strength and clearness, by vigorous exercise. Indeed, the only legitimate object of all such training, is not to acquire what is right, but to remove what is wrong.

But who, among all the thousands destined to act as public speakers, have neither contracted unnatural habits, nor are yet in danger of contracting them? Here, then, is an imperious demand for rigid rules and skilful teachers.

Newton found it more difficult to unlearn the world what it had erroneously believed for a thousand years, than to teach it his vast system of truth, which is supported by the loftiest mathematical demonstration. And if we require rules and instructers in those branches which aim at improving native powers, much more do we need them where error threatens to embarrass these powers, and to unlearn that into which we have unfortunately blundered.

Indeed, if we inquire after the greatest obstacle with which the teacher of this art is called to contend, we are referred to his task of unlearning the future orator what he should never have learned.

But when the pupil has been prevented from falling into error, or when his acquired awkwardness has been removed, he has received from his instructer all that human skill can bestow. He might be furnished with a set of rules, with a view to assist nature—rules by which he should extend his arm, raise his voice, and place the emphasis; but if the corresponding feeling of his nature prompt not these, in vain are they performed mechanically: and if these feelings do prompt them, he can need no other prompter. Should a speaker turn his attention to the modulations of his voice, and to the motions of his hands, the feelings indispensable to proper tones and action will assuredly be wanting. For if the mind can attend to but one object at the same moment, and if it can feel no excitement from that to which it pays no attention, then, while it is intent on the *manner* of communicating, it can catch no inspiration from the matter communicated. And if the speaker's attention be divided between the manner and matter, the excitement his mind should feel from the latter, will, of course, be diminished in exact proportion as it attends to the former.

Whatever degree of attention, therefore, is given to the manner, while speaking, just so much diminishes the excitement indispensable to a proper manner.

Nature, in the work that is entirely her own, scorns all the intermeddling of art. As well may we prescribe rules by which the sorrowing widow shall weep, as to fix those by which the orator shall be eloquent. In this work nature must be left alone, free and unfettered as the circumambient air we breathe; then will the thoughts that glow, the genius that flashes, brighten and vivify all her exterior powers.

But though to correct what is wrong is all that art can do as to the management of the voice, and the action of the speaker, it can do much more in furnishing his other qualifications.

He must have at his command LANGUAGE, and language was never the gift of nature. Nature undoubtedly has her signs by which her strong emotions may be unequivocally expressed. The motion

of the hand, the tone of the voice, the look of the eye, the features of the face, and the very limbs of the body, may all be eloquent of the struggling emotions within. These are the appropriate media through which heart communes with heart; but the most mighty and admirable instrument by which mind converses with mind—by which intellect acts on intellect, is *language*. The very constitution of human society evidently demanded this instrument. Without it the loftiest purposes of being must have remained unaccomplished. But though language did not originate in nature, though it was contrived by human genius, or given by a miracle from heaven, nature has evidently adopted it and made it her own. Did it not corruscate with the scintillations emitted by nature, it could never be that wonder-working instrument by which the bosoms of a thousand listeners are made to glow. Did not the ardent mind of the speaker embody itself in the words which he utters, they could never possess that magic power by which they have so often acted on minds of every habit, and of every capacity.

It is this dependence which the efficacy of language has on the inspiration of the mind, together with the sympathy which mind has with mind, through the appropriate medium, that gives one word in a sentence more power than any other of all the thousands that compose a language. Other words there may be, of nearly the same import, but just so much as their force and meaning differ from the right one, will they fail to carry the entire view of the speaker to the soul of the hearer. Nor is there a less powerful charm in the right members of a sentence, than in the words of which it is composed.

It is familiar to good taste, that so entirely may a sentence be finished, as that the smallest change in any of its members, would mar the beauty of its symmetry, and break the enchantment with which it acts. The same thing is equally true, and more important with respect to a whole discourse. Where an entire discourse is made to consist of one chain to which the sentences that compose it naturally connect themselves, it is known to act on the rational faculties with a power no less captivating than that with which a well-formed sentence acts on cultivated taste.

To use language with merely grammatical correctness, can give the speaker no claims to the orator's lofty prerogative. He must use it with enchanting sweetness, and with resistless force. He must use it so as to convince, persuade, and overpower—with perspicuity, with energy, and with elegance.

As, then, language is the magic wand, the unparalleled *instrument*, by which the orator achieves all that is splendid in his art, what labor is too Herculean to acquire its richest treasures? In vain may he hope to acquire them without labor. For a mind not extensively acquainted with language, not imbued with its living spirit, and enriched with its highest attributes, can never select its best terms and combine them in the most forcible manner, during the arduous labor of public address, amid the flashes of genius and the goings forth of daring thought.

But to make the highest philological attainments, is far from completing the qualifications of a speaker. These furnish the channel of communication, but not the matter to be communicated. To that

versatility of mind, so important to an orator, a knowledge of nature through the various sciences is indispensable.

He is to accomplish three great purposes by becoming a man of science. He acquires materials for illustration, a knowledge of the various subjects he may be called to treat, and a vigor and expansion of his mental powers.

He should be a man of science, that from its vast storehouse he may draw materials for the purposes of illustration. Addressing men of every art and of every science, he should be able to avail himself of all the facts and truths which they furnish the literary world. That in which a man is deeply interested, and with which he is most familiar, is to him the most striking illustration of whatever may be inculcated. Hence, from the business followed, and the objects pursued by the various ranks of men, the orator should be qualified to collect materials for illustration, and so lay under contribution, to his great purpose, every object within the grasp of his thoughts and the compass of his research. He should be able to draw his comparisons, and borrow his imagery from the deepest wonders of art, and the grandest scenes of nature—from the darkest chambers of mind, and the loftiest mount of science. Not only should he be able to arm himself with the materials for comparison and imagery, and for description, furnished by the newly created substances of chemistry, the wondrous laws of hydraulics, the mysterious operations of magnetism, the wonder-working electric fluid, and all the arts that compel material nature to execute human purposes; but he should be able to press into his service the spirit of the whirlwind and the torrent of the lightning; the growl of the ocean and the thunder of the heavens; the bloom of the rose and the beams of the morning, together with the deep feelings of kindred spirits and the bright flashes of lofty minds. When he has explored this broad field, in which mind was never capable of satiety, there await his bidding figures of every form, and flowers of every hue.

The orator should also have a knowledge of science, because it is indispensable to qualify him for the subject on which he may be called to speak. Without knowledge commensurate to his subject, his wit might sparkle, his fancy paint, and his genius flash, but his arguments might never be invincible. How, for example, as a statesman, can he intelligently speak concerning a proposed improvement of a hydraulic, pneumatic, or geological character, without some scentific attainments? How, as a physician, on the causes and cures of diseases, without knowing the structure of the human frame, and the chemical properties of the proposed remedy? How, as a lawyer, without some acquaintance with the principles of those arts which the various causes he pleads may involve? Or how, as a preacher, without some comprehensive view of the natural sciences, to which the book he explains so constantly alludes?

But his mind should be fraught with scientific knowledge especially, because he needs the vigor and expansion obtained by acquiring such knowledge. The mental, like the corporeal powers, become vigorous in proportion as they are exercised. And, assuredly, we can need no new argument to prove that mental vigor, consisting in acuteness of perception, fixedness of attention, tenacity of memory, and vivacity of imagination, is to the orator an indispensable qualification, if he would be lastingly successful. Now, though mental vigor is nature's

gift, its improvement is the fruit of making large scientific acquirements; for the arduous exercise of the mind, and the increasing strength of its powers, are well known to stand in the order of cause and effect.

And what intellectual labor could so thoroughly discipline the mind, as the acquiring of those sciences which require habits of the closest attention, and of strictly consecutive thought.

Mathematics, for instance, that intellectual cathartic, cannot fail to impart mental health and vigor. What mind can trace its endless golden chain, link by link, from almost nothing, out to infinity, and not learn to think in higher style?

Held in communion with these pure and immutable truths, the mind loses its imbecility, and ascends to empire, over the dominion of nature. And having acquired an acuteness, which this most perfect of the sciences alone could render, the mind is prepared to be amplified, by ascending to the regions of astronomy. There, it accustoms itself to make worlds and systems the play ground of its thoughts—to take in, not only those bodies which creative power has stationed around the sun, but through our far-looking instruments, to wander over the very outskirts of Jehovah's dominion—to make four hundred millions of worlds the field it explores. A mind thus employed cannot but grasp in its enlarged embrace the *totality* of the subject which it may discuss. Now what is affirmed of the improving influence of these two branches of science, on the mind, is no less true of the tendency of all other branches. For not only will our acquaintance with the beauty, order, and harmony of nature, be more accurate and extensive, as the range of our knowledge becomes broader, but the grasp of our intellectual powers will be proportionally strengthened.

All the phenomena of mind and matter are doubtless referrible to a few general principles; for, as our knowledge of nature has enlarged, the number of principles, under which we class its operations, has diminished, and the same result may be expected through all the progress of human knowledge, up to the utmost limit it is destined to reach.

Hence, by following nature into all her penetrable secrets, that mental power by which we generalize, is signally improved—that intellectual command, by which objects apparently various, are ordered into one class, under the same principle, is much extended.

And how important to the orator is the power rapidly to classify—to trace particular truths to general truths—single acts and feelings to a broad and pervading principle, no elevated order of talent can be needful to show.

For every additional principle, on which science rests, with which the orator becomes acquainted, while it is another key to admit him to new intellectual treasures, and a magic power, by which another feature in the face of the universe is unveiled to him, is also a new accession of mental energy. And, indeed, the mind deeply acquainted with all these great principles, becomes itself the place within the limits of which the universe lies—a place in which revolve, in miniature, all the ages of time—a place in which are witnessed, in epitome, all the past and future operations of nature. Now, it is this comprehensive grasp of nature which elevates intellect above the fogs of sense and passion, to that towering summit, ever bright with the eternal splendor of reason.

And who so much needs the intellect, stored with these treasures of invaluable knowledge; who so much needs the imagination replenished with splendid imagery, and all the various accomplishments with which profound study can enrich the mind, as he who is to melt and mould the mingled throng into its own peculiar mood?

The orator must also know the philosophy of mind, for it is with mind he has chiefly to do.

Unless he knows the powers with which it is gifted, and the laws by which it is governed, how can he apply to it that mental or moral force, indispensable to move it favorably toward his ruling object? How can he move the mental energies in a given direction, when he knows not the spring to be touched, which communicates such motion? He must then familiarize himself with the nature of mind—with its susceptibilities, its passions, and its propensities—with its powers to think, and its desires to act. Not that he can withdraw that covering with which the Creator has veiled the essence of mind, or analyze that thought-producing principle which likens us to Him—not that he can trace it in every step of its viewless process, or even determine the manner in which it commences many of its operations. We know not that this sagacity belongs to any created intellect. But he may acquaint himself with the original susceptibilities of the mind, with the laws of its associations, and with the motives by which, in its various states, it may be most easily influenced.

And as the history of our race is the philosophy of our nature, it is a medium through which the phenomena of mind should be steadily contemplated. It unfolds the powers, marks the propensities, and carries us back to the susceptibilities of the human being. Leading us up the stream of time, through all the ages the sun has measured out, it developes human character under all the millions of varied circumstances, in which the multitudes of our race have been placed. It records not only those renowned achievements, which have filled the world with the actors' names; but it nicely traces those hidden causes which have acted differently on various minds. It admits us to the councils of kings, the intrigues of courts, and to those untold motives, which acts themselves only could reveal. It displays human nature under the empire of vice, under the control of virtue—in the absence of strong temptations, and under the excitement of powerful motives. So that an accurate acquaintance with history, is a profound knowledge of mind. This is especially so, when he who studies it, reads with equal care the mystic page of his own bosom. For in himself every man may find, in embryo, most qualities of mind that have ever been displayed by our race, since it first entered on existence.

And when these two immense volumes are studied together—where thought is made the subject of thought, desire a matter of scrutiny, and passion the object of rigid analysis, and when this theatre on which the mental man is surveyed, becomes enlarged into the field of universal history, a knowledge of mind is acquired, which reaches to the utmost attainable limit.

Now, just in proportion as this knowledge is acquired by the orator, will be his power to perceive the most direct avenue to his auditors' hearts. Knowing what human nature is, he will address men in the character they really sustain; not as though they were all matter or all mind; not as if they should act entirely for the present

world, or wholly for the next; not as if each were a solitary being, or lived wholly for society: but as possessing a compound nature which partakes both of the earth-born animal and heavenly cherub —as providing for two allotments of being—the mixed state of time, and the changeless relations of eternity,—as capable of excitement by two classes of motives—such as are found in self-interest and those urged by the mighty voice of conscience. With this comprehensive knowledge of the capabilities, propensities, and destinies of men will he perceive, at a glance, the side on which they lie most open to conviction and persuasion; and thus act on those great principles by which human nature, in every variety of condition, may be easily approached, and powerfully swayed.

But if the orator would be eloquent, he must be virtuous.

For all his mightiest appeals are to those strong principles, which expire in human nature the moment virtue is lost. And as these principles can only be appealed to with success by him in whose own bosom they powerfully operate, when they cease to predominate there, he ceases to excite them anywhere else. Thus if the man who is niggardly, would induce others to act generously, he must himself first feel the transforming thrill of noble sentiment. If he who is obdurate, would touch the hearts of his auditors, by a picture of wo, his own must first be melted to pity by the miseries he describes. If the pretending lover of his country would rouse it to some great deed, by motives of patriotism, his own selfish heart must first catch the Spartan flame. And if the hypocrite in religion would prompt others to ardent devotion, he must first deceive himself into the persuasion, that he believes the sentiments he utters.

Though it cannot be questioned, whether a few gifted individuals may not counterfeit the genuine feeling of a glowing heart, while that feeling remains a stranger to the speaker's bosom; yet these instances are so few, and the requisite effort to succeed in them so arduous, that they can only be viewed as exceptions to the general rule.

That to feel *deeply*, is an indispensable qualification to speak *forcibly*, all classes of men seem perfectly aware. The tragedian felt this, when he carried the corpse of his much-loved child from its grave to the theatre, that he might better act his part in a touching tragedy. The most illiterate feeling this; for with such accuracy do they distinguish in a speaker between fictitious and real feeling, that it is scarcely possible to impose on them the counterfeit for the genuine.

If, then, an orator can speak eloquently only when he speaks sincerely—only when the strong feelings of his bosom imbue the living words he utters—only when he possesses those elevated moral principles to which he makes his overpowering appeals, how arduous should be his effort for the elements of virtue, pure as the eternal Light has penciled it in the living oracles.

Now, the two positions, that much is to be done for our race, in this age, and that eloquence is one appointed instrument to accomplish it, furnish the most overpowering motives to make these high mental and moral attainments.

If we have burst into existence at the very period when the approaching crisis, to which the nations of the earth must come, is at the door—at an age that shall flame with grander events than those which emblazon any period on the records of time—at a period when the social system is about to be remodelled, and the moral world re-

generated; if such be the moment in which we exist and act, then is our responsibility of character equally high. That such is the fact, indications that cannot be mistaken, gather thick and fast around us. The public agitation, which has recently been effected by questions of immeasurable magnitude, leaves no uncertainty whether an extraordinary developement of the mysteries of Providence toward our race is at hand. The frequent sighs of despairing Greece are wafted on the winds to the ears of the whole world—the dying groan of Poland may yet convulse every monarch in Europe—the suppressed fires of France are burning in concealment, only to burst forth in a more desolating earthquake, which will shatter and engulf their present system. A survey of the other states of Europe, and the east, would furnish us with events in embryo, which, when fully matured, must rock the world, and long tell on the destiny of nations. Whether these matchless events shall be chiefly brought forward to a concurrent point by the quickened energies of existing instruments, or by the sudden operation of new causes, is not for human intellect to determine. But however this may be, Providence seems to have confided to this generation the work of many past ages. Every system, religious and social, must pass a fiery scrutiny; what is false in *that*, must be abandoned; and what is wrong in *this*, must be removed. We are therefore to gird ourselves for lofty achievements —to put on the mighty panoply with which eloquence can arm us. For with millions of our race it is still a midnight hour—it is so morally and intellectually;—and though on the face of these dark and slumbering waters the spirit of light and improvement begins to move, and the quickening mandate to come forth, which shall communicate life and order; yet that ignorance and despotism which have covered the broad circle of ages, and reduced vast nations to the mere wreck of ancient empires, will only be dissipated by the vigorous action of enlightened mind. This agency must act chiefly through powerful writing and eloquent speaking. These have been the chosen media through which Providence has generally poured the light of the wise on the darkness of the ignorant.

The powerful pen and the eloquent tongue, which have held so lofty a place among the chosen agents of Providence, are still destined for high achievements. These were the instruments, even more than the sword of Washington, that broke from the neck of America the yoke of despotism. These are the instruments, also, by which the liberty of this young empire is becoming a fire to consume every monarchy on the footstool. What media more appropriate than these, through which the electric spirit of mental and moral renovation shall pass from breast to breast, and from realm to realm?

It was when Greece was the school of nations, that despotism on the thrones of Macedon and Persia quailed before eloquence. It was when Rome was the mistress of the world, that the mighty usurper of all its rights trembled at the single voice of Cicero. It was when popery held its mighty sceptre over all Europe, that by the eloquence of an obscure monk this vast system of a thousand years was made to quake to its centre. And who can doubt whether by this same wonder-working instrument the spirit of national renovation shall move on to that high and perfect triumph which Providence avowedly meditates? Nor let it be imagined that the effect of this tremendous engine will subside with the ebbing passions which the orator

excited. It will not, like the meteor's glare, flash for a brief period across a startled world, and then quench itself for ever in the ocean of the past; but, like the rising lights in the heavens, it will shine with a steady and augmenting lustre.

If, then, the pen and tongue of eloquence are to breathe on every land a disenchanting spirit—a spirit that shall dash the system and crumble the thrones of despotism—a spirit that shall break the spell of Brahma and stop the car of Juggernaut—a spirit that shall dissipate the delusions of Mohammed, and give to the winds of heaven the trumpery of Catholicism—a spirit that shall carry to the goaded nations of Europe, and to the bleeding millions of the east, the balm which the laws and institutions of this youthful empire can furnish; if all this is to be effected by your inimitable art, with what quenchless ardor should it be cultivated! If a wondrous Providence has so crowded the nineteenth century with the elements of public happiness, that more may be accomplished for our race now, in one *age*, than in the dull round of past *centuries*, how overpowering the motives to brighten and multiply this amazing instrumentality!

May this highest endowment of the intellect never cease to reside among you. May many go out from this far-famed hall to speak, like the voice of God, to the ear of tyranny and of obdurate crime in deep-toned thunder, muttering through the stormy cloud—to speak in the ear of sighing grief, gentle as the zephyrs that fan the vernal flowers—to plead the cause of the oppressed stranger, of the crying orphan, and of the weeping widow, in strains of Æolian sweetness. But, above all, when a darkness, deeper than midnight, settles down on the dying hour, to speak in tones that will fix our spirit-eyes on the bright and abiding objects in the world of substance—and when eternity shall roll up its broad orb to reveal its long-concealed terrors, to let in on our ears, from the heights of Calvary, melting as the lutes of heaven, the voice of a dying Restorer.

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

SCRIPTURE EXPLAINED.

"For I could wish that myself were accursed from Christ, for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh," Rom. ix, 3.

Although sufficiently satisfied that a passage of Scripture may be innocently and profitably applied without having a strict regard to the primary design of the inspired writer; as I have sometimes heard the above text applied to enforce Christian benevolence, and a disinterested sacrifice and service in the cause of Christ; yet I consider it the duty of those who expound the word of God to seek, by all the helps they can obtain, the true meaning and design of the Holy Spirit, speaking in his servants, the prophets and apostles, that they may administer truth as well as grace to their hearers.

On the above text my mind has been settled for many years: but as my view differs so widely from most commentators, I have felt a great reluctance to offer my opinion publicly; and shall do it now with due deference to the piety and learning of those who differ from me. I will first give what I consider a literal reading of the text, and the criticism will be found principally in the punctuation.

The passage reads thus:—"I speak the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience bearing me w itness in the Holy Ghost, that I have great grief and unceasing anguish in my heart, (for I myself did wish to be accursed from Christ,) on account of my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh; who are Israelites," &c. It will easily be perceived, by admitting the parentheses, that the truth which the apostle so solemnly avers, is, that his grief and anguish of heart were unceasing on account of his brethren, whom God was about to cast off: and not that he wished himself accursed for their sakes. I consider the words included in parentheses as a kind of sympathetic expletive, thrown in to palliate the severity of the punishment he was denouncing against his countrymen, with an intimation of the

possibility of their obtaining mercy, on the ground that he had obtained mercy. The passage may be paraphrased thus:—What I say of the rejection of my countrymen, I say by the authority and commission of Christ, and I dare not dissemble the truth; for I have a consciousness of the inspiration of the Holy Spirit, and, so far from feeling to rejoice in their calamity, I have great grief and unceasing pain in my heart on their account; for I know the blindness of their zeal and the deep-rooted prejudices they have against Christianity, for I myself was as blind and bitterly opposed to Christ as they are: yea, my zeal and excessive madness against Christianity carried me beyond my equals; for I persecuted the disciples to strange cities, and compelled them to blaspheme. I set at defiance and even invoked the curses of Christ, and wished to be separated from all part or inheritance in Him: and my sorrow and anguish of heart for them are the greater because they are Israelites, to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory, and the covenants, the law, the service, and the promises; and of whom was Christ, according to the flesh, who is God over all, blessed for ever. Amen.

My reasons for so understanding the apostle are,—

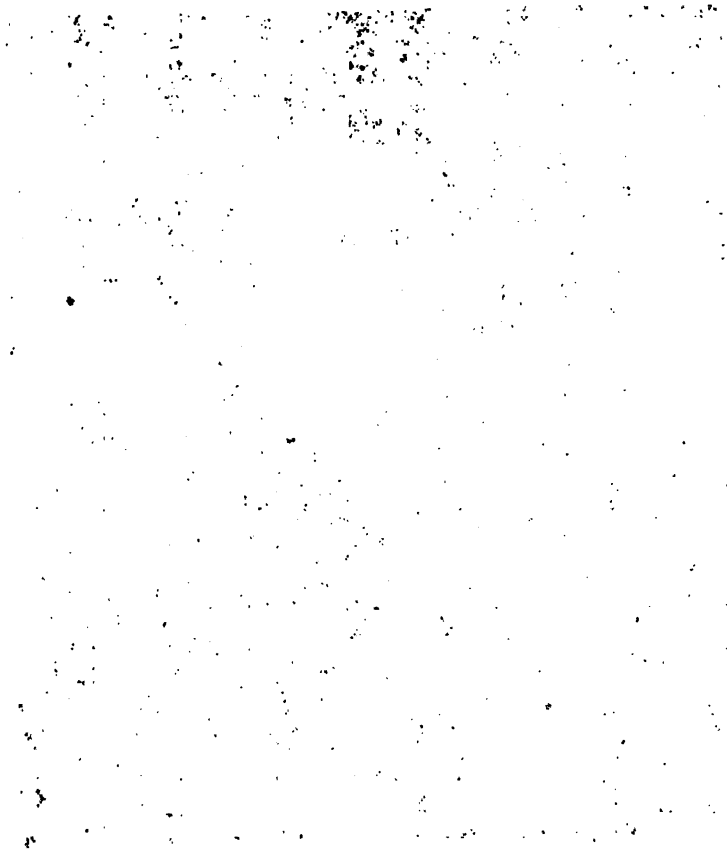
1. That the Greek verb Ηυχομην is in the indicative mood and imperfect tense, and should be read, "*I did wish*," and not "I could wish:" and I adopt the parentheses because *υπερ*, before "my brethren," signifies "*on account of*," and is the only proper connective between his great grief and the objects of it, with the assignable cause for the unceasing anguish in his heart. No other cause of sorrow is brought into view but the state of his brethren; unless we suppose his grief was on account of this terrible wish, which would be equally against the common interpretation. The rules of punctuation are comparatively of recent date, and were unknown in the days of the apostle; therefore the use of the parenthesis is no alteration of the text, and putting the sentence between commas, which is done in some editions, will produce the same effect.

2. There is nothing in this rendering that is forced or unnatural. No sentiment is here avowed that either shocks the feelings or perplexes the mind of the reader. It is a simple and frank confession of his past enmity against Christianity. By rendering the verb in the preterite form, and using the parentheses, all the difficulties of the common reading disappear. We have only to ask, "When did you wish that terrible curse?" and the answer will be found in his own language: "When I held the garments of them that stoned Stephen, when I was a blasphemer, and compelled others to blaspheme." I gave the example, and wished myself accursed *by* Christ. Several good copies read *υπο* instead of *απο του Χριστου*.

3. This interpretation is in accordance with his general style of writing, which is characterized by strength and boldness of expression, rather than a graceful flow of eloquence. Many examples could be given; and possibly he might have had some allusion to this when he said to the Corinthians: "My speech and my preaching was not with *εν πειθοῖς λογοῖς*, the persuasive eloquence of human wisdom. It also agrees with his general history. He breathed threatenings and slaughter against the disciples, and being exceedingly mad, he persecuted them even unto strange cities; compelled them to blaspheme; was himself a blasphemer, a persecutor and injurious, but obtained mercy as one born out of due time, because he did it ignorantly in unbelief.

4. I prefer this explanation because I see no other way of escaping the imputation of a rash and vain wish; even if it had been indulged for a moment, and under the most extraordinary afflatus of the Spirit. All will agree that, as a Christian, he could not wish himself eternally cursed, or finally separated from Christ. To have wished himself cut off and separated from the communion of Christ and the body of his Church would have been a rash and preposterous wish; and to have wished himself doomed by Christ to suffer with his nation, or that he might bear the calamity in their stead, or even be appointed to suffer an ignominious death on their account, would have been a vain and idle wish; as he knew it could neither benefit them nor relieve their sufferings, for he has informed us that to such as reject Christ there is no other sacrifice.

Thus far I have given the harshest rendering that a literal translation of the text will admit. But the Greek terms, I am inclined to think, are capable of a much softer interpretation. I would invite the attention of the learned inquirer to the *Ευχομαι ειναι* of Homer, who uses it as a strong affirmative: *I profess to be*, and to the derivation of anathema, from *ανα τιθημα*, to place or set against as an enemy. The passage included in the parentheses will then read, "For I professed myself to be an enemy of Christ." This certainly renders the whole passage intelligible and dispassionate, which well agrees with the solemn manner in which the apostle introduces the subject; and I see no solid objection against it; but I could point several very weighty reasons against the common interpretation. L. C.



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THE CRIMINALITY OF ONE OFFENCE.

A SERMON BY REV. Z. PADDOCK,

Of the Oneida Conference.

'Whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all,' James ii, 10.

LAW, in the widest sense of the term, simply means a rule of action. It always supposes a superior, which an inferior is bound to obey. GOD, being the creator, preserver, and, therefore, proprietor of all things, is the great source of all law.

The laws by which he governs his own Universe are divided into two general kinds or classes. The first are denominated *physical laws*, by which are intended those laws that govern mere matter, in all its endlessly diversified forms; including, of course, the irrational animal part of the creation. The second have the general designation of *moral law*, comprehending all those precepts which are designed to regulate the conduct of moral agents. These last constitute what we call God's moral government of the world.

Our Divine Saviour and infallible Teacher has seen fit to reduce the whole of the moral law, which, in the Old Testament, is amplified into various precepts, into two positive injunctions; namely, *love to God and love to man.* 'Thou shalt,' says he, 'love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength, and with all thy mind; and thy neighbor as thyself,' Luke x, 27. It is most unquestionably to this condensed view of the Divine law that St. James refers in this section of his epistle. 'If ye fulfil the royal law, according to the Scripture, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself, ye do well. But if ye have respect to persons, ye commit sin, and are convinced of the law as transgressors. *For whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.*' Presuming that the leading sentiment of the text is now fairly before our hearers, we will proceed to show,

First, what is meant by the transgression of the law: and,

Secondly, how it is that he who offends in one point is guilty of all.

I. We are first to show what is meant by the transgression of the law; or, in other words, what is necessary to constitute an offence against it.

1. In order to the criminal transgression of any law, the existence and requirements of that law must be known to the transgressor. *Involuntary ignorance* precludes the possibility of crime. This not only accords with all our notions of moral justice, but is expressly

taught by Him who 'spake as never man spake.' Addressing himself to the most subtle and malignant of all his adversaries, the Pharisees, he said, 'If ye *were* blind, ye should have no sin,' John ix. 41. That is, had ye not had sufficient opportunities to become acquainted with me and my doctrine, then your rejection of me and my Gospel could not justly be imputed to you as a crime. In a subsequent discourse, addressed chiefly to his disciples, the same idea is still more clearly and fully advanced. Referring to the unbelieving and persecuting Jews, he says, 'If I had not come and spoken unto them,' and 'done among them the works which none other man did, they had not had sin,' John xv, 22, 24. Our position is also maintained in St. Paul's celebrated discourse before the Athenian court, a copious abstract of which will be found in the seventeenth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles. Speaking of some of the grossest ages of idolatry, he affirms that the 'times of this ignorance God winked at.' That is, he passed over these ignorant violations of his law, without any special recognition of the offence, on the broad and equitable ground that 'where there is no law,' none published and made known, 'there is no transgression,' Rom. iv, 15.

But *voluntary ignorance* furnishes the transgressor with no excuse. Indeed, it is so far from being a misfortune, that it is a crime; a crime superadded to the act of transgression, greatly enhancing the amount of his guilt. In making this declaration, we advance no unsupported hypothesis. It is a point settled by the most express averment of Him who is, by his own designation, 'THE TRUTH' itself. 'This is the condemnation,' that is, this is the reason why any shall finally fall under the punitive wrath of the sovereign Lawgiver, 'that light has come into the world, and men loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil,' John iii, 19. This is a principle, the equity of which is recognized by all civil governments. No criminal is excused, because, through ignorance, he has transgressed the laws of his country, when it can be proved that those very laws have been published throughout the land. If the fact of the promulgation be clearly established, ignorance of the general enactment, or of any of its specific provisions, can never be pleaded as any palliation of the crime committed by the transgressor. And, certainly, the principle is founded in the reason and fitness of things; for a deliberate refusal to know our duty is equivalent to a fixed determination not to do it. The truth is, every man is held responsible for his conduct in view of just that measure of light with which God has been pleased to favor him, whether he choose to avail himself of it or not. This thought is beautifully illustrated and fully sustained by our Lord's words, recorded in the twelfth chapter of St. Luke's Gospel: 'And that servant, which knew his lord's will, and prepared not himself, neither did according to his will, shall be beaten with many stripes. But he that knew not, and did commit things worthy of stripes, shall be beaten with few stripes,' verses 47, 48. The antithesis here intended seems to lie in the case of two servants, the one of whom receives an express command from his master, which he wilfully violates; while the other, though he receives no such express order, does, nevertheless, fall into such instances of misbehavior, as he cannot but know to be inconsistent with his duty and office in general; by which means he exposes

himself to some degree of punishment; though, other things being equal, he is less criminal than the former. So far as the government of God is concerned, the principle here laid down is maintained in all parts of his moral empire. 'For unto whomsoever much is given,'—this is the conclusion to which Christ himself conducts us,—'of him shall much be required.'

In judging of the turpitude of an action, therefore, we should always investigate the situation and privileges of the agent; for the degree of guilt is invariably graduated by the number and value of those means and opportunities of spiritual improvement, the use of which has been perversely declined. It is on this ground that we perceive the indisputable justice, and feel the awful force of those fearful maledictions, pronounced by the compassionate Saviour against certain cities which had long enjoyed, but criminally abused, the greatest possible advantages under his personal ministry. The bare recitation of his words is enough to thrill the soul with terror, and make it tremble in the presence of 'the Lion of the tribe of Judah!' 'Then began he,' says the evangelist, 'to upbraid the cities wherein most of his mighty works were wrought, because they repented not: Wo unto thee, Chorazin! wo unto thee, Bethsaida! for if the mighty works, which were done in you, had been done in Tyre and Sidon, they would have repented long ago in sackcloth and ashes. But I say unto you, it shall be more tolerable for Tyre and Sidon at the day of judgment, than for you. And thou, Capernaum, which art exalted unto heaven, shalt be thrust down to hell: for if the mighty works, which have been done in thee, had been done in Sodom, it would have remained till this day. But I say unto you, that it shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom in the day of judgment, than for thee,' Matt. xi, 20–25.

2. The law must not only be known, but must itself be *practicable*, in order to render the violation of it a crime. By its being practicable, I mean, its precepts must be such that they *can* be obeyed. An absolute incapacity to comply with the precepts of any code, fully exculpates the transgressor. He cannot, on any known principle of justice, be held responsible for not doing what he could not possibly do. The converse of this proposition is almost too absurd to need refutation. What would be thought of a master who should command his servant to take wings and carry a despatch the distance of a hundred miles, in a single minute; and threaten him with the severest punishment, in case of disobedience? Would not every ingenuous mind regard not only the master as a monster in human shape; but the servant as being perfectly excusable for not obeying *such* a command? Now, the principles of justice are the same throughout the whole Universe of God. They are the same in heaven that they are on earth. What is wrong in one being is wrong in another. And, therefore, the Word of God considers and treats no man as a transgressor who has not power to obey. God is not a hard master. His law is holy, just, and good; and misery was never introduced into the world but by an *avoidable* departure from its precepts.

We do not mean to affirm that man, in his fallen and crippled estate, abstractly considered, can 'fulfil all righteousness.' When God first made man, he made him 'sufficient to stand,' as well as

'free to fall:' and so long as his faculties remained unimpaired, obedience to every precept of the Divine law was, even without supernatural aid, a perfectly easy task. His capabilities were, every way, commensurate with the requirements of his Maker. There was perfect harmony between him and the moral government under which he was placed; and obedience was almost as natural as the operations of animal life. The claims of his moral governor were, therefore, met with a faultless compliance. Obedience involved no cross, no sacrifice, no painful effort. And all of this by the simple unaided power of that nature with which his God had invested him. But this is far, very far, from being his present character and condition. He is now weak and powerless. He has lost his primitive innocence, and with it its lofty prerogatives. Thrown upon his own resources, and left to himself, obedience to his Divine ruler is out of the question. We might, with equal propriety, expect the Ethiopian to change the color of his skin, or even the leopard his spots. Circumstanced as he is, apart from the redemption that is in Christ, obedience is as well naturally as morally impossible. To look for it is to seek the living among the dead. We can, therefore, by no means subscribe to the modern doctrine of *natural ability*. In every point of view, we think it highly objectionable. To us, it appears as unscriptural as it does unphilosophical; and as contrary to Christian experience as it is to the Word of God, and the actual condition of poor fallen human nature. Even after the judgment is convinced, and the will receives its proper inclination, there are still, independently of Divine influence, insuperable difficulties in the way of obedience. This not only accords with the experience of all those who have passed from death unto life, but is most incontestably the doctrine of the seventh chapter of the Epistle to the Romans. How else shall we understand the author when he says, 'For I delight in the law of God after the inward man: But I see another law in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin which is in my members?' * * 'For to will is present with me; but how to perform that which is good I find not.' Hence, the same writer, in his letter to the Galatians, after stating in most emphatic terms the weakness of our common nature, and the perpetual contest between the 'flesh' and the 'spirit,' concludes with this humiliating averment: 'So that ye CANNOT do the things that ye *would*,' chap. v, 17. The compilers of 'the Thirty-Nine Articles' are therefore fully sustained by the Sacred Oracles, when they say, 'The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he *cannot* turn and prepare himself, by his own natural strength and works, to faith and calling upon God; wherefore we have no power to do good works, pleasant and acceptable to God, without the grace of God, by Christ preventing us, that we may have a good will, and working with us when we have that good will.' This is most unquestionably the true view of the subject. The ability to comply with the Divine requirements for which we contend is not one which we naturally possess, but one which is communicated by grace. It is not an inherent, but an extrinsic ability. It is an ability that, at once, humbles the pride of man, and magnifies the glory of Divine grace. We can, it is true, 'do all things' that God requires us to do; but then it is only

'through Christ who strengthens us,' Phil. iv, 13. The law does not relax its claims, and come down to the weakness of our nature; but it is grace that brings us up to its unyielding demands, its immutable standard; and thus 'reigns through righteousness unto eternal life.' When God commands, he gives us power to obey. Along with the Divine precept, there goes an inspiring energy. This may be illustrated by the case of the man who had a withered hand, mentioned in the twelfth chapter of the Gospel by St. Matthew. It certainly will not be maintained that the individual in question had *natural* ability to obey the command of Christ, 'STRETCH FORTH THINE HAND.' This was wholly out of his power. A moral ability, according to its modern technical import, he may have had, and most probably did have, to stretch forth his withered hand, in compliance with the Saviour's injunction. He was willing to do it. Nothing was necessary to prompt his inclination. But still, obedience was out of the question, without the supernatural communication of a supernatural power. That power was dispensed by Christ, and obedience followed as a thing of course. Just so, the sinner, perishing in his sins, is utterly incapable of those holy exercises which the law demands,—those acts of obedience exacted at his hands, apart from preventing, co-operating, and strengthening grace. By nature, he wants the ability as well as the inclination; and for both he is dependent on Him from whom cometh every good and perfect gift. God must 'work in us both *to will* and *to do*.' 'The help that is done on earth, the Lord doeth it.' 'By grace are ye saved through faith; and that not of yourselves.' This is what we call a *gracious ability*;* and to our minds, at least, there is a peculiar appropriateness in the designation.

Now this view of the subject, while it magnifies the riches of Divine grace, divests the sinner of no portion of his responsibility. He is condemned not only for the abuse of his natural powers, but also and especially for his perverse rejection of Divine aid. God has laid help on one mighty and willing to save, 'even unto the uttermost.' 'The grace of God that bringeth salvation hath appeared unto all men.' This grace is not only free to all our fallen species; but is earnestly, sincerely, and with the most benevolent intention, proffered to them. And it is the voluntary rejection of this grace that constitutes the chief ground of our criminality. 'He that believeth not is condemned already, *because* he hath not believed in the only begotten Son of God.' 'Because I have called and ye have refused, I will laugh at your calamity, and mock when your fear cometh.' Here, then, we see the true ground of man's responsibility, and the only reason of his final condemnation. God's law, through that grace which he withholds from no man, and which he

* I am aware that the propriety of this phrase has frequently, and especially of late, been called in question. One writer of high standing denominates the use of it 'darkening counsel by words without knowledge;' and another, of equal eminence, says, 'it is using words without meaning.' I cannot but regard such declarations, however, as the result of inattention, or prejudice, or perhaps both. The phrase does certainly convey a definite meaning; and I must think that these gentlemen, for whose talents and piety I have the highest respect, will, after a little consideration, have the candor to acknowledge it; whether they acquiesce in that meaning or not. For ourselves, we can neither give up the phrase nor the meaning, till our views of evangelical truth undergo a material change.

freely proffers to all, is practicable: its precepts can be obeyed—its requirements fulfilled. The sinner rejects this grace, disobeys his God, and is lost for ever!

3. The law must not only be known and practicable, but the transgression of it must be VOLUNTARY, in order to the criminality of the violator; that is to say, the *will* must go with the *act*. As forced obedience is no obedience, so forced transgression is no transgression. The association of the terms, *forced* and *transgression*, involves an absolute contradiction. To apply them to one and the same action, would be as well a solecism in language, as an abandonment of the very first principles of moral philosophy. Transgression as much implies moral freedom as does obedience. Indeed, without such freedom there *could* be no such thing as sin, and *would* be no such thing as punishment, in the whole Universe of God! No one would think of condemning the pistol in the hands of the highwayman, nor of inflicting capital punishment on the machine that might chance to take away the life of a human being. Freedom of will is essential to moral agency, and moral agency is indispensable to criminality. And that man is possessed of such freedom is matter of universal consciousness. This is evident from the fact that it is recognized in all civil and social compacts. Wherever mankind exist in society, the world over, the principle here laid down is conceded and acted on. All human laws, forbidding, condemning, and punishing vicious actions, are grounded on the acknowledged supposition that man is possessed of freedom of will, by which he could have avoided the very actions for which he is condemned. Such enactments evidently suppose that the interdicted deed may or may not be done, at the election of the persons whose conduct they are designed to influence. Accordingly, in whatever instance such freedom of will, such capability of doing or not doing, is not presupposed, the operation of such enactments is suspended. They were never designed to affect any but moral agents; and none others are held responsible. The unavoidable injuries inflicted by one member of society upon another, as well as the random and lawless sallies of the idiot and madman, are supposed neither to involve the least degree of criminality, nor to deserve the smallest amount of punishment. Numberless other instances might be adduced in which the practice of mankind implies their belief in the truth of the position which we here maintain.

We might, however, after all, concede what some mental philosophers, both ancient and modern, have resolutely argued, namely, that this universal consciousness of moral freedom is a mere 'fallacy,' were it not for the strong and decisive testimony of the Sacred Oracles. 'To the law and to the testimony: if they speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them.' 'And what saith the Scripture?' 'Ye WILL not come to me, that ye might have life,' John v, 40. '* * * How often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen doth gather her brood under her wings, and ye WOULD not,' Luke xiii, 34. 'Why WILL ye die?' Ezek. xxxiii, 11. In the mouth of three such witnesses, the point is sufficiently established.

Finally, if man is not a moral agent, then he is not a subject of moral government; and is neither rewardable nor punishable, upon

principles of impartial justice and goodness. Whatever mystery there may be therefore in the moral or intellectual constitution of man; or whatever objection may be urged against our position from the prescience of the Deity, there is no one truth, within the whole range of theological discussion, which is more clearly or strongly supported by reason and revelation, than the doctrine of man's moral agency.

These three things, then, are, according to our perceptions of the subject, necessary in order to a criminal offence: The law must be *known*,—its precepts must be *practicable*,—and the transgression of it must be *voluntary*.

II. We may now proceed to show, in the second place, how it is that he who offends in one point is guilty of all.

This has, no doubt, been considered by many as 'a hard saying;' and one that is scarcely susceptible of a reasonable explanation or satisfactory defence. A little consideration will, however, I am persuaded, satisfy us that the declaration accords with the reason and fitness of things, as well as the almost universally received principles of moral philosophy. To render this the more apparent, I would remark,

1. That he who transgresses any one of the commands of God, violates that code of which the given command is a part. For, let it be observed, the whole of God's law was issued in one code. Taken in its associated character, it is a perfect unit. Like its great Author, it is one and indivisible. Or, if we regard it as consisting of several parts, or as putting forth its claims in the form of individual precepts, these parts or precepts have such an intimate and vital connection with each other, that any violence done to the one extends, by a kind of moral or constitutional sympathy, to all of the rest. It is like the mysterious communication of an electric shock to a series of individuals, by one single application of the charged instrument. It is with God's law as with nature's chain—

> '————Whatever link you strike,
> Tenth or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike.'

This is especially the case with that particular precept which St. James has in view in the passage now under consideration. He is speaking of the love of our neighbor, which he denominates, 'The royal law.' It is such because of its supreme excellence and comprehensive import. The love here required either includes or implies every other Christian virtue. 'If we love one another,' says the beloved disciple, 'God dwelleth in us, and his love is perfected in us,' 1 John iv, 12. It is no doubt on this ground that St. Paul says in his Epistle to the Galatians, 'For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself,' chap. v, 14. 'Bear ye one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ,' chap. vi, 2. But we have this thought more at large in that beautiful digest of our relative duties, with which this last-named apostle favors us in his Epistle to the Romans: 'Owe no man any thing, but to love one another: for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, thou shalt not kill, thou shalt not steal, thou shalt not bear false witness, thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself. Love

worketh no ill to his neighbor: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.' If, then, love is the fulfilling of the whole law, the corollary is irresistible that *the want of it is the breach of the whole law.*

Let us try the principle here laid down in its bearings on certain individual sins; and we are inclined to think it will be very apparent that he who violates any one precept of the moral code is justly chargeable with a breach of the whole. For instance, the adulterer may, in his commercial intercourse, be a man of his word, and in the duelling world a man of honor; but he scatters in the community firebrands, arrows, and death, and sets on fire the course of nature, as if it were set on fire of hell. The blasphemer may not himself be a thief; but his blasphemy, so far as it produces its legitimate effects, breaks down the moral government of God, emancipates men from his fear, and lets them loose, urged on by furious passions, to prey upon society. The drunkard may not himself be dishonest; but by the neglect of his relative duties, and the contagion of bad example, he sows far and wide around him the seeds of irreligion and dishonesty. The sabbath-breaker may not be, in all respects, an immoral man; but by his example and influence he prostrates the defences of religion and virtue, and lets men loose to war upon their own souls and upon one another, as depravity, unrestrained by the fear of God and stimulated by temptation, may urge them on. Other examples might be adduced, but these are sufficient to show that the sentiment of St. James in the text is guarded and supported by the most weighty considerations.

2. He who offends in one point chooses *which* of the Divine commands he will transgress, and thereby not only sets up himself in opposition to God, in this particular instance, but assumes a hostile attitude with respect to his whole administration. We have already seen that, in order to criminal transgression, there must be freedom of will—freedom to obey or not to obey. This is true in every individual case of criminality. We may have a stronger constitutional propensity to violate some one precept of the Divine law than another; but we cannot commit crime, in the strict and proper sense of that word, without the consent of the will. There must be an evil agency concerned. We must do wrong, from choice and design. If, therefore, we break any one of the Divine commands, it must be because we choose to do it. And by willing to violate that particular precept, we clearly show that we would as soon violate any other part of the decalogue, provided only the violation of it were equally pleasing to us. A deliberate transgression in any one particular instance shows, therefore, a total disregard for the authority of the sovereign Lawgiver. The apparent insignificance of the act prohibited is no argument for disobedience, and no palliation of the crime committed by the transgressor. An injunction derives its importance, not so much from its nature and consequences, as from the dignity and authority of its author. If God should be obeyed in any one instance, he should be obeyed in all instances; as the authority and reason of obedience are the same in every case.

This seems to be the drift of the apostle's reasoning. After making the declaration in the text, he adds, 'For he that said, Do not commit adultery, said also, Do not kill. Now if thou commit no adultery, yet if thou kill, thou art become a transgressor of the

law.' That is, the authority that gave one commandment gave also the rest; so that the breach of any one commandment may be justly considered a breach of the whole law. The conclusion then is, that, in whatever form sin appears, it is high treason against the Sovereign of the universe, and contains in itself the very elements of all sin. It may exist only in purpose, but still it is sin. Human laws can take cognizance only of the overt act; but this is not the case with the Divine law. This pure and perfect rule of moral action extends to all the thoughts and intents of the heart; so that, in God's account, rebellion in principle is rebellion in action; resistance in purpose is resistance in deed; crime in design is crime in fact; and the disposition that would incline us to transgress in one case, would, under the appropriate circumstances of moral action, incline us to do so in all others.

3. That he who offends in one point is guilty of all appears from the intimate connection existing between sins. Vices seldom go alone. They are almost invariably exhibited in unholy association. One sin very naturally gives birth to another. When once a breach has been made in the law of God, the whole sacred code appears to lose a measure of its influence over the heart and life of the sinner, so that the whole nameless catalogue of rebellious passions begins to look out of the hallowed enclosure, and to throw off restraint. One sinful gratification gives license to another. Even the smallest wilful deviation weakens the sense of moral obligation, and correspondingly facilitates the work of transgression. Those daring transgressors who now appear to commit, with a kind of remorseless hardihood, almost every species of depredation on religion and morals, were not always such adepts in wickedness. When they first entered the way of disobedience, they proceeded with slow and hesitating steps. They could not be guilty of even a 'trivial sin,' without being made to feel the keen rebukes and cutting lashes of conscience—that vicegerent of God in the soul. This sentinel upon the walls of the sacred enclosure, this faithful guard of the Divine rights, so long as he remained unstifled, was loud and peremptory in his remonstrances. But the very first act of transgression weakened the power of conscience. If he spake afterwards, it was in diminished tones. He did not as formerly lift up his voice. Besides, the first act, as well as all the subsequent instances of transgression, makes a direct assault upon our spiritual sensibilities, and greatly diminishes their force. The soul, by coming in contact with sin, experiences a kind of moral paralysis. Vice always has a blinding and hardening influence upon the mind and heart, so that the first aberration may be regarded as the parent of all that prodigality and crime that subsequently beggar and ruin the deathless spirit! For instance: the young man who indulges in the sin of idleness will seldom or never stop with that sin. Idleness opens the door for other sins to enter: it leads to drinking, gambling, profane swearing, Sabbath-breaking, theft, murder, and, in a word, to almost every species of abomination.

He who sins wilfully opens the floodgates of wickedness upon his soul. It matters not though the offence be, according to man's false estimate, a mere venial sin: if it be wilfully perpetrated, there is no such thing as calculating the extent of its influence upon the moral

character. Let it be remembered that the first sin ever committed by Heaven's terrestrial offspring was not, strictly speaking, a violation of eternal right; but only of a prohibition made as the test of man's allegiance to his Maker. Abstractly considered, it did violence to no great moral principle. It was sin in its mildest form; and yet it opened the door to all other sins. It not only 'brought death into the world, and all our wo,' but so weakened the moral principle in man that sin reigns like a cruel task-master over our entire nature. It was indeed the opening of the fabled Pandora's box; letting out the long train of vices and miseries which are the scourge of our species!

4. It is however important that we add, that, though he who offends in one point is guilty of all, he is not *equally* guilty. The *degree* of guilt is augmented by every new transgression. The moral stain becomes deeper, and darker, and broader by every additional touch of the pencil dipped in the infernal dye! The burden of criminality is enhanced by every new act of disobedience, by every fresh instance of sinful indulgence, by every additional departure from the way of righteousness. Though all men are naturally depraved, and practically criminal in the sight of God, it is obvious all do not run to the same excess in wickedness. Hence, the character of the violators of God's law exhibits various shades, and presents to the eye various degrees of moral deformity. The sinner may indeed go on, adding omission to omission, and transgression to transgression, till he becomes what the Scripture emphatically calls 'a vessel of wrath fitted for destruction.' He may, by a persevering course of infidelity, and by an accumulation of crime, 'TREASURE UP,' in the strong language of the Epistle to the Romans, 'wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God.' In fact, this is the usual course of the incorrigible transgressor. So that, when the evil principle has corrupted the whole capacity of the mind,—when sin, by its frequency and duration, is woven into the texture of the soul, and incorporated with its very existence,—when the sense of moral good and evil is almost totally extinct,—when conscience is 'seared as with a hot iron,'—and when the heart becomes so hard that even the arrows of the Almighty cannot pierce it—then the sinner has 'filled up the MEASURE of his iniquity;' then his sovereign Judge 'swears in his wrath that he shall not enter into his rest;' then 'there remaineth no more sacrifice for sins, but a certain fearful looking for of judgment, and fiery indignation which shall devour the adversaries!'

1. We perceive, from the preceding exposition, how impossible it is to obtain salvation on the ground of justice. Under the reign of that impartial, unbending, unyielding, tremendous attribute of the Godhead, we must all perish. In vain do we plead the general morality of our lives. One sin will ruin us. The record is, 'Cursed is every one that continueth not in ALL things which are written in the book of the law to do them,' Gal. iii, 10.

There is a somewhat prevalent notion, with regard to the final destiny of God's intelligent offspring, which we can hardly specify without bordering on the ludicrous. It is, in substance, that *that* destiny is to be fixed by the sheer operation of justice, without any

regard to the mercy of God in Christ. Our works, apart from every other consideration, are to decide the question of salvation or damnation. These are to be placed by our final Judge in the scales of equity: if the good preponderate, we shall be saved; if the bad, we shall be lost. Now, if this were the true view of the subject, then alas for the fallen progeny of Adam! We see not how any one of them can, by any possibility, escape the wailings of despair. For, if by one offence we render ourselves guilty of a breach of the whole law, there seems to be no ground of hope; and we may as well give ourselves up to despair at once. The notion however to which we have adverted is not only contrary to reason and Scripture, but appears to be grounded on a total misconceptian of the character of God's moral government. The law barely says, '*Do this, and live.*' It makes no allowance for the weakness of human nature, the power of habit, or the force of temptation. And it is 'exceedingly broad;' so broad that it extends to the very thoughts and intents of the heart. It requires perfect, uniform, and undeviating obedience. It demands for its supreme Author the supreme homage of our hearts, and the best possible service of our lives. And while it makes no provision for pardon, it holds out no hope of mercy. Now, under the unobstructed, unmitigated operations of such a law, one offence would be sufficient to ruin us for ever—to exclude us from heaven, and the blissful presence of its God.

Again, God demands, and, so long as he maintains the rights of his throne, must demand the complete and constant devotion of all our powers; mental, moral, and physical. Consequently, we are incapable of performing works of supererogation, of doing more than God requires; for God requires all we are capable of rendering. After the utmost exertion of our powers in obedience to the Divine requirements, we are directed to acknowledge ourselves unprofitable servants; having done only what it was our duty to do. Under these circumstances, therefore, we can have no extra good work, no excess of merit, to throw into the scale as a counterbalance to the one offence of which we have supposed ourselves to be guilty. The conclusion, then, is inevitable that the most trifling deviation would expose us to the eternal displeasure of our God.

2. There is one way, and only one way, of escaping the searching operations and destroying curse of this law: it is the way of the cross—the way of salvation through a crucified Redeemer. 'God hath made him to be sin' (or rather a sin-offering) 'for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.' 'When the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons.' And if 'the Scripture hath concluded all under sin,' it is 'that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe.' This is the glory that excelleth—the Gospel of the grace of God. And as there is no sin too small to be noticed by the law, so there is none so great but it may be pardoned by this Gospel, provided only its provisions are properly received. Whatever difficulties the law may throw in the way of our salvation, before the glory of the new and better covenant the clouds disperse, the thunders of Sinai are hushed, the lurid lightnings cease to blaze, and the voice of the turtle is heard in the land. It was at the intro-

duction of this new dispensation that the angels sang, (and what song could be more appropriate?) 'Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will towards men.' Retreating before the avenging sword of justice, the repenting, believing sinner finds sanctuary in the city of refuge opened in the Saviour's bleeding wounds. Here, then, the law becomes 'a school-master to bring us unto Christ.' By it we are 'shut up unto the faith.' And, if we would be saved, we must fly from the one, and flee to the other. 'The law,' in all its breadth of precept, in all its unmitigated rigor, in all its unrelenting severity, 'was given by Moses;' but the 'grace and truth,' suited to our circumstances as fallen and erring creatures, 'came by Jesus Christ.' Perishing sinner, this is thy only hope! There is no other possible door of escape! Behold, then, the Lamb of God that taketh away the sin of the world. Look on him whom thou hast pierced, and mourn, and be in bitterness. Every groan that he heaves, every tear that he sheds, every drop of blood that he spills, calls thee to repentance. Go to him with all thy sins and sorrows. His dying merits and perfect obedience will be to thee as rivers of water in a dry place, and as the shadow of a great rock in a weary land. We send you not to Sinai. We direct you not to 'the mount that might not be touched, and that burned with fire, nor unto blackness, and darkness, and tempest, and the sound of a trumpet, and the voice of words.' We know indeed that you could not support 'the terrible sight,' nor 'endure' the comminations of the dreadful 'voice.' We would turn your attention to a more inviting scene; a scene of mingled loveliness and moral grandeur. We send you 'unto mount Zion, and unto the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem, and to an innumerable company of angels, to the general assembly and Church of the first-born, which are written in heaven, and to God the Judge of all, and to the spirits of just men made perfect, AND TO JESUS THE MEDIATOR OF THE NEW COVENANT, AND TO THE BLOOD OF SPRINKLING, THAT SPEAKETH BETTER THINGS THAN THAT OF ABEL.' And by so much as the new dispensation is better than the old, will your guilt exceed that of Jewish transgressors, if you reject offered mercy, and trample upon the blood of the everlasting covenant. 'See, then, that ye refuse not him that speaketh. For, if they escaped not who refused him that spake on earth, much more shall not we escape, if we turn away from him that speaketh from heaven.'

'Now unto him that is able to present you faultless before the presence of his glory with exceeding joy, to the only wise God our Saviour, be glory and majesty, dominion and power, both now and ever. AMEN.'

STRICTURES

On the Rev. T. Merritt's Short Essay on the Character of the Actions and Sufferings of Jesus Christ.

BY REV. THOMAS STRINGFIELD.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—In 'The Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review' for July, 1835, you published an 'Essay on the character of the actions and sufferings of Jesus Christ, by T. Merritt,' present-

ing the fundamental principles of the atonement, by our Divine Redeemer, on grounds so evidently different from those entertained by what have been called 'the orthodox' for ages past, that I have been greatly disappointed at not seeing some reply.

The subject is one too sacredly endeared to pious feelings—too momentous to Christianity—to be discussed in any other way than that of sobriety and reverence. In this spirit I would present, with much deference, a few plain STRICTURES on the doctrines assumed in that 'Essay.'

It appears to me, that the confidence with which the author of the 'Essay' relied on the correctness of his views, led him to make fatal concessions to Arians, Socinians, and Infidels—such as would utterly subvert the evangelical doctrines of the atonement.

He informs us, in his introduction, that more than forty years ago his attention was called, by a conversation between two elder brethren, to the question, 'whether Jesus Christ suffered as a man only, or as God and man?' He subsequently met with a disciple of Thomas Paine, who proposed the same question, adding, 'He could not suffer in his Divine nature; and if he suffered only in his human nature, the sufferings of Peter or Paul would have gone as far towards making an atonement for sin as his.'

The presentation of this difficult question to the mind of our then youthful, but now venerable brother, led him to seek its solution on grounds never before occupied. The results of his inquiries are given in the 'Essay.' 'On turning my attention to the Scriptures for a solution of the difficulty,' says he, 'I became satisfied, that, as Jesus Christ united both the Divine and human natures in his person, he must have suffered in both,' &c.

So entire was the satisfaction of our Essayist, as to the correctness of this position, that he proceeds to make the following unqualified concession:—

'But if the doctrine of vicarious satisfaction rests alone on the sufferings of the human nature of Christ, it follows, that the nature of his sufferings was finite and could never atone for sin.' (p. 264.*)

Again, 'However ennobled and dignified the human nature was by its union with the Divine, it was human nature still, and could merit nothing.' (*Ib.*)

The sentiment contained in the above quotations runs through the whole 'Essay,' forming one of its leading features; thus discarding those principles of proper merit, by virtue of the union of the Divine and human natures of Christ in one Divine person, as relied on for salvation by the good and the wise of all ages! What will Arians and Socinians say to this? Will it not unsettle the faith of the pious, also, who are required to believe in the actual sufferings of the incarnated Divinity, as the only ground of proper merit in the sacrificial oblation of Jesus Christ?

The entire 'Essay' having been published, I need not quote from it as fully as I otherwise should: it is due, however, to a respected brother, and to the common cause, that he should be so fully heard, in connection with objections raised against his doctrines,

* The pages as cited in these Strictures refer to the July No. of 'The Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.'

that he may not be misunderstood. I shall therefore state his main proposition, and leading arguments, in his own words.

'This Essay assumes that the union of the Divine and human natures in the person of Christ was such that neither could be excluded in any action, suffering, or state of his; and to exclude one is to destroy the union. And on this ground it is that the Scriptures frequently refer suffering to the complex person of our Saviour; as when they say, "Christ suffered for us, Christ died," &c., without once intimating that it is to be limited to a part, or to the human nature. Nay, more; they refer suffering and death to the Divine nature directly, as the most important part of, and as implying his complex person.' (p. 263.*)

Again, the author says, 'Whatever is said or done by our Saviour respects his whole person, and not merely a *part* of it.' (p. 264.)

Again, 'Those who limit the sufferings of Jesus Christ to his human nature, speak on the subject as though each part of a complex person has a right of property in every other part, and in the actions and sufferings of the whole person, though they do not act or suffer together. Hence they say the sufferings of the human nature of Christ were the sufferings of the Divine nature, though the latter did not suffer. But a little attention to the subject will show this to be an error. Every person and thing has something which makes it what it is, and which distinguishes it from every thing else. This is called *identity*. The two natures of Jesus Christ were united in his incarnation, and formed *one person*, having *identity*, which is essential to him as the one Mediator between God and man. If therefore we destroy the identity of his person, as Mediator, or disunite the two natures, it follows of course that there is no Mediator, though the two natures exist separately. But how can the personal identity of the Mediator be destroyed? We answer, in one way only, by separating the two natures, the human and the Divine; and this, it is conceived, is done when we limit any action or suffering to one nature, and exclude the other.' (p. 265.) Again, 'We have seen above that the actions and sufferings of a complex person must be the actions and sufferings of all parts of which that person is composed; for, otherwise, the parts being separated, the identity of person is destroyed, and we have not one person, but two.' (p. 266.)

After looking over the Essay again and again, I confess I am constrained to view it as the effort of a mind so intensely fixed on one favorite feature as to have lost sight of most others; especially of its own apparent incongruities. The author, for example, seems to have overlooked the fact that his notions of Christ's personal identity require, not only that the Divine nature should have become capable of human actions and sufferings, by incarnation, but likewise that the human nature should have been rendered capable of performing all the acts, and existing in all the states, of the Divine nature.

* The author of the Essay, speaking of the *death* of the Divine nature, does not mean that it actually expired on the cross; but that 'all parts of his complex person suffered together till death, when pain ceased, and the soul and Divine nature, closely and indissolubly united, passed together into paradise,' &c. I deem it due to the author of the Essay to make this note of explanation here, lest he should be misunderstood to teach that the Divine nature *expired*. This he did not believe, though he did believe that it actually *suffered*.

I think I do not misunderstand the author. I am sure I do not wish to misrepresent him. If I do understand him, he assumes that the actions, sufferings, and state of the human nature of Christ are not properly the actions, sufferings, and state of the Divine complex person, unless they are those of his Divine nature also: and, conversely, that the actions, &c., of the Divine nature are not those of the Divine complex person unless they are those also of the human nature. The principle assumed in the main proposition, as a rule, must work both ways, otherwise it is of no force. It must not only prove the Divine nature capable of human actions and sufferings, but, *vice versa*, that the human nature was rendered capable of Divine actions, and states of existence; such as *omnipotence*, *omnipresence*, &c. This is the plain, common-sense, and only sense-meaning of the author's theory of *identity*, so far as I can understand him. The human nature is thus *Deified*, and the Divine nature *humanized*.

To me it appears the most reasonable and easily conceived thing imaginable, that the act of *one nature* of a complex person should be the act of that person *himself*, and yet not the act of the *other nature* of such person. Take, for example, man, as a compound of *matter* and *mind*. The exercises of the heart, the motions of the will, the reasoning, judging, and determining of the mind; the hungering and thirsting, the bleeding and suffering of the body, are all the exercises, motions, &c., of the complex *person, man;* but they are not indiscriminately or interchangeably those of body and mind. Each nature attends to its own peculiar functions. So of the complex person, Christ. When his *Divinity* performed works peculiar to itself, *Christ* performed them. So when his *humanity* was hungry, thirsty, tempted—when it 'grew in wisdom and stature'—when it was 'sorrowful even unto death'—when its precious 'blood was shed,' being 'hung upon the cross'—when all these were realized by the *humanity* of Christ, they were predicated of *Christ himself*.

The absurdity of supposing that, if the Divine nature did not actually participate in all the actions and sufferings of the human nature, such actions and sufferings were not properly those of Christ, as a complex person, may be manifested by the following short method of stating the subject. It is assumed, in the Essay, that no action of the human nature, which is not an action of the Divine nature also, can properly be an action of the complex person, Jesus Christ: but the shedding of blood is an action of the human nature, and not of the Divine; therefore, the shedding of blood was not properly that of Jesus Christ!

It is as easy to conceive how the 'sufferings' of the human nature, exclusive of the Divine, were properly those of 'God manifest in the flesh,' as to perceive how the blood of the human nature was the blood of God, Acts xx, 28. But, on the principles assumed in the Essay, the blood of the *humanity* could not have been that of God; the Scripture, therefore, and the Essay occupy different grounds, on this subject. The blood of Christ is 'precious,' it 'purges the conscience,' 'purifies the heart,' cleansing 'from all unrighteousness.'—Through it we 'have redemption,' and by or in it we shall finally be 'washed and made white.' On what grounds is the blood of Christ so precious and efficacious? Not, surely,

because it was the blood of the Divine nature; but, manifestly, because it was the blood of a Divine *person*—the human nature *Divinely impersonated*—being 'ennobled and dignified' by the *hypostatical union*. And *precisely on this ground we place the merit of Christ's suffering and death.*

When the doctrines of the Trinity are under examination, it is common to call the Logos or Eternal Son a *Divine person*, in juxtaposition with the Father and the Holy Ghost, as three persons in one God. When the Son of God, in such discussion, is called a Divine person, *sheer Divinity* is meant. But when we call him a Divine person, in reference to his INCARNATION, we always include his *humanity* as well as his Divinity. Of the distinction between the second person in the adorable Trinity, before his incarnation, and the same Divine nature in union with the humanity, as constituting *one complex Divine person*, the author of the Essay was duly apprized; and yet he frequently confounded them. Indeed, this confusion lies at the bottom of his radical error, and pervades his entire Essay. A distinction between a Divine *person*, and the Divine *nature*, in this discussion, is essential to a proper understanding of its difficulties. If the author of the Essay had not overlooked the *Divine personality* of Christ, as an all-important *medium* between *sheer Divinity* on the one hand, and *mere* human nature on the other, he would not have been perplexed by the question of his two brethren, and the disciple of Thomas Paine. Examine that question for a moment in the orthodox light of the subject; 'Whether Jesus Christ suffered as a *man only*, or as *God and man?*' The answer is easy; he did not suffer as *God;* nor did he suffer as *mere man;* for he was not a *mere* man, but a Divine *person;* his human nature being *Divinely impersonated* with the Divinity.

Let the difference between the author of the Essay and us be distinctly stated, and kept in mind. He assumes that the actions of each nature are those of the other also; while we maintain that, although the actions of each nature are properly the actions of the Divine *complex person*, yet the actions of one nature are contradistinguishable from those of the other. The interchangeability is not to and from each nature respectively; but between each nature respectively and the *one person* composed of both united. The difference between us may appear more metaphysical than important; but this is a great mistake; for it not only involves the merits of the present discussion, but lies at the foundation of a proper atonement by the sacrificial offering of the 'body of Christ,' as will be seen plainly hereafter.

To save the room and trouble of requoting what I have already adduced, at considerable length, the reader is requested to turn back and re-examine my quotations from the Essay. He will then be prepared to pursue the subject, while I attempt to prove, from divers passages of Scripture, that Jesus Christ (as well as several of his apostles) spake some things of himself which appertained to one of his natures only; and that whatever appertained thus to either of his natures belonged properly to *himself* as a complex Divine person. Consult John xiv, 9, 10, 'Philip said unto him, Lord, show us the Father, and it sufficeth us; Jesus saith unto him, Have I been so long time with you, and yet hast thou not known me,

Philip? He that hath seen me hath seen the Father; and how sayest thou then, Show us the Father? Believest thou not, that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?' In this passage, Christ represents the Father as being seen, when his own *humanity* was seen; merely because the Father dwelt *in him*. Here, then, without doubt, the humanity of Christ, which only could be seen, was represented, by Christ, as properly *himself*, and also his Father. This was by virtue of the union of his humanity with the indwelling Divinity, as *one person*.

In chap. xvii, 5, Jesus Christ, addressing his Father, says, 'And now, O Father, glorify thou me, with thine own self, with the glory which I had with thee, before the world was.' Here the speaker was the *complex person*, Christ, whose Divine nature had been 'glorified with the Father, before the world was,' but whose humanity stood in need of *prayer*. Nothing can be more clear than that some things are said of Christ which alternately 'exclude' each of his natures: the human, for instance, had not been 'glorified' as here *Christ* was said to have been, and the Divine nature did not need prayer, as the human did.

Again, 'No man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is in heaven,' John iii, 13. Here, also, the Divine Redeemer was doubtless the speaker, and *himself* the person spoken of, as the 'Son of man' who came down from heaven, and who was then 'in heaven.' But who will say his *humanity* was '*in heaven*,' or had 'come down from heaven?' Are not these things affirmable of his *Divinity alone*, though they are applied to the 'whole undivided Christ,' the 'Son of man?' Here is another positive proof that the 'proposition' of the Essay is erroneous in assuming that we 'destroy Christ's personal identity when we limit any action or state of his to one of his natures.'

Again, 'I and my Father are one,' said Jesus Christ. Did our Saviour mean that he and his Father were one in purpose, will, &c., as the Arians say? Surely not. He intended a oneness of 'substance, power, and eternity,' as the Articles of our Church declare. Neither did our Saviour intend to say that he and his Father were one *complex person*. His humanity was doubtless 'excluded' from this 'state' of oneness with the Father, though the complex *person* was the speaker, and the subject spoken of.

Again, 'Before Abraham was, I AM.' Was not Christ's humanity 'excluded' here also? Most certainly. Christ said to his disciples, 'Where two or three are met together in my name, there am I in the midst.' And again, 'Lo, I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world.' Christ's humanity, however 'ennobled,' even by the ascension, could not be in all places at the same time: 'it was human nature still,' and was 'excluded' from what Christ predicates of himself in the above passages.

St. Paul bears testimony to the same effect when he says, 'For it is not possible that the blood of bulls and of goats should take away sins; wherefore, when he cometh into the world he saith, Sacrifice and offering thou wouldst not, but a body hast thou prepared me. Then said I, Lo, I come to do thy will, O God. He taketh away the first that he may establish the second. By the

which will we are sanctified, through the offering of the body of Christ, once for all,' Heb. x, 4–10.

It may be observed here, *first*, that when St. Paul speaks of the Divine Saviour, verses 5–7, he alludes exclusively to his Divine nature, the eternal Son, anterior to his incarnation, who said to his Father, 'a body hast thou prepared me;' and yet the apostle subsequently denominated him 'Jesus Christ' in reference to his *complex person*. *Secondly*, the 'body prepared' for the eternal Logos is that which was 'offered up for all,' and shed blood—by which we are sanctified, verse 10. That the sacrificial offering was limited to the *humanity* is farther manifest from verses 19, 20, 'Having therefore, brethren, boldness to enter into the holiest, by the *blood of Jesus*, by a new and living way, which he hath consecrated for us through the veil, that is to say, *his* FLESH—let us draw near with a pure heart,' &c. Here the 'blood of the flesh' is called the 'blood of Jesus.' *Third*, this whole chapter represents the eternal Son as offering up his 'body,' his 'flesh,' &c., as Jewish priests offered up sacrifices, offerings, &c. And yet the body thus offered up is the same in *person* with the eternal Son who offered it: and the actions, sufferings, and death of this body are spoken of in several places as the actions, &c., of the Divine person, Jesus Christ.

This subject is stated by St. Paul with equal clearness in the first, second, and ninth chapters of the same epistle. It is there set forth that the Son made the world, chap. i, 2, that he was 'the brightness of his Father's glory, and the express image of his person,'—that he 'upholds all things by the word of his power,' having 'by inheritance obtained a more excellent name than the angels,' verses 3, 4. 'For unto which of the angels said he at any time, Thy throne, O God, is for ever and ever,' and 'Thou, Lord, in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the works of thy hands,' verses 8, 10. The above passages refer exclusively to the eternal Divinity of Christ; and yet it is said of him, that, 'when he had, by himself, purged our sins, he sat down at the right hand of God,' verse 3. But how was this done? The apostle tells us that he did it, by 'being made a little lower than the angels,' (that is, by being made flesh,) 'for the suffering of death,' verse 9. 'For it became him, for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through sufferings. For both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one: for which cause he is not ashamed to call them brethren.—Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also, himself, likewise took part of the same, that through death he might destroy him that had the power of death.'—'For verily he took not on him the nature of angels; but he took on him the seed of Abraham. Wherefore, in all things it behoved him to be made like unto his brethren; that he might be a merciful and faithful high priest in things pertaining to God, to make reconciliation for the sins of the people,' chap. ii, verses 10–17. 'But Christ being come a high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood, he entered once into the holy place, having obtained eternal

redemption for us. For if the blood of bulls and of goats, and the ashes of a heifer, sprinkling the unclean, sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh; how much more shall the blood of Christ, who, through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God? For this cause he is the Mediator of the new testament, that, by means of death, for the redemption of the transgressions,—they which are called might receive the promise of an eternal inheritance.'—'For where a testament is there must also, of necessity, be the death of the testator.'—'Whereupon, neither the first testament was dedicated without blood.'—'And almost all things are by the law, purged with blood; and without shedding of blood is no remission,' &c., chap. ix, verses 11–22.

From the whole of the above we learn, that Jesus Christ, in order to obtain redemption and remission of sins, for men, must, as a 'testator,' or 'mediator,' *die;* without his 'death,' the testament, or new covenant, would be of no force. We learn, also, that there could be no remission or forgiveness of sin, without 'shedding of blood.' But, as the Divine nature could not shed blood and die, He took upon him a nature that could, 'the seed of Abraham.' 'The children being flesh and blood, he also took part of the same,' that he might shed blood and die for their salvation. It is evident that, as the Divine nature was eternal, exclusive of the humanity, so the humanity shed blood and died, exclusively of the Divine nature. It is worthy of remark here, that the apostle clearly contradistinguishes the Divine from the human nature, in agency or function, the 'eternal Spirit' *offering*, and the human nature *being offered* up to God, as a sacrifice. In other words, the agency of the Divine Spirit, (the Divinity of Christ,) in offering up the body, was the agency of Christ; and the body and blood thus offered and shed were the body and blood of *Christ himself;* showing most clearly, that although the actions and sufferings of the one nature were not the actions and sufferings of the other, they were nevertheless all the actions and sufferings of that one Divine *person* who was composed of both natures.

We find another passage of Scripture fully in point, Col. i, 14, 16, 17. Speaking of Jesus Christ, the Apostle Paul says, 'For by him were all things created that are in heaven and that are in earth,' &c. And yet of this same Divine person he says, 'In whom we have redemption, through his blood.' Here, again, are two distinct agencies, or characters pointed out, as appertaining to Christ; *first*, the Divinity, as the CREATOR *of all things;* and *secondly*, the *humanity*, shedding that blood by which we have 'redemption.' And yet, both the creation of all things, and the shedding of blood, are ascribed to the complex *person*, Christ Jesus; showing clearly that whatever is done or suffered by either nature, is said to be done or suffered by Jesus Christ himself.

Again, 'In the beginning was the Word, and the Word was with God, and the Word was God.'—'And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, and we beheld his glory, the glory as of the only begotten of the Father; full of grace and truth,' John i, 14. Again, 'That which was from the beginning; which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes; which we have looked upon,

and our hands have handled, of the Word of life, (for the life was manifested, and we have seen it, and bear witness, and show unto you that eternal life which was with the Father, and was manifested unto us,' 1 John i, 2. Of this WORD, called God, by whom 'all things were created,' it is said, 'We beheld his glory,' and that he was 'seen with our eyes,' and still farther that 'our hands have handled him, for he was manifested unto us.' As it is impossible that we should 'see with our eyes,' or 'handle with our hands,' the Divine nature, the humanity must be *exclusively* referred to in such passages. And yet these are predicated of GOD—the 'WORD made flesh'—showing satisfactorily that whatever was predicable of the *human* nature was of the Divine *person* also, being in fact hypostatically the same.

That some things are spoken of Christ *hypostatically*, which must be restricted to each nature *antithetically*, as the case may be, appears as evident to my mind as any truth which was ever revealed of the Divine Saviour. I shall quote a few more texts and pass on. In 1 Peter iii, 18, Christ is said to have 'suffered for sins, being *put to death in the* FLESH,' but 'quickened by the SPIRIT.' Here *flesh* and *spirit* are placed antithetically. The 'death' of Christ appertained to the *flesh;* but the Spirit, that is, the Divine nature, 'quickened' that flesh; thus explaining our Lord's words, 'I have power to lay down my life; and I have power to take it up again.' Here, it must be noticed, *Christ* was raised from the dead, that is, 'quickened by the Spirit:' but the *body* only was thus 'quickened:' therefore, whatever is said of Christ's *humanity* is said of *Christ himself*, being spoken of interchangeably.

Again, it is said of Christ, that he 'bare our sins in his own *body on the tree.*' And again, that 'he suffered for us in the flesh,' 1 Pet. iv, 1.

St. Paul uses similar language: 'Ye are dead to the law, through the body of Christ,' Rom. vii, 4. Again, 'Ye who were far off are made nigh, by the blood of Christ,' 'who abolished in his FLESH the enmity,' &c. Eph. ii, 13, 16. Once more, 'You who are alienated hath he reconciled, in the *body of his flesh, through death,*' Col. i, 21.

The next incongruity, in my estimation, contained in the Essay, is the implied assumption, that, by becoming incarnate, some mysterious change took place in the Divine nature, so that it was capable of sufferings and death, which it could never realize in its unincarnate state. That the Divine Essence could have acquired such capabilities without impairing his immutability, appears to me clearly impossible. Suppose it be granted, (which I cannot do, however,) that the Divine nature *could*, by a voluntary act, suffer, still the question would remain, in full force, How could it have suffered, properly, in and of itself, in connection with the humanity, and yet have been incapable of such suffering in an unincarnate state, without undergoing some radical change? That the possibility of such change is implied in the Essay, I infer from the following passages:—

'We cannot say that the Deity *as* Deity can suffer; but we can say that that which is impossible to the Deity *as* Deity is possible to him as incarnated. It was impossible that the Deity *as* Deity

should be born of a woman; but it was not impossible for him as incarnated.' (p. 265.)

It is quite easy to conceive that God can change *relatively*, that is, in relation to men and things; for this implies no change of *Essence:* but the impossibility that the Deity should change *radically*, or *properly*, lies in his very *nature;* as 'JEHOVAH, who changeth not.' The *incarnation* of the Divine nature, therefore, can afford no reason why he could become liable to hunger, thirst, suffer, bleed, and die. Such capabilities, it is true, the Divine Redeemer possessed in his *humanity*, but not in his *Divinity*.

Another incongruity in the Essay is the fact that it lays too much stress on the *sufferings* of Christ, to the virtual exclusion of his *blood*. Was this done because the idea of the Divine nature's shedding blood was so palpably absurd, as at once to refute the author's whole scheme? He is incapable of disingenuousness. It was, therefore, overlooked, in the entire fixedness of his mind on one favorite point. That the 'shedding of blood' was essential to atonement by vicarious sacrifices is so clearly and fully revealed in both Testaments, that I need spend but little time on the subject. God forbade the use of blood, after the flood, on the ground that in it was the *life* of man, Gen. ix, 4, 5. The 'blood of the passover' in Egypt, together with its shedding purposes, is matter of general notoriety. It pointed, typically, to the 'blood of Christ,' which has been sacramentally commemorated from the earliest ages of Christianity; and the 'body and blood of Christ' will be received 'by faith' in the 'Eucharistic feast' so long as God shall have a people on earth to receive them. Our Saviour informed the Jews, that, except they ate his flesh and drank his blood, they could have no life in them, John vi, 53. From this it appears that the blood of Christ is the great means of spiritual life, to all who believe in its saving efficacy. It may be proper, however, to be more diffuse on this important subject.

In Leviticus xvii, 11, it is said, 'The life of the flesh is in the blood; and I have given it you upon the altar, to make an atonement for your soul.' In accordance with this grant, 'Moses, when he had spoken every precept, to all the people, according to the law, took the blood of calves, and of goats, and sprinkled the book and the people; saying, This is the blood of the testament.'—'Moreover, he sprinkled likewise with blood both the tabernacle, and all the vessels of the ministry: and almost all things are by the law purged with blood, and without shedding of blood is no remission.'—'But Christ being come a high priest of good things to come, by a greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands, that is to say, not of this building; neither by the blood of goats and calves, but by his own blood,—he obtained eternal redemption for us. For if the blood of bulls and of goats sanctifieth to the purifying of the flesh, how much more shall the blood of Christ, who, through the eternal Spirit, offered himself without spot to God, purge your conscience from dead works, to serve the living God?' Heb. ix, &c.

From the above it would seem, that, in the great work of man's salvation, by Christ, his blood is almost every thing. The abstract sufferings of Christ, though an integral *means* in the work of re-

demption, is nowhere considered thus efficacious. If then the shedding of blood constitutes an *essential* prerequisite to expiation, and if the human nature, in the Divine person of Christ, offered up by the eternal Son, must have shed that blood without which there is no remission, where is the necessity for the *sufferings* of the Divine *nature?* But, suppose it even possible that the Divine nature *could* suffer—as it could not *bleed*, and as we are 'redeemed,' 'justified,' 'purged,' 'cleansed,' 'washed and made white,' not by the *sufferings* of Christ, but by his 'precious blood,' wherein, I again inquire, lies the peculiar necessity that the Divine nature should *suffer?* At all events, I cannot see why the author of the Essay should have overlooked the blood of Christ, in view of his sufferings, in redeeming the world.

Something has already been said on the impossibility that the Divine nature should change, or acquire, by incarnation, capabilities of suffering, &c., which it did not possess eternally. This I did on the ground that the acquisition of such capabilities would affect the Divine immutability. This, however, is not the only reason why I could not embrace the hypothesis that the Divine nature of Christ suffered. To me it appears apparently right, proper, or fit, that the only nature which *sinned in Adam* should *suffer* in Christ: that is, *human nature.* The God-man, being a Daysman, or Mediator between *sinning humanity* and the *offended Divinity*, was properly the *representative* of both parties. The Divine nature had not *sinned*, and consequently should not have *suffered;* but the human nature had sinned, and therefore should have suffered. This view of the subject has always appeared to me to present the grand reason why the Divine Son took not on him the nature of angels, but the seed of Abraham. 'Forasmuch, then, as the children are partakers of flesh and blood, he also himself likewise took part of the same; that through death, he might destroy him that had the power of death,' &c. 'So that both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one,' Heb. ii, 10; x, 16. The 'seed of Abraham,' the 'children' of 'flesh and blood,' had sinned; therefore Christ took upon him the 'seed of Abraham'—'flesh and blood,' that in that nature he might suffer death. The grand object of the atonement was to satisfy the claims of a violated law, and the justice of the moral Governor of the world. But who had violated this law, and insulted this justice? And against whom did these claims lie? Certainly not the Divine nature, that it should suffer and die; but against offending humanity. Human nature, therefore, according to distributive equity, must have exclusively suffered, bled, and died, in satisfying those claims. Atonement, on any other grounds, it appears to me, would be to cancel, not properly to satisfy the legal demands of Divine justice. This principle involves a system of pardon on the ground of abstract mercy, reckless of justice, and would, consequently, supersede the atonement entirely.

It would afford me great pleasure to be able to understand the author of the Essay to mean simply that the capabilities of the Divine nature to suffer, &c., acquired by the incarnation, implied merely those which are inherent in that nature which he took upon him, and which, consequently, belonged to him; not as a Divine nature, but as a Divine complex person. But he has placed

this understanding of his language beyond our reach, by the entire scope of his Essay. He steps out on ground which he acknowledges to have been heretofore unoccupied by the orthodox, with a few incidental exceptions, which I shall say more about hereafter. His own language on the subject is as follows:—

'As Jesus Christ united both the Divine and human natures in his person, he must have suffered in both.' (p. 263.) Again, 'The two natures of our Saviour suffered together, till a separation took place.' 'The Scriptures refer suffering and death to the Divine nature directly, as the most important of, and as implying his complex person.' (*Ib.*)

I have had occasion already to remark, that the author of the Essay frequently confounds Divine person with Divine nature. We have a sample of this in his main 'proposition.' 'The proposition laid down and defended in the following pages,' says he, 'is this:—That all the actions and sufferings of Jesus Christ were the actions and sufferings of the God-man; or, in other words, the complex person of our blessed Saviour.' (p. 265.)

The whole of this is running round in a circle; as if he had said, 'All the actions and sufferings of Jesus Christ, the God-man, are the actions and sufferings of our blessed Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ!' What is there in this peculiar to the Essay, its tautology excepted? And yet it is certain the writer intended to say something peculiar to his Essay: a something, too, that would supply an all-important 'desideratum' in the commonly received doctrines of the atonement.

Another instance of the improper substitution of the term nature for person may be seen page 265, where the author represents the orthodox as saying, 'The sufferings of the human nature of Christ were the sufferings of the Divine nature.' He should have said, 'The sufferings of the human nature are the sufferings, not of the Divine *nature*, but Divine *person*;' for we do not believe that the Divine nature suffers by virtue of the sufferings of the human nature. As a Divine complex person implies both the human and Divine natures in that one person, it is just as improper to confound the Divine person with the Divine nature, in a discussion of this subject, as it would be to confound the Divine person with the human nature; the personality of the Being in question consisting of both natures.

The author continues, 'It is conceived, that, only on the ground maintained in this Essay, this personal identity of our Saviour, can he claim any personal property in the sufferings of the human nature. On this ground alone the sufferings and blood of the human nature are the sufferings and blood of the Divine nature; because on this ground' (the sufferings of the Divine nature) 'the whole complex person suffered.' (*Ib.*) Could not the sufferings, as well as the blood of the human nature be those of the Divine person, and not those of the Divine nature? That the Divine complex person suffered and bled we all agree; but that the only ground on which the Divine person could suffer and bleed is, that the Divine nature also suffered and bled, we can never allow. Nor are we concerned to know that the Divine nature *could* suffer and bleed. The sufferings, blood, and death of the human nature, in personal union

with the Divine, is all-sufficient; being Divinity impersonated with it.

Again, the author says, 'While the identity of our Saviour's person remains, every action and suffering must be the action and suffering of his whole person.' (*Ib.*)

This is strictly correct; but the author's object was to prove the suffering of the Divine nature, which he supposed he had done when he proved the suffering of the Divine person, thus confounding the terms, and begging the question in dispute.

Page 266 the author says, 'If we limit the sufferings of our Saviour to his human nature, and exclude the Divine nature from sharing in them, we separate the two natures; and the sufferings of the former' (the human nature) 'are no more the sufferings of the latter' (the Divine nature) 'than were the sufferings of Peter or Paul.' Here we have a plain instance of the absurdity of confounding terms. It is true, that the sufferings of the human nature are no more the sufferings of the Divine nature than such sufferings were those of Peter or Paul. But if the author had not confounded *nature* with *person* the fallacy of his statement would have been seen at once. His theory required him to have said, 'If we limit the sufferings of our Saviour to his human nature, and exclude the Divine nature from sharing them, we separate the two natures; and the sufferings of the former are no more the sufferings of the Divine *person* than they were the sufferings of Peter or Paul.' This would have been supplying the 'desideratum;' but by overlooking the Divine person, as a medium between the two natures, he speaks confusedly, not only in this place, but throughout his Essay. That he uses the terms Divine nature and Divine person synonymously and interchangeably, of design, is manifest from the fact that all of those texts of Scripture which speak of the suffering and death of Christ himself, he understands as implying his Divine nature also, on the grounds assumed in the Essay, concerning the personal 'identity' of his two natures. The same understanding has he of those remarks made by commentators respecting the Divine person of our Saviour, as suffering and dying. Speaking on these subjects, the author says, 'The passages' (of Scripture) 'which cannot be fairly commented without admitting the suffering and death of the complex person of our Saviour, are very numerous, and are thus commented on by all sound interpreters of the word of God.' (p. 280.) This is all very true. Sound interpreters of the word of God allow that Jesus Christ, as a complex *person*, suffered, bled, and died; but not that his Divine *nature* 'suffered, bled, and died:' for they have clearly distinguished between Christ as a Divine nature, eternal with the Father, and Christ as a Divine complex person, a 'partaker of flesh and blood,' that he might 'give his flesh for the life of the world,' John vi, 51.

The confusion of ideas occasioned by the above interchangeable use of terms, betrayed the author of the Essay himself into tacit admissions in favor of the commonly received opinions on this subject. We have a case of this, (pages 263–4,) where the author says, 'The Scriptures *indifferently* refer suffering and death to the human or Divine nature; and that for this obvious reason—that, whatever *part* of a complex person, known and acknowledged to be

such, be mentioned, the whole person is understood.' Here it is clearly conceded, that, when the human 'part' of Christ is mentioned, 'the whole person is understood.' So when Christ's humanity suffered, bled, and died, 'his whole person is understood,' and yet, the 'identity' of his person was not destroyed! The author was betrayed into a similar concession, (page 267,) where he introduces the following remarks, 'It is true, that the actions and sufferings of a complex person may in various respects differ. *This* may have its origin in, and may immediately affect the body; *that*, the soul. But still the action or suffering belongs to the whole complex person. The action of eating, for example, is the immediate action of the body; and yet we do not say the body eats, but the man or person eats; and no other idea enters into our minds.'

Now this is true enough; and, applied to the subject before us, sustains the orthodox views of the sufferings of the Divine person. The *body* of Christ suffers and dies; therefore Christ, the complex person, suffers and dies.

Suppose it be granted that the soul and body of man are so united that the one can, (and doubtless it does,) in some sense, sympathize with the other, it would not follow of course that the same sympathy existed between the Divine and human natures of Christ. That such sympathy existed between the human soul and body of Christ, to some extent, will not be denied. But that the sorrows of the soul were not extended to the Divine nature, is intimated by our Saviour's own language, when he cried, in the garden, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful, even unto death.' And also when on the cross he cried, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me!' The whole sorrowful tragedy seems to preclude the sufferings of any but the human soul and body.

On pages 266–7 the author repeats his main proposition in these words: 'The actions and sufferings of a complex person must be the actions and sufferings of all the parts of which that person is composed; for, otherwise, the parts being separated, the identity of person is destroyed, and we have not one person, but two.' On this ground, he assumes that, whenever any action or suffering is attributed to the Divine person, it is of course attributable to each *part* of that complex person. For this reason he understands all those passages of Scripture which speak of the suffering and death of Christ to include his Divine nature, as suffering and dying with the humanity. By this assumption he proceeds to beg the question from page 267 to the close of the Essay. He quotes, for example, Heb. ii, 14, 18; Phil. ii, 8; Luke xxiv, 46; Acts xvii, 3; Rom. v, 6, 8. All of these passages speak of the suffering or death of Christ, as a Divine person; therefore the author assumes that they teach the suffering and death of the Divine nature. He remarks, that 'whatever is affirmed of this person, whether action or suffering, is affirmed of the whole person,' (both natures,) 'and not the human or Divine nature exclusively.' (p. 269.) Again, 'Let it be remarked, that if the mere human nature suffered, there was a separation of the two natures, and the Divinity was as truly unincarnate as before the union took place. But that there was no separation of the two natures appears from the use of the

personal pronoun "I" and "my;" "I have power to lay down my life," which could not be used by the one nature for, or of, the other.' (pp. 269–70.) The astonishing inconsistency of such a strain of reasoning has been abundantly exposed already, by reference to such passages as the following: 'I and my Father are ONE'—not complex PERSON, but Divine NATURE. And 'Now, O Father, glorify thou me, with the glory which I had with thee before the world was.' Here the pronoun 'I' and 'ME' refer exclusively to the Divine nature of the complex speaker Christ. Again, 'He came down from heaven, even the Son of man which is IN heaven.' Nothing can be more certain than that the personal pronoun 'I' and 'my' may be properly applied to the Divine person, in reference to his two-fold, or complex mode of personal existence: first, as the eternal Logos, or WORD, creating and upholding all things by the word of his power; and secondly, as partaking of 'flesh and blood,' suffering, bleeding, and dying upon the cross; and 'rising from the dead the third day.' The very texts which the author quotes entirely overthrow his theory. Take his main one for an example: 'I have power to lay down my life; and I have power to take it up again.' Who was it that had this 'power?' Certainly the eternal Logos, exclusive of the humanity. And yet who can believe that the 'life laid down,' and 'taken up again,' was the life of this eternal Logos? Surely, it was that of the 'body prepared for him'—the 'flesh and blood given for the life of the world.' Having 'hung upon the cross,' it was 'laid in a new tomb,' and was 'taken up again;' or, as it is said, in another place, 'was quickened by the Spirit,' 'raised from the dead,' &c. And yet this '*part*,' thus 'quickened,' 'raised from the dead,' &c., is called by Christ 'my life,' applying the pronoun 'my' exclusively to his human nature, as he had previously done the 'I' to his Divine nature.

I hope I shall be excused for not passing over the same ground, by following the author of the Essay through several pages, showing what has been so abundantly proved, that, although whatever is said of one nature cannot always be of the other, as such, yet that whatever is said of either nature, in personal union with the other, is properly applied to the one Divine person. A few things, however, require some notice; especially his quotations from Mr. Wesley, Dr. Clarke, the Methodist Discipline, and Hymn Book. All of these speak of Christ as suffering, bleeding, and dying as a complex person; his humanity, however, being manifestly implied in all such passages, they give no countenance to the doctrines of the Essay. To quote from Mr. Wesley, in order to show that this is all he meant, would be as needless as to show that there is a sun to enlighten the day.

Dr. Clarke, also, is clear on this subject. Commenting on Heb. v, 7, he says, 'The Redeemer of the world appears here as simply *man;* but he is the representative of the whole human race. He must make expiation for sin by *suffering*, and he can suffer only as *man*. Suffering was as necessary as death; for man, because he has sinned, must suffer; and because he has broken the law, he should die.'

Commenting on Acts xx, 28, 'Feed the Church of God, which

he hath purchased with his own blood,' Dr. Clarke contends that the present translation is correct; that, as Christ was a Divine person, his blood was the blood of God. This comment of the doctor the author of the Essay brings forward to show that the Divine nature actually suffered. This is really astonishing; for not one word is said about suffering, but about 'blood.' And does the author of the Essay believe the God-man did actually bleed, as well as suffer and die? If he did shed blood, he is not a 'pure Spirit,' but hath 'flesh and bones;' but if he did not, only as he was one in person, (not substance, or thing,) with a nature that could and did shed blood, then, it follows, that the blood of this Divinely impersonated human nature was called the 'blood of God' by St. Paul himself.

Dr. Clarke uses language equally strong in his comment on Heb. x, 7: 'God willed that a human victim of infinite merit should be offered for the redemption of mankind.'

The author of the Essay quotes the second Article of our Discipline to prove that the 'very God,' as well as 'man,' suffered and died. But this article, properly understood, will avail him as little as the testimony of Dr. Clarke; for it carries on its face the clearest proof that could be desired in favor of the doctrine that some things said of Christ are limited to his Divinity, and others to his humanity. That part of the article which represents Christ as the 'very and eternal God, of one substance with the Father,' must 'exclude' the human nature. And that part which represents Christ as being 'crucified and buried,' and as 'rising again from the dead,' (Art 3,) must, of necessity, 'exclude' the Divinity.

It is now time we should come to the difficult question which gave rise to the Essay: that which involves the principles of proper merit, by virtue of the sufferings, blood, and death of the Divinely impersonated humanity of Jesus Christ.

It is assumed by the Arians, and Socinians, and endorsed by the author of the Essay, that 'however ennobled and dignified the human nature was by its union with the Divine, it was human nature still, and could merit nothing.' (p. 264.) Again, 'If we limit the sufferings of our Saviour to his human nature, and exclude the Divine nature from sharing in them, we separate the two natures, and the sufferings of the former are no more the sufferings of the latter than were the sufferings of Peter or Paul.' (p. 263.)

The fundamental error contained in the above extracts, lies in contradistinguishing the human nature *in* the Divine person *from* the Divine person; and in confounding a Divine person with the Divine nature. Was the 'Word made flesh' *mere* flesh? Was the 'child born,' the 'Son given,' a *mere* child? Or was it not, in a Scriptural sense, the 'mighty God?'

The author of the Essay attributes to the orthodox such sentiments as divest the humanity of Christ entirely of its Divine personality, considering the union of the Divine and human natures in the light, not of one person, but as two separate agencies; one communicating, and the other receiving Divine 'aid,' 'support,' &c.; as when the Divine arm is stretched out to succor. That

such extraneous support, afforded the human nature by the Divine, is ascribed to the orthodox theory, by the author of the Essay, is manifest from the manner in which he answers the following objections:—'The human nature was ennobled and dignified by its union with the Divine, and, therefore, his sufferings possess infinite value.'—'The human nature was offered upon the altar of, or was supported by, the Divine nature, and therefore possessed an infinite value.' To these opinions the author of the Essay replies, 'first, the Divine nature, in distinction from the human, is no where in Scripture represented as an altar for this purpose; and, secondly, if the office of the Divine nature, in making the atonement, was to support the human nature in its sufferings, it could have done this as well without becoming incarnate as to support the saints in their sufferings without becoming incarnate for each individual.' (pp. 264–5.)

The spirit of this reply imports, clearly, that the human nature of Christ received no more honor, dignity, nor support by its union with the Divine, than saints do by their union with Christ in the support they receive from him! The author of the Essay does not even stop here: he says, 'Thirdly, it no where appears that the human nature of Christ had this support, but, the contrary, he was dismayed and overwhelmed by the magnitude of his sufferings, and his soul was in agony; he sunk and died.'

To what great extremes a man may be led by a favorite hypothesis is manifest from the above! But what does his theory gain by it? Was the Divine nature 'dismayed and overwhelmed by the magnitude of his sufferings?'—Or was it his *soul* that was 'exceeding sorrowful, even unto death?' Was it the Godhead that piteously cried, 'My God, my God, why hast thou forsaken me?'

An attentive examination of the author's views on the subject under consideration would lead to the conclusion that he either did not fully enter into the commonly received doctrines concerning it, or that he had failed to state them fairly. Hence the sentiments given above, that 'however ennobled human nature was by its union with the Divine, it was human nature still, and, therefore, could merit nothing,' and that the sufferings of the humanity, exclusive of the Divinity, were no more the sufferings of Christ than those of Peter or Paul. But let it be remembered that the flesh which suffered was the 'WORD made flesh,' that the human nature was Divinely impersonated with the Divinity, by the hypostatical union—a personal union this, which makes the human nature Divine, in the same mystic sense that the eternal Word was made 'flesh.' The human nature had the same right of property in the Divine person that the Divine nature had. In other words, the Divine person of Christ, consisting alike of the Divine and human natures, the titles, actions, &c., of each nature are applied alike to the Divine person.

That the author of the Essay has not done common justice to those opinions which have long been held sacred in theology concerning the sufferings and merit of Jesus Christ, appears from his answer to the following objection:—

'"There was no necessity for the Divine nature to suffer. The human nature derived infinite dignity and value from its union with

the Divine, and its sufferings were therefore sufficient for the redemption of mankind, without the sufferings of the Divine nature."'

'Answer 1. This method of deriving merit is no where taught in the Bible, nor is it consonant to reason, as being that on account of which we are redeemed, justified, and saved.'

'2. Worthiness or merit is not derived in this way. The condescension of a superior to an inferior adds nothing to the real dignity and worthiness of the latter. The merit is his who condescends: and the greater the difference in the dignity and character of the two persons, the greater the condescension and merit.' (p. 277.)

Here the Essayist considers the two natures of Christ in the light of two persons; a superior and an inferior: the former condescending to assist the latter. Surely, if *this* is an apt representation of the hypostatical, or personal union, the humanity truly derives no merit from the Divinity! But is this the case? When the author of the Essay wishes to prove the sufferings of the Divinity, by virtue of its union with the humanity, he considers that union in the light of personal 'identity'—a union so close that the actions, sufferings, and state of one nature must be properly those of the other. When this same personal 'identity,' however, is contemplated in reference to 'objections' raised against the doctrines assumed in the Essay, the two natures are considered as two persons; a 'superior' communicating, and an 'inferior' receiving support! This is certainly unfair, though I sincerely believe the author did not intend it to be so.

That the doctrines of the Essay are not those of our standard works, I need scarcely affirm. But as the author claims to have been sustained by that critical and profound divine, Mr. Richard Watson, I shall give some extracts from his writings.

'Among those who hold the union of two natures in Christ, the Divine and human, which, in theological language, is called the hypostatical, or personal union, several distinctions were also made, which led to a diversity of opinions,—but the true sense of Scripture appears to have been very correctly expressed by the Council of Chalcedon, in the fifth century:—that in Christ there is one person; in the unity of person two natures, the Divine and the human; and that there is no change, or mixture, or confusion of these two natures, but that each retains its own distinguishing properties.' (See Institutes in 3 vols.; vol. ii, p. 130.) Again, p. 131, he says,—

'That Christ is very God has been already proved from the Scriptures; that he was truly man no one will be found to doubt; that he is but one person is sufficiently clear from this, that no distinction into two was ever made by himself, or by his apostles; and from actions peculiar to Godhead being sometimes ascribed to him under his human appellations, and actions and sufferings peculiar to his humanity being also predicated of him under Divine titles. That in him there is no confusion of the two natures is evident from the absolute manner in which both his natures are constantly spoken of in the Scriptures. His Godhead was not *deteriorated* by uniting itself with a human body, for "he is the true God," &c.

'If the Divine nature in him had been imperfect, it would have

lost its essential character, for it is essential for the Deity to be perfect and complete; if any of the essential properties of human nature had been wanting, he would not have been man; if Divine and human had been mixed and confounded in him he would have been a compound being, neither God nor man.'

If the author of the Essay does not mix and confound the two natures of Christ, in his definition of personal 'identity,' when he informs us that such identity is destroyed 'when we limit any action, or suffering, or state of his one nature, and exclude the other,' I confess I misapprehend the subject.'

That view of the human nature of Christ which represents it as hypostatically one with the Divine, presents the only ground on which we can understand the following and similar passages of Scripture:—

'Behold a virgin shall be with child, and shall bring forth a son, and they shall call his name Emanuel, which, being interpreted, is God with us,' Matt. i, 23. 'For unto us a child is born, unto us a Son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulders, and his name shall be called Wonderful, Counsellor, the Mighty God, the Everlasting Father, the Prince of peace,' Isaiah ix, 6. Here, as in the above text, the 'child born,' in personal union with the eternal 'Son given,' is called 'God with us,' 'The Mighty God,' &c. Of this child in infancy, it was predicted that it should 'not know to refuse the evil or choose the good;' and of him, when more advanced, that 'butter and honey shall he eat.' How perfectly does this accord with what is said of him by St. Luke, that 'he grew in wisdom and stature,' &c. So exclusively descriptive of Christ's human hature are all these passages, that no orthodox commentator, to the best of my knowledge, has ever understood them differently.

Mr. Watson, in his Dictionary, (see Article Jesus,) speaking of this mysterious child, says, 'Isaiah predicts his birth of a virgin, under the title of Immanuel, God with us.'—'The same prophet gives to this wonderful child the titles of "The Mighty God," "The Everlasting Father," and "The Prince of peace." So that, as Dr. Pye Smith justly observes, "If there be any dependence on words, the Messiah is here drawn in the opposite characters of humanity and Divinity—the nativity and frailty of a mortal child, and the incommunicable attributes of the omnipotent and eternal God."'

In his comment on Luke i, 35, Mr. Watson says, 'That power of the Highest which overshadowed, exerted his influence upon the virgin, took the holy thing' (human nature) 'into personal union with himself, who was in his Divine nature the Son of God; and this became the appellation of the one undivided Christ; but wholly by virtue of the hypostatical union.' Again, 'Since human nature was united to the Son of God, it was to bear the same names, as being in indissoluble union with him.'

Here, then, is the reason why actions, sufferings, blood, and death itself, are predicated of Jesus Christ *as God*, because his humanity is hypostatically one with God. It was JEHOVAH who was 'pierced,' Zech. xii, 11. 'God' who 'purchased the Church with his own blood,' Acts xx, 28. It was 'the Lord that bought us,' 2 Pet. ii, 1; it was the 'Lord of glory' that was 'crucified,' 1 Cor. ii, 8.

'The distinction between the acts of the human and Divine nature, by considering some things which are spoken of Christ, as said of his Divine, others of his human nature,' says Mr. Watson, 'is a principle of interpretation which he who takes along with him will seldom find any difficulty in apprehending the sense of the sacred writers.' (Watson's Institutes, vol. ii, p. 132.) 'Does any one ask, for instance, if Jesus Christ was truly God, how he could be born and die—how he could grow in wisdom and stature—how he could be subject to law—be tempted—stand in need of prayer? How he could be exceeding sorrowful, even unto death—be forsaken of his Father—"purchase the Church with his own blood"—have "joy set before him"—be "exalted"—have "all power in heaven and earth *given* unto him," &c.? The answer is, that he was also MAN.' (*Ib.* pp. 132–3.) Again, 'A union which alone distinguishes the sufferings of Christ from that of his martyred followers,' (Peter and Paul!) 'gave to them,' (his sufferings,) 'a *merit* which others had not, and made "his blood" capable of purchasing the salvation of the "Church." For disallow that union, and we can see no possible meaning in calling the blood of Christ the "blood of God."' (*Ib.* p. 134.) Again, same page, 'We neither believe that "God" nor "the Lord" could die; but in using the established phrase, the all-important doctrine of the existence of such union between the two natures of our Lord as to make the blood which he shed more than the blood of a mere man, more than the blood of his mere humanity itself, is maintained and exhibited; and while we allow that God could not die, yet there is a most important sense in which the blood of Christ is the blood of God—the person who was *flesh* was also *God*.' (*Ib.*) Again, page 137, he says, 'Now here, also, it is clear, that the sufferer and the Saviour are the same person. The *man* might suffer, but suffering could not enable the man to *save*. This must be [a] Divine [nature.] But it is one in personal union with that which suffered, and was taught sympathy,' &c. (pp. 137–8.) Again, 'In him Divinity and humanity were united in one person, so that he was "God manifest in the flesh," assuming our nature, in order that he might offer it in death, a sacrifice to God.' (*Ib.* p. 310.) Again, 'The Scriptures intimate, in numberless places, the strictest union between the Divine and human natures of Christ by applying to him promiscuously the actions which belonged to each nature.' (p. 139.)

In the same sense in which the Divine nature 'was made flesh,' the actions of the Divine nature were those of the flesh: and, conversely, the sense in which the human nature became a Divine person, the actions, suffering, and death of the human nature were those of a Divine person. And the grounds on which the human nature, thus identified in person with the Divine, was entitled 'God,' the 'Lord,' &c., and on which he was worshipped as 'the Lord God'—on *this* ground, I repeat, the human nature of Christ was capable of meriting salvation, by suffering, bleeding, and dying on the cross. Yes, the sufferings of the Divine Redeemer were meritoriously available, on precisely the same ground that 'the child born' was worshipped as the 'Mighty God,' and that his 'blood' was the 'blood of God.' That Mr. Watson did not intend to countenance such doctrines as are advanced in the Essay, ap-

pears plainly from his 'Institutes,' from his 'Dictionary,' his 'Expositions' of our Saviour's sufferings in the garden and on the cross, in his 'Wesleyan Catechism,' and in his sermon itself, from which the author of the Essay claims to receive such decided support. Mr. Watson, in his remarks preliminary to those quoted by the author of the Essay in his appendix, holds this language concerning the sacrificial offering of Jesus Christ:—

'1. It was the offering of a *human being;* and as the judicial infliction of death upon a man marks the commission of an offence which justice declares to be capital, so the death of Christ, considering him simply as a man, shows a justice in the visitation of sin, as much greater as human life is above the life of irrational animals.

'2. He was an *innocent* and *spotless* man.'—'Here the value was heightened.

'3. But that which carries the value of the offering' (the 'human victim,' the 'spotless man,') 'to its true height,—is that it was "the blood of Christ," of the whole and undivided Christ, who was both God and man. For, though a Divine nature could not bleed and die, a Divine person could. This distinction' (between a Divine nature and a Divine person) 'is to be kept in mind; for the person being one, the acts and sufferings of each nature are the acts and sufferings of the same person; and are spoken of interchangeably.' (See Watson's Sermons, vol. i, pp. 382–3.)

The reader will mark well that Mr. Watson says, 'a Divine nature,' (either incarnate or unincarnate,) 'cannot bleed and die.' This, he notifies us, is 'to be kept in mind;' and in the very next sentence he says, 'a Divine person can.' He still farther explains, by informing us, that the acts and sufferings of the human nature are those of the Divine person, though they cannot be those of the Divine nature: nothing is more certain, therefore, than that he predicates the impossibility of suffering on the part of the Divine nature, and yet the possibility of suffering on the part of a Divine person, solely on the ground that the Divine nature is sheer Divinity, but that a Divine person contains humanity as well as Divinity; and farther, on the ground occupied in these Strictures, that the suffering, blood, and death of the human nature, in union with the Divine, are properly those of the one Divine person: 'For,' says Mr. Watson, 'the person being one,' (though containing two natures,) 'the acts and sufferings of each nature are' (not the acts and sufferings of each other, but) 'the acts and sufferings of the same person, and are spoken of interchangeably.'

'It is this hypostatical union,' continues Mr. Watson, 'which invests his' (Christ's) 'humanity with that Divine character; so that, by virtue of the personal union, we worship him without idolatry as God. Thomas touches his very flesh; and yet falls at his feet, and cries, "My Lord and my God!"' 'It is this' (the human nature being invested with a Divine character, by the hypostatical union) 'which gives their mysterious depth to his sufferings,' continues Mr. Watson. And so far was he from assuming that incarnated Divinity suffered, that he doubts whether it would be possible, even by an act of the Divine will itself. 'I enter not,' says he, 'into the question whether the Divine nature could, by a voluntary

act, suffer. That veil is not to be lifted up by mortal speculations.'

The author of the Essay has ventured to 'lift up this veil,' and has frankly conceded to the heterodox of all ages that the sufferings and death of the incarnate Divinity is the only ground on which the sufferings of Christ can merit salvation. That he did not understand or bear in mind Mr. Watson's distinction between a Divine person, including humanity, and a Divine nature, which excludes it, is evident from the fact that what Mr. Watson says concerning the Divine person, he (the Essayist,) understood as applied to the Divine nature. Hence, in his 'Appendix,' he says, 'After the foregoing Essay was wholly written, I obtained, through a friend, the sight of a volume of sermons, and sketches of sermons, by the Rev. Richard Watson. In Sermon 37th, on "The Sacrifice of Christ," I find the main position of the Essay clearly asserted!' Then he goes on to quote, as I have given in part above, what Mr. Watson says about the death of a Divine person. Again, at the close of his extract from Mr. Watson, he adds, 'In the foregoing extracts, the reader will find the main position of the Essay, that the actions and sufferings of Jesus Christ are the actions and sufferings of the God-man; or, as Mr Watson expresses the sentiment, "The whole undivided Christ, who was both God and man." He will find, also, the same distinction made in reference to suffering between the incarnate and unincarnate Deity.—"Though a Divine nature cannot bleed and die, a Divine person could."—Other points of comparison, or rather sameness, in the sentiments of the two treatises, I need not point out to the reader.' See p. 283 of the July No. of the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review for 1835.

Mr. Watson, it is true, says that the actions and sufferings of Jesus Christ are the actions of the God-man, or of the whole undivided Christ—that is, of the Divine person of our Saviour; but this is what we all believe; being quite a different thing from the doctrines of the Essay, that the Divine nature can bleed and die. Mr. Watson's distinction, as to bleeding and dying, is between a Divine nature and a Divine person; but the author of the Essay places it between the same Divine nature in different states; that is, as *in*-carnated and *un*-incarnated. When Mr. Watson speaks of the Divine person, in this place, he includes humanity, and on this ground only considers it capable of bleeding and dying. But the author of the Essay here, as in most other places, confounds the Divine person with the Divine nature; between which, Mr. Watson says, we should keep in mind a clear distinction.

That when Mr. Watson says, 'For though a Divine nature could not bleed and die, a Divine person could,' he did not intend to predicate that as possible of the Divine nature in an incarnate state, of which it was nevertheless incapable as unincarnate, is manifest upon a moment's reflection, from the term 'bleed,' which he affirms as possible of the Divine person. Surely, the author of the Essay himself will not contend that the Divine nature, though incarnate, could 'BLEED' as well as DIE! Why, then, should he try to make Mr. Watson maintain such an absurdity? But I have said enough on this passage. It is clear, in and of itself considered; but it is

still more so understood in the light of Mr. Watson's lucid remarks on the same subject, as quoted from his other writings.

I think it has been satisfactorily shown that the doctrines of the Essay can receive no support from the Holy Scriptures, from Dr. Clarke, nor from Mr. Watson. I think it has appeared clear, likewise, that the 'main position' of the Essay contains many incongruities within itself. On this subject, however, I may have deceived myself, not properly apprehending the subject. If I have, and if I have not rendered the author of the Essay entire justice, I am not sensible of it, and would be sincerely glad to know it.

Here I might close; but I must be allowed to add some remarks as supplemental, showing the apparent consistency of attaching such dignity, honor, and glory to the Divinely impersonated humanity of Christ, and so much value to his sufferings, blood, and death, as are ascribed to him in the Holy Scriptures.

1st. It appears to me that the difference which exists between a human body without a soul—a lifeless corpse—and that same body in personal union with that soul, will serve to illustrate the disparity which must exist between human nature separated from, and that same nature personally one with the Divinity. As an actuating soul constitutes the otherwise lifeless body, a noble human person, so the GODHEAD, dwelling fully in the 'man Christ Jesus,' invested that otherwise *mere* manhood with the lofty character of 'The Mighty God,' 'The Everlasting Father,' 'The Prince of peace.'

2d. It is possible to form some idea of the difference which existed between mere human nature, and that nature personally identified with the indwelling Divinity, by that elevation of character which men of superior intelligence and moral excellence enjoy over common fools and knaves. What differs one man from another on such grounds but mental qualities? Apply this illustration to the adorable Redeemer. He possessed, within himself, as God-man, all the natural and moral perfections of the eternal Jehovah. Does not this lay the ground for infinite dignity, honor and glory, might and dominion, as well as ample merit? These adorable characteristics of Jesus Christ were not extraneous but inherent properties of his Divine complex person. That kind of afforded grace which is 'extended to saints' by the outstretched arm of God, implies, it is true, favor with God; but it implies no inherent, personal dignity, merit, &c., but rather absolute dependence. But the fulness of the Godhead bodily dwelt in Christ, so that, as a Divine person, he was self-existent and eternal. Does not this imply dignity, &c.?

3d. Let us next contemplate Jesus Christ in his official character, as 'King of kings, and Lord of lords.' In this exalted and glorious character he represents the dignity, &c., of all over whom he has a right to reign. Does an absolute earthly monarch possess within himself, regally, the sovereignty, honor, &c., &c., of his whole realm? What is it that invests him with such plenary prerogatives but his kingly office? Divested of this, he stands on a common level with the peasants of the country. The application of this to the 'King of kings' is easy. The degree of the dignity, glory, &c., of this Divine personage, is more than commensurate with the

countless myriads of angels, men, and devils, which he governs and controls with sovereign sway, throughout the universe of God. Yes, 'At the name of JESUS every knee shall bow, of things in heaven, and of things in earth, and of things that are under the earth.' Before this same 'man Christ Jesus,' who 'shall judge the world in righteousness,' shall be 'gathered all nations, and he shall separate them one from another, as a shepherd divideth the sheep from the goats.' After this grand and awful drama shall close, the righteous armies of heaven shall realize what St. John describes in the 'Book of Revelation,' fifth chapter, verse 6, to the end: 'And I beheld, and lo, in the midst of the throne and of the four beasts, and in the midst of the elders, stood a Lamb as it had been slain, having seven horns and seven eyes, which are the seven Spirits of God sent forth into all the earth. And he came and took the book out of the right hand of him that sat upon the throne. And when he had taken the book, the four beasts and four and twenty elders fell down before the Lamb, having every one of them harps, and golden vials full of odors, which are the prayers of saints. And they sung a new song, saying, Thou art worthy to take the book, and to open the seals thereof: for thou wast slain, and hast redeemed us to God by thy blood out of every kindred, and tongue, and people, and nation; and hast made us unto our God kings and priests: and we shall reign on the earth. And I beheld, and I heard the voice of many angels round about the throne, and the beasts and the elders: and the number of them was ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands; saying, with a loud voice, Worthy is the Lamb that was slain to receive power, and riches, and wisdom, and strength, and honor, and glory, and blessing. And every creature which is in heaven, and on the earth, and under the earth, and such as are in the sea, and all that are in them, heard I saying, Blessing, and honor, and glory, and power, be unto him that sitteth upon the throne, and unto the Lamb, for ever and ever. And the four beasts said, Amen. And the four and twenty elders fell down and worshipped him that liveth for ever and ever.'

That the author of the Essay, with his unworthy but sincere friend and brother, together with all the sanctified, may unite in those songs of everlasting triumph, is the prayer of, yours affectionately,

T. S.

DR. REED AND THE WESLEYAN MAGAZINE.

IT will be recollected that Drs. Reed and Matheson, two clergymen of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, made a tour through this country some two years ago, on a pastoral visit to the Congregational and Presbyterian Churches here. They were received with much affection, and treated with acknowledged kindness, by the people. Such exchanges of fraternal visitations between the trans-atlantic branches of the different Christian denomi-

nations have become quite common, and tend greatly to unite and harmonize the feelings and operations of the great body of Protestant worshippers throughout the world. In this light we believe the subject is viewed by all enlightened persons who have bestowed a thought upon it. Gentlemen, then, in the capacity of visiters from any denomination in one country to their brethren in another, have uniformly been kindly received by all, and treated with a respect due to them in their official relations. This is as it should be; and it is much to be regretted that any thing should occur in the prosecution of these friendly interchanges of pastoral visits to interrupt the harmony and good feelings which have hitherto prevailed among all parties. The circumstances, therefore, to which the communications below refer, are the more to be deprecated.

In the Narrative published by these gentlemen, by certain allusions and innuendoes, together with some more tangible declarations, institutions and communities not embraced among the particular objects of their mission, were brought before the public in a light derogatory to their interests and unfriendly to their claims. As this was deemed a gratuitous aggression upon the rights of others, and an assumption on the part of strangers, expressions of dissatisfaction were heard from various quarters. Certain things in the Narrative were reviewed in several periodicals and public journals through the country. As the Methodists had their full share of these oblique notices, the points in which they were implicated were duly examined in the able and plenary review by our predecessor, contained in the January number of this work. Meantime, the Narrative was reviewed in the Congregational Journal in England, and the expressions and allusions calculated to disparage us as a denomination endorsed and approved. The Wesleyan Methodists, understanding better the peculiarities of our institutions, employed their Magazine to correct the errors of the Narrative, and avert the mischief likely to accrue from their publication. Neither party knew at that time any thing of the article in our Quarterly, only that it was supposed the subject had been noticed in it from some comment in the Advocate and Journal, as the destruction of the Book Concern prevented the sending out of the usual copies to Europe. Dr. Reed, on seeing the communication relating to his Narrative in the Wesleyan Magazine, furnished a reply to it for insertion in that work; and the editor subjoined a series of appropriate remarks. In those remarks the reader will find an ample correction of the Doctor's errors respecting the communications he complains of in the Wesleyan Magazine, and Methodism in general. We give both entire.

DR. REED AND THE AMERICAN METHODISTS.

To the Editor of the Wesleyan-Methodist Magazine.

I SHALL rely on your sense of what is fair and just for the insertion of this. I was referred yesterday by a friend to your Magazine of March, as containing some free strictures on me and the 'Narrative.' I confess I was surprised on two accounts:—1st. That a review in the Congregational Magazine, with which I had nothing to do, should have been made the ground of assault on me. 2d. That any thing in the 'Narrative' should have been deemed unfriendly to Methodism. It is on this last account that I trouble you with this note. The writer asserts, that I have evidently written of Methodism with contempt and ill-will. Now, sir, as I should be deeply grieved if your Connection should receive such an impression as this, I must claim the liberty of distinctly denying it. For that body of Christians, passing under the name of Methodists, whether located here or in America, I am conscious of having no other sentiment than that of Christian esteem and high consideration. In my whole life and writings, I know not of word or act, that would testify to the contrary. In my visit to the States I sought every opportunity, as a privilege to myself, of intercourse with them and their ministers. I know not that any thing in the 'Narrative,' fairly read, can receive a different construction. In speaking of different denominations, I have spoken with discrimination, but I hope with kindness; and I have said much more that is to be lamented of other denominations, and of my own, than of the one in question.

The writer complains that of three persons who indulged in blamable conversation, I state one to have been a Methodist; and he says, that I might have passed this circumstance over in silence. I can only say that my judgment differs from his. I might have omitted the fact altogether; but had I observed silence on a part of it, I should not have conveyed the same impression to the reader which I had received myself, and this, in my opinion, would be of the nature of falsehood. I had no thought of reproaching Methodism. The party thus misbehaving might have been as readily either Presbyterian or Congregationalist. The circumstance to be noted was, that he was a professor of religion.

Then the writer charges me with reporting incorrectly, that the Methodists were about to have their own version of the Bible. I have stated this, not as a fact, but as report. It was so; and I had just reason to think it true. I was told it in their own book store; and by a person on whom I could rely as readily, as on any one in New-York. I afterwards inquired about it, and the impression was confirmed. After all, sir, circumstanced as America is, I saw no evil in the thing. It would depend not on the fact, but on the execution. A new version might be highly meritorious, or it might be the reverse.

Up to this time I have no reason, beyond the denial quoted in the Magazine, for doubt on this subject. Yet of this, and of the whole statements relative to Methodism, I will in all candor say, that, as the work is going to a second edition, I will inquire, and review not only the things stated, but the expressions in which they

are clothed; and if there shall appear any thing doubtful in fact or unguarded in word, I will immediately expunge it, with regret for its having been there. I owe this to myself; I owe this to the times in which we live, which do not require that we should do or say any thing to exasperate our unhappy differences; and I owe this to a religious society which I desire in most things to emulate, and in all to love and respect. ANDREW REED.

Hackney, March 4th, 1836.

WE readily comply with Dr. Reed's request, by giving insertion to his letter; but at the same time we feel compelled, in justice to ourselves, and the American Methodists, to make a few brief remarks upon its contents.

1. It is not correct, that the writer of the two articles which appeared in the January and March numbers of this Magazine, containing animadversions upon Dr. Reed's 'Narrative,' 'asserts' that the doctor has 'evidently written of Methodism with contempt and ill-will.' The complaint is, that some of the doctor's statements concerning the American Methodists are injuriously untrue; and that others of them are so defective as to answer all the purposes of direct falsehood. Both these positions we maintain. The question of motives we leave him to settle elsewhere. The American Methodists, who are the most deeply interested in the subject, complain bitterly of the doctor's 'Narrative,' and had prepared a copious reply to its statements. This reply, there is reason to believe, would have been published some time ago, had it not been for the destruction by fire of their entire book establishment at New-York, with the whole of their stock. Their 'Quarterly Magazine and Review,' which was announced as containing an antidote to the doctor's work, and which appears to have been on the eve of publication when the fire occurred, doubtless perished on that occasion.

2. It is not correct that the writer of the articles in question 'says,' or even intimates, that the doctor 'might have passed over in silence' the case of the blaspheming 'colonel, who admitted himself to be a Methodist.' The complaint in this instance is, not that the doctor published the account, but that he published it without inquiry, and without explanation. Before the doctor assumed that this wretched man really was a 'Methodist,' and introduced him to the world under that character, it is contended that inquiry should have been made whether the man, 'who was evidently accustomed to blasphemous and corrupt conversation,' was not also 'accustomed' to the utterance of untruth, or at least the indulgence of waggery; and whether it was not more probable that something of this kind was practised, than that a person so brutally wicked would voluntarily submit to the discipline of Methodism, or that a Christian society would tolerate, as a member, a person who was so entirely devoid of all moral decency. Suppose an American Methodist should visit England, and in a 'Narrative' of his adventures should state, without caveat or explanation, that, in travelling from London to Brighton, he was grievously annoyed by the disgusting conversation of a gentleman who sat opposite to him in the coach, and who was 'evidently accustomed to blasphemous and

corrupt conversation;' and that this profligate man 'admitted himself' to be a member of the Dissenting Church under the pastoral care of Dr. Andrew Reed: thus leading the public to understand, that, if the doctor does not teach a theology which countenances the grossest outrages upon Christian morals, yet he and his people tolerate among themselves such foul abominations. Would the doctor and his friends in this case deem themselves treated with ordinary candor? Would they not justly say, that their character as a body of Christian people should have screened them from imputations so hateful and calumnious, however indirectly cast upon them? Were some member of the doctor's Church, in defence of himself and his brethren, to show that the blasphemer could not be what he professed, and that he most probably intended to play a hoax upon his fellow-traveller; would it become the writer of such a 'Narrative' to reply, 'I am conscious of having no other sentiment than that of Christian esteem, and high consideration, towards Dr. Reed and his Church? In my whole life and writings I know not of word or act, that would testify to the contrary.' And what would be thought of him, if he should actually speak of himself as 'assaulted,' when the injured parties remonstrated, and attempted to prove that either the blasphemer was not trustworthy, or that his meaning had not been correctly apprehended? Whatever credit such a traveller might claim for goodness of 'sentiment,' we think the general opinion would be, that he had a very unfortunate mode of expressing it: and we are much mistaken, if Dr. Reed himself would not concur in this opinion.

3. On the subject of a Methodist translation of the Bible, a few words only will be necessary. Dr. Reed says he heard the report of this at the Methodist book store in New-York; but from whom he does not state. There are two or three Methodist ministers who are officially connected with that establishment as editors. These gentlemen declare, on reading Dr. Reed's book, 'This is the FIRST TIME we ever heard it affirmed, that we are about to have our own version of the Bible:' and so deeply do they feel on the subject, that they add, 'We think that a man who will deliberately write and publish such a palpable misstatement, *with the means of correct information within his reach*, forfeits all title to public confidence.' Had the report in question rested upon any competent authority, or had it been extensively prevalent, these gentlemen must have heard of it before they read it in Dr. Reed's 'Narrative.' The doctor does not indeed absolutely say, that the American Methodists are about to have their own version of the Bible; but he states his belief that such is the fact; and this amounts to the same thing. The possible character of the 'version' has nothing to do with the question. The Methodist translators of America might, by possibility, produce a 'version' as far superior to that of King James, as this was superior to all the English versions that preceded it: or it might be as bad as the burlesque version of the New Testament, which was published by Dr. Macey about a century ago, or the dishonest 'Improved Version' of modern Socinianism. 'Circumstanced as America is,' Dr. Reed says, he 'saw no evil in the thing.' Perhaps not; but he adduced it in proof of the 'sectarian' spirit of the American Methodists. His words are,

'They are, in fact, exceedingly like their kindred body in our own country. There is a considerable measure of ignorance and extravagance in that as there is in this; and they are certainly quite as sectarian. They have their own papers, their own books, their own tracts, their own psalmody, and, I believe I may say, are about to have their own version of the Bible,' vol. ii, p. 98. It is no proof of a 'sectarian' spirit, we presume, that the Methodists in America have their own books, hymns, and periodical publications. There is nothing peculiar in this. Every denomination of Christians, both in England and America, has the same, in effect; yet nobody thinks of charging them with an unbecoming 'sectarianism' on that account. Had the tale of a Methodist 'version of the Bible' been true, it would have served to substantiate the doctor's charge; but as it is a fabrication, it goes for nothing. He seems, however, to cling to this idle report. 'Up to this time,' he says, 'I have no reason, beyond the denial quoted in the Magazine, for doubt upon this subject.' And what further 'reason' can he require? Surely the men who are officially appointed to superintend and direct the current literature of the American Methodists must know whether a new 'version of the Bible,' intended for the special use of the body, and, of course, to be introduced into all their pulpits, has been either agreed upon at the General Conference, or is in a course of preparation. The names of these ministers are given to the world, in the printed Minutes of the American Conferences; and Dr. Reed will hardly impugn their veracity. Indeed what motive can these men have for concealing the truth? If a Methodist Bible be forthcoming in America, it must soon be as public as the press can make it; and why should ministers, occupying official situations in the body, solemnly deny that they ever even heard of the project till the intelligence was conveyed from England in Dr. Reed's volumes? Whatever may be intimated to the contrary, we will venture to affirm, that the Methodists in America, like their brethren in Great Britain, teach a theology which well accords with the authorized version of the English Scriptures; a version which is not only venerable for its age, but admirable for its general fidelity and beauty.

4. Dr. Reed avows his esteem and respect for the Methodists, wherever 'located;' and far be it from us to question the sincerity of his friendship. If the specimen which he has given of the American Methodists, indeed, be fairly selected, and the generality of them really are what his 'Narrative' would lead one to suppose; and if 'their kindred body' in England are 'exceedingly like them,' as the doctor avers; we cannot help thinking that in neither country are they entitled to very 'high consideration.' Ignorance, vulgarity, extravagance, and impiety, appear among their most prominent characteristics. We fully agree with Dr. Reed, that 'the times in which we live do not require that we should do or say any thing to exasperate our unhappy differences.' The men who thus act sin against our common Christianity; and it is because we think Dr. Reed and some of his Dissenting brethren have, without any provocation, offended against the Methodists, that we have freely animadverted upon their conduct. It may be, after all, that they have a cordial regard for the people whom they thus dispar-

age, and had no intention of offending to the extent imputed. They will, however, allow us to remind them, in the words of Cowper,—

> 'The man who hails you Tom or Jack,
> And proves by thumps upon the back
> How he esteems your merit,
> Is such a friend, that one hath need
> Be very much his friend indeed
> To pardon or to bear it.'

EDIT.

IN view of the whole affair we will subjoin a few remarks. Dr. Reed's communication to the editor of the Wesleyan Magazine is by no means satisfactory. It renders the case still worse than it was before. Believing that the review of the Narrative in this work, and the notice our brethren have taken of the subject in England, sufficiently settle the other points, we shall limit our remarks to the subject of a new version of the Bible. In regard to this there is at least the appearance of disingenuousness on the part of the doctor. His communication in the Wesleyan Magazine goes to affirm that he made the report on good authority, as the fact was told him in our own book store, and by a person in whom he could place confidencc; that he had good reason to believe it correct; and that he saw no evil in the thing if correct. Up to the moment of his writing the communication he had no reason, beyond the denial quoted in the Magazine, for doubt on the subject. Yet he will *inquire*, and if there shall be any thing doubtful in fact or unguarded in word he will expunge it when the work goes to a second edition. Whether there would be evil in the thing or not—whether the public would place it to the account of our 'virtues' or our 'failings'—is a matter which concerns us and not him. And it belongs to us also to know how much we are interested in having such misrepresentations corrected. Though he may see no evil in the thing, there are enough to make evil of it. But this quieting salvo of 'no evil in the thing' ill comports with the evident design of introducing it in the first instance. We are not willing hastily, or without good evidence, to pronounce upon the motives of any man. Yet we are accustomed to believe that no man acts without motive; and in most cases the character of the motive may be seen in the relation of the words or actions in question to certain other words or actions. In this case, as the editor of the Wesleyan Magazine has well shown, the author could have had no conceivable motive other than to sustain his allegation, that the Methodists are exceedingly 'sectarian' in their spirit and conduct. It appears evident that he had a desire to fix such an impression respecting them in the minds of the read-

ers of his Narrative. If the circumstance he adduced had any connection with the subject he had in hand, the evil of the thing he came at so late a period to consider trivial and unimportant, would be to place the Methodists before the public as an exceedingly *sectarian* people. Conscious of the effect such an imputation would have upon them in the estimation of the religious public, and also how little they are entitled to it, the doctor's opinion, which would seem to render it unworthy of notice, will not satisfy them. They will claim that they have a right to judge of the matter themselves.

But the manner in which Dr. Reed pretends to have obtained his information in regard to the new version of the Bible is the most important feature in the whole business. As it appeared in the Narrative, it was not quite certain whether he meant to affirm that his statement, 'I believe I may say, are about to have their own version of the Bible,' was founded in even a report of the fact or on mere conjecture. But after it was formally denied that there was any ground for such a statement, he affirms that he had reason to believe it was correct, for he was told it at our book store, and by a gentleman in whom confidence could be placed. The phraseology is evidently formed to give an impression that the information was received through some responsible person connected with the establishment, and that therefore he had a right to believe it—that it is a sufficient apology for *his* inserting it in his Narrative, and one which ought especially to satisfy *us*, that it was a subject of conversation with responsible individuals at *our own* book store. Were the fact as this statement seems to represent it, we should acknowledge that complaint on our part would be improper. But it is due to ourselves to say, and to the public to be informed, that it is not. Dr. Reed was never told by any responsible person connected with our book store that we were about to have 'our own version of the Bible.' It was never a subject of conversation among any persons connected with the establishment of sufficient consequence, in the estimation of even a stranger, to be good authority in such a matter, and probably never thought of. This may be deemed a thrust at his veracity. If so, we cannot help it. A just sense of self-respect obliges us to say thus much respecting his obtaining his information at our own book store. There is something in the account which the doctor gives of this matter that we do not readily comprehend. He says he was told that the Methodists were about to have their own version of the Bible in their own book store, and that by a person on whom he could rely as rea-

dily as on any person in New-York. Now, we do not know that he had even a slight acquaintance with any responsible persons connected with the book store: we are sure he was not sufficiently acquainted with any to affirm of them what he has of his informant—and to some of them, we are informed, he had not even an introduction. The truth probably is, if the doctor was ever told any thing out of which to make the report, he was told it by some person who accompanied him to the book room, and stated it as a thousand other unaccountable things have been stated on similar authority about the establishment, without the semblance of any thing to support it. This is the only solution we can make of the matter. Perhaps the doctor will furnish a more satisfactory one.

As Dr. Reed has taken the liberty to express his opinion freely respecting others, he will not take it unkind, and certainly cannot deem it unjust, that others exercise the same freedom towards him. He undoubtedly possesses fine powers as a man, and much skill as a writer. His graphic descriptions show the hand of a master. But his qualifications for the work of a faithful historian are exceedingly questionable; and on this account it is to be regretted that some person of a less glowing and romantic turn of thought had not been selected to fulfil the function of his mission to this country. He talks of intelligent men as of senseless things, and with apparently as little concern about the effect his strictures will have upon either their reputation or their feelings. He assumes the air of the tourist, and affects to give critical and exact information of men and things, on slight and insufficient evidence. He speaks of ministers, officers, and institutions, as though he alone possessed the prerogative and talent to delineate their peculiar characteristics, and show them to the world as they are. Of most of these, especially out of the circle of his immediate friends, he had not the means to form an adequate opinion. What could he know of Episcopalians, Methodists, and others, by occasionally falling in with some of their ministers, and hastily passing through a few of their institutions? Yet of all these he writes with as much confidence as though the machinery of their several organizations had been the study of his life. Is it to be expected that such a writer will be faultless? Who would not look for inaccuracies and misrepresentations? With a strong passion to enrich the barren parts of a popular Narrative, incidents are created out of conjectures, and shadows converted into substantial existences. And thus the religious community of the old world are to be informed respecting the institutions of Chris-

tianity in the new. We will only add, that so far as the Methodists are concerned, the cogent remarks of Mr. Watson in regard to Dr. Southey are peculiarly applicable to Dr. Reed in this case:—'He has been led to notice the stream of Methodism, where it chased the shallows and whirled into eddies, but has overlooked it, where, in deep and noiseless flow, it waters many a thirsty and barren spot.'

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

A HISTORICAL VIEW

Of the Connection between Speculative Philosophy and Christian Theology, particularly during the Middle Ages.

BY ABEL STEVENS,

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A PERIOD of a thousand years, from the fifth to the fifteenth century, includes what are usually called the *dark ages*, and forms the middle division of the history of speculative philosophy. The first division comprises the ancient ethical theories, the most celebrated of which are the four systems of Plato, Aristotle, Zeno, and Epicurius, and terminates with the suppression of the Athenian schools, by the edict of Justinian, in the beginning of the sixth century. The last philosopher of much eminence in the ancient ethics was Boethius. The second period of the history of ethical science commences with the introduction of the Aristotelian philosophy into the Church, at the time of the closing of the Platonic schools of Athens, by Justinian, and terminates with the controversies of the Realists and Nominalists, which occupied the fifteenth century. The third period commences with the writings of Hobbes, and extends to our own times. It is distinguished by the names of Cudworth, Clark, Malebranche, Edwards, Butler, Hume, Adam Smith, and many others of the highest eminence.

The present dissertation has to do particularly with the middle or scholastic period. But as the philosophy of this dark and interesting part of history was but the result, or more properly a modification of the preceding systems, an adaptation of them to the discussions of dialectical theology, it may not be amiss to make a preliminary reference to those systems.

At the commencement of the Christian era, the Greek and oriental philosophies were the prevailing ones in the civilized world. The latter, which assumed the notions of *Gnosis*,* had many followers in Syria, Persia, Chaldea, and Egypt. It commenced its corrupting influence early on the doctrines of the Church, and the sacred writings make particular reference to it. Its later influence was productive of some of the most malignant heresies recorded in early ecclesiastical history, and en-

* Gnosis—Greek, science or knowledge.

dured for centuries. Its distinctive tenet was, the existence of two principles, one good and the other evil, the former presiding over light, and the latter over matter. From this a code of morals was deduced, tending to the mortification of the animal propensities, as these were considered the corrupting influences of matter.

The first controversies in the Grecian philosophy did not arise till the origin and combats of the Stoical and Epicurean schools. Socrates taught more the virtues of practical life than the difficult hypothetical principles which afterward became the almost exclusive topics of the ethical studies of ages. Plato, his disciple, preserved his opinions, in his elegant dialogues, and, modifying them with his own speculations, founded the school which bears his name, and, from the part of the city of Athens in which he taught, that of the academical philosophy. He is the first moral philosopher whose writings have reached our age.

The next important school was formed by Aristotle, the pupil of Plato, and is called the peripatetic philosophy, from his having delivered his lectures while walking. He was the most versatile genius of ancient times. The summary expression of his system was, that virtue consisted in the mean, between two extremes; when one affection or passion is 'so far exerted as to repress others, there is a vice of excess. When any one has less activity than it might exert, without disturbing others, there is a vice of defect.'*

The Epicurean school was founded by and named after Epicurus. It taught that the rule of life was to live in such a manner as would result in the greatest amount of happiness. The principle, however qualified and guarded by Epicurus,† was practically adopted, by his disciples, in its most liberal sense, and the name of the sect has become a common designation for sensualists.

The Stoical school was founded by Zeno. The principle of this theory was, that the rule of conduct consisted in living according to nature. It taught that the greatest virtue consisted in perfect insensibility to the pleasures and ills of life

These schools confined not their speculations to inquiries into the rules of moral conduct, but indulged in subtle disquisitions in

* Sir J. Mackintosh.

† The severe charges brought by modern writers against Epicurus, which, in the language of Edwards, execrate him as 'the father of atheism and licentiousness,' are in no wise sustained by ancient testimony. Seneca, Cicero, Plutarch, Diocles, Diogenes, Saertius, and Galen, all applaud the rigorous rectitude of his morals. Lucretius' 'Nature of Things,' which is but a poetical record of the Epicurean philosophy, seemingly satirizes the indulgences of the sensualist. But it is too often the case, in both modern and ancient writers, that satire is but a disguise, assumed for the purpose of insidious corruption. It is manifest, all the commentators on Lucretius to the contrary notwithstanding, that his invocation of Venus, lib. i., and his description of sensual pleasure, lib. iv., are obnoxious to this suspicion. The latter enters into a disgusting minuteness of detail unparalleled by even the poetical debauchees of the Augustan age, with Ovid himself at their head, and the translation of which into the English tongue could not have been tolerated in any other age than that of Charles II. However correct the founder and his immediate followers might have been, the school itself became soon corrupt. Eusebius tells us that Lucretius himself died a violent death through the instrumentality of a mistress.

all departments of knowledge, blending physics, metaphysics, and ethics, and subjecting all to a mode of dialectical discussion which, disdaining the simple but sure inductions of experience and observation, was extravagantly hypothetical, and stopped, as by magic spell, the progress of the human understanding for ages, until the revival of learning, and the introduction of the inductive philosophy, by Bacon, broke the delirious spell, and opened a pathway of light for the march of the intellect.

The Roman philosophers and studious youth travelled into Greece to study her systems, by which means, together with the translation of the Grecian philosophy, by Cicero, into the Roman tongue, it became prevalent among them.

These various systems, after exciting much controversy, were united in a school at Alexandria, Egypt, under the Macedonian kings of that city. Philo, the Jew, was a disciple of this sect, and attempted to reconcile the Platonic subtleties with the sacred books of his religion. The followers of this school taught that the elements of the true philosophy were mixed up with the errors of all systems, and were to be derived from them by a careful study of their various theories, a comparison of one with another, and the selection of their excellencies from the vast rubbage of errors with which they were combined. The name of this sect, derived from the composite character of its doctrines, was that of Eclectic.

Towards the conclusion of the second century, a new Eclectic school arose in Alexandria, differing from the former in the doctrine that all systems were alike true, and therefore reconcilable, that their differences consisted more in their respective modes of expressing their doctrines than in the essential nature of their tenets, and that such a method of interpretation might be introduced as should apply in common to all. The mode of interpretation proposed for this purpose was to put such an allegorical construction on the fables of the pagan mythologies, the dogmas of the philosophical sects, and the doctrines of Christianity, as would allow the same meaning to each. The founder of this sect was Ammonius Saecas, an eminent teacher in the Alexandrian school. The spirit of concession which this system manifested towards all parties, and the generous design which it held forth of reconciling those trifles which had so long held at variance those who were professedly engaged in the pursuit of the truth, presented an attraction which soon commended it to the patronage of mankind, and secured to it a prevalence which nearly swallowed up every other sect in the civilized world. From its having adopted the opinions of Plato, as the basis of its theory, it was denominated the New or Modern Platonic school. Origen, the celebrated teacher of the school of the Christians, at Alexandria, adopted the New Platonic philosophy and applied it to the explanation of the sacred doctrines; and here may be dated the commencement of that connection between speculative philosophy and Christian theology which led to all the wrangling and absurd subtleties of the scholastics and mystics, until the introduction of a more enlightened age of inquiry by the Protestant Reformation.

The sect of the New Platonists spread in the third century with remarkable rapidity. Under Platinus, the most eminent disciple of

Ammonius, and a man of most distinguished genius, its principles were carried into Persia, then into Rome and Campania. The number of youth, who flocked to hear his lectures, is said to be beyond all credibility. Porphyry, one of his disciples, adorning his principles with the elegance of an accomplished mind, spread them abroad through Sicily and other countries, while another of its disciples, named Plutarch, having studied it in Alexandria, introduced it into Greece, and revived the famous Academy at Athens. Such was its prevalency, that, in the fourth century, almost all philosophers were of this sect, and nearly all the writings of the Christians were infected with its principles. The unhappy example of Origen was followed by the most distinguished Christian writers, and, instead of applying the obvious principles of common sense to the interpretation of Scripture, they perplexed the most manifest truths into confusion by the Platonic subtleties. Gregory Nazianzen, among the Greeks, and Augustin, among the Latins, may be considered, next to Origen, the fathers of the scholastic theology. Notwithstanding the success of the New Platonic sect, it rapidly declined in the fifth century, and was suppressed in the schools which were under the care of the ecclesiastics, and the teaching of it in Athens prohibited by express decree of Justinian, in the beginning of the sixth century, after which it never attained a standing again in the philosophical world. Thus expired a philosophical school which had, for centuries, filled the writings of the Church with corruptions, and its communion with dissensions and parties. But the corrupt state of the times did not allow of a fitness, in the Church, to return to the primitive simplicity of its doctrines. The metaphysical pugilism of the preceding centuries had trained its doctors too much to the use of such weapons to render the apostolic ones congenial with their habits. The Platonic doctrines no sooner declined than those of the Stagirite usurped their place, and gradually came so into vogue as to sway the philosophical inquiries of the subsequent ten centuries.

From the fall of Rome before the arms of the northern barbarians in the fifth century, may be dated that wonderful and interesting period of European history called the *dark ages*. It extends to the downfall of Constantinople, by the Turks, in the 15th century, which event, by the dispersion of the Greeks in the west, together with other and coincident circumstances, gave rise to the revival of learning, after a dark and dismal night of ten centuries, during which almost every light of science seemed extinguished, and the whole social organization of Europe was reduced to chaotic confusion. A darkness almost starless shrouded the intellectual world; all science consisted in the marvellous and wild conjectures and fancies of a universal intellectual delirium. The physical branches of knowledge were comprised in the absurdities of magic, and astrology, and kindred chimeras. The metaphysical sciences consisted of abstruse and hypothetical speculations, definitions without meaning, divisions without distinctions, and questions without reality; and all were discussed with a phraseology full of unmeaning and ridiculous technics. All theology was lost in the dialectical dogmas of the peripatetic metaphysics, and all devotion consisted in the visionary meditations of mysticism. From

the north, as from a bee hive, swarmed innumerable barbarians, spreading devastation in their course, until they overthrew the city of Rome, and established throughout the west the feudal system of government. The Saracens established themselves in Spain. The Alexandrian library was burned, consuming the most extensive collections of literary records ever made. Chivalry and the crusades, the monastic life and the inquisition, the trial by ordeals, and a literature wonderfully supernatural and romantic, the machinery of which consisted of giants and dwarfs, dragons, witches, and demons, with a universal dissoluteness of morals, are the characteristic features of this singular period. It was during this reign of darkness that the scholastic philosophy prevailed, and this summary statement of the condition of the age in which it had its ascendency, may enable us the more adequately to judge of its character.

We have already intimated that the peripatetic philosophy succeeded the fall of the modern Platonic or Eclectic school, in the beginning of the sixth century. The dialectics of Aristotle did not, however, come into very general use for theological discussions during the first moiety of the middle age. They became more general towards the close of the eleventh century, and were publicly taught in the schools in the twelfth century, at which time the scholastic theology attained its maturity; but yet as early as the fifth century did the doctrines of Aristotle begin to insinuate themselves into the Church. The Platonists themselves explained some of his writings in their schools, particularly his dialectics, and recommended them to their pupils. A still more effectual means of their introduction into the Church was the controversies which Origen had occasioned, and the Pelagian, Nestorian, and Arian disputes which prevailed at this time. When Origen was publicly condemned, many, to avoid being included among his followers, adopted the system of the Stagirite, Origen himself being a decided Platonist. The opinions of the Nestorians, Eutychians, and Arians were sustained chiefly by a resort to metaphysical subtleties, and no system afforded better means of success in such a mode of defence than that of Aristotle, the philosophy of Plato being no way adapted to afford polemical discipline.

In the sixth century, the closing of the Platonic schools at Athens, and the illustration and recommendation of the Aristotelian philosophy by many of the Platonists, especially Boethius, who was the most celebrated, if not the only Latin philosopher of the age, aided much in strengthening its influence. It became universally prevalent in the east. The books of Aristotle were translated into its languages, and studied most assiduously by the Monophysites and Nestorians as the best means of opposing the advocates of the Ephesian and Chalcedonian councils.

In the seventh century, philosophy and literature sunk to their lowest ebb. The only remains of learning were concealed in the cloisters of the monks. The theology of the age was almost solely derived from the writings of Gregory the Great and Augustin. The philosophy of the Latins was chiefly confined to the writings of Boethius and Cassiodorus, the two philosophers of the preceding age, and the dialectics of Aristotle were used among the Greeks for

the subtleties and captious sophistries they afforded in the controversies between the Nestorians and Monophysites.

In the eighth century the Emperor Charlemagne endeavored to sustain the drooping cause of learning by holding out motives of encouragement to men of letters, and by the erection of schools in the neighborhood of the cathedral churches, and in the abbacies of the monasteries. It was from the professors who taught in these schools that the theology of the middle age derived the name of scholastic. These academies for youth were at first in the hands of the most learned men of the age, but they soon declined, and the scholastic teachers are characterized by Roderic, Bishop of Zamara, Spain, as being no longer learned themselves, nor able to teach others,—as never visiting the schools,—as writing with the most contemptible ignorance—the most shameful profligacy of manners —and as giving no encouragement to erudition, lest their places should be occupied by others. The efforts of Charlemagne were, however, successful in raising up many men of distinguished genius, the lustre of whose talents reflected honor on the cause of learning; but they soon disappeared, and the grossest darkness and most ridiculous superstition every where depressed the efforts of the human mind.

The Arabians were distinguished in the ninth century for their extraordinary application to the study of philosophy and the arts. They cultivated especially the Greek literature. Celebrated academies were established in several cities, and the best Grecian authors were translated into their language. The metaphysical and astronomical sciences, physic, and philosophy, were taught, not only in Africa and Syria, but in Spain, where they had established their dominion; and the subsequent knowledge of these sciences in Europe was, for the most part, derived from the Saracenic schools of Spain and Italy. The peripatetic philosophy was taught in these schools, and the writings of Aristotle in Arabic translations were common among them. Such was the reputation which the Saracens acquired for their learning, that in the next century their schools became the resort of the studious from the European provinces, for the study of philosophy. Gerbert, afterward elevated to the pontificate, with the title of Sylvester II., after having studied under the Arabian professors at Seville and Cordova, returned and gave a new impulse to the study of the sciences, particularly philosophy, mathematics, and physics. Such was the advancement of this philosopher beyond the standard intellect of his benighted age, that his mathematical works excited the suspicion of magic among the clergy, and, while invested with the robes of St. Peter, he was regarded as having communication with the devil. The barbarism into which Europe was sunk during this century is truly incredible. One widespread night seemed to extend over the world, relieved only by an occasional star which soon again disappeared amid the clouds of the darkened firmament. The example of Gerbert excited, however, a love of knowledge in the bosoms of some, who, adopting his own course, repaired to the Arabian schools in Spain, where they studied the Arabic translations of Aristotle's works, and returned with increased zeal for the propagation of that philosopher's opinions.

The practice of resorting to the schools of Spain, which seems thus to have arisen, in some degree at least, from the example of Gerbert, increased much in the following century. Schools were multiplied extensively in the west, the professors of which were most generally those who had studied among the Saracens in Spain, or had perused the Latin translations of the peripatetic philosophy, made from the Arabic, which began to abound in Europe. These schools, no doubt, grew out of the example of the cathedral schools of Charlemagne before alluded to. The dialectic art was particularly cultivated in them. The introduction of the spirit of disputation, which had been so common in the old seminaries, into these new public schools, soon diffused it through Europe, until it was not only deemed requisite, as a preparation for the duties of the clerical office, that the theologian should be more skilful in the jargon and hair-splitting subtleties of metaphysics than in the Gospel of Christ, but these subtleties became the amusement and fancied accomplishment of all the learned.

Thus, by the influence of the Arabian schools in Spain, and the instrumentality of the public schools which arose in the eleventh century, and the translations of Aristotle which were more or less scattered over Europe about this time, did the doctrines of that philosopher, which had gradually been progressing from the termination of the Platonic school, in the sixth century, become the universal study of the learned world. With this general introduction of the peripatetic system, many new and alarming opinions crept into the Church, which afterward led to an attempt to repress its influence. The synod of Paris passed a decree prohibiting its use in the public schools, and the prohibition was afterward confirmed by the Lateran council, in the pontificate of Innocent III. But this opposition only tended to attach the subtle disputants of the age to their dialectics, and to spread the influence of the Stagyrite, until the university of Paris, by express ordinance, received his metaphysics, dialectics, and physics.

From the introduction of the Aristotelian dialectics into the public schools in the eleventh century may be dated the reign of the scholastic theology, and in the next century it attained a universal supremacy. A number of distinguished professors arose, who devoted the most extraordinary powers of disputation ever yet attained by the human mind to the discussion of polemical theology, and roused the whole intellect of western Europe to such studies. Among them was Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, who is considered the father of the scholastic divinity, and who made eminent use of his dialectical powers in defending, against Berenger, the doctrine of transubstantiation; Auselm, likewise, the successor of Lanfranc, who delivered the logical science from many of the absurdities with which it had been trammelled, and who shone conspicuously in the first age of the scholastics for his erudition in many other departments of learning. Rosceline, the famous founder of the sect of the Nominalists, belongs to this age of the schoolmen; also, William de Champeaux, archbishop of Paris, who taught in that city the metaphysics of Aristotle with great reputation, and was called, through distinction, the 'venerable doctor.' The celebrated Abelard, whose unfortunate fate has pre-

served his name alike in the records of philosophy and romance, arose from this school. His splendid talents and daring adventures into the regions of polemical discussion spread his fame through the learned world, and attracted to his lectures the youth of nearly all the nations of Europe. Peter Lombard, his disciple, was the author of the celebrated book of Sentences, which was interpreted, by the scholastics, as a substitute in the place of the Bible, and became the text book of theological studies throughout the whole Latin Church. It gave the name of Sententiaris to the scholastics, in contradistinction to the Biblics, who were so denominated because they explained the sacred writings without the aid of philosophy, but according to the obvious, and what they thought the mystical, sense of the text, the testimony of tradition and the fathers. Besides these, there were other names, of great note, which adorned this period of the history of scholastic divinity; such as Robert Pulleyn, professor of theology at Oxford, and afterward cardinal, Gilbert Torretan, bishop of Poictiers, Alexander Hales, and John of Salisbury.

The second period of the scholastic theology began about the middle of the thirteenth century with Albert the Great, and ended with Durand, in the year 1330. Thomas Aquinas, the pupil of Albert, arose to great influence. His *Summa Theologia* was placed on an equality with the book of Sentences by Peter Lombard. Bonaventura of Tuscany, and Roger Bacon, are names of distinguished celebrity in this age. Columna, an Augustinian monk, whose reputation in the university of Paris procured him the name of the 'most profound doctor,' and John Duns Scotus, the redoubted antagonist of St. Thomas, are names of the highest eminence, especially the latter, in the philosophical disputes of this period.

In the third age of the scholastic philosophy, which commences with Durand, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, and extends to the termination of the fifteenth century, it multiplied much in the number of its professors and students, and increased in the subtleties and virulence of its disputes, but declined in the reputation of its doctors. Durand of St. Portian was succeeded by William Occam, the celebrated English monk, who revived with great ardor the conflicts between the Realists and Nominalists. Walter Burley, Richard of Swineshead, and John Herman Wessel, are names which belong to this age.

About the middle of the fifteenth century, (1440,) the art of printing was invented. Soon after Constantinople fell before the arms of the Turks, (1453,) the eastern empire was subverted, and the Greek eruditi were dispersed through the west, where they were patronized by the illustrious family of the Medici. It was their influence that first shook the stability of the peripatetic philosophy in the Latin Church. Aristotle had held without a rival the sceptre of empire in the learned world. His writings were considered the only key to the sacred records. The extravagant veneration every where entertained for him is beyond credibility. To such an extent did the pedantic enthusiasm of these militant theologians for the pagan Stagyrite carry them, that they almost invested him with the sacredness and authority of inspiration, and actually compared him with

John the Baptist. But the world grew tired of the metaphysical conflicts which his writings had produced, and which had been shaking with convulsions the Church for ages. The efforts of the Greeks to introduce the milder and more consistent doctrines of Plato were, therefore, under the patronage of Cosmo de Medici, attended with gradual success, and soon the effect was visible in a disposition among many to question the superiority of Aristotle over Plato, which gave rise to two new philosophical parties in Italy, who discussed with great virulence, and in a multiplicity of publications, the relative merits of the rival philosophers. It remained, however, for the reformation to complete the advances already made toward a revival of true learning, and to introduce the most eventful era yet recorded in the progress of society,—an era of transition—of day-dawn between the darkest, the midnight period of the history of man, and the most effulgent, rapid, and irresistible advancements in civilization that have ever been achieved. The strong arm of the Saxon reformer threw the apotheasized idol of the genius of the Stagyrite from its venerable pedestal, and established in its place the primeval cross in all its glory and simplicity. (1517.) The spirit of inquiry and intellectual liberty, which had occasionally attempted to break in whispers before, now spoke from Wittemberg in a voice that sent a thrill of life through Europe, and which the thunders of the Vatican attempted in vain to stifle. The schools were closed; and the writings of Grotius, which are the best depositories of the ethical opinions that prevailed from the cessation of the schools to the writings of Hobbes, which introduced the modern period of the history of speculative philosophy, show the approximation of that more rational state of philosophical inquiry which has prevailed since his day.

We have thus cursorily traced the history of the progress of the scholastic philosophy, from the introduction of the Aristotelian dialectics, in the fifth century, to the closing of the schools, in the fifteenth century. Before dismissing the subject, let us briefly retrace our steps, and glance at the character of that strange and heterogeneous compound of subtle absurdities with Divine truths which comprehended the subjects of the inquiries and disputes of this protracted period. We have already stated that the scholastic theology originated in the example of Origen, who first applied the principles of the New Platonists to the elucidation of the sacred doctrines.. The writings of St. Augustine aided much in the subsequent influence of this unfortunate measure of Origen. His treatise on dialectics derived universal authority from the great influence which his name commanded,—an influence which raised him to unrivalled eminence among the doctors of the Latin Church, and rendered for centuries his writings almost the sole oracles of its doctrines. He was a man of superior powers, but of sanguine and impetuous feelings, and was distinguished through his life for the most various and extreme tenets. He was a disciple of the Platonic school, though the schoolmen who adopted his writings adhered with exclusive veneration to the peripatetic philosophy. The doctrines of Augustine, which constituted the chief topics of the speculations of the scholastic theology, were particularly those of predestination and grace. These opinions were little known to the

earlier Christians, and were never received if known in the eastern Church. Anselm, the Archbishop of Canterbury, first revived them. The powerful genius of Thomas Aquinas illustrated and defended them with extraordinary acuteness.

The great difficulty of the schoolmen, not only in respect to the Augustinian opinions, but indeed as regards almost all the topics of their discussions, lay in the want of a knowledge of those limitations which define the utmost extent of human comprehension, and the consequent endeavor to urge their researches into the ulterior regions of truth, where, at least with the present constitution of our nature, it is forbidden the human mind to penetrate. Among the subjects that thus limit our comprehension, and which were common topics of the most subtle speculation among the scholastics, and were, for the first time, designated by Locke as beyond the reach of the human understanding, are the essence, or interior nature of things, the existence and nature of the mind, the ideas of infinity, and eternity, and space, of personal identity, of the existence and nature of matter, all simple ideas, &c.,—truths that are ultimate, and therefore incapable of analysis. The opinions of Augustine, if they may not be ranked among these incomprehensible subjects, must, at least, be acknowledged to be intimately allied to them, especially the doctrine of the co-existence of the Divine prescience with the freedom of the human will. The abstruse points above enumerated were strangely blended with purely theological truths, and investigated with a system of dialectics replete with perplexity and mystery, until not only all theoretical religion became obscured to the understanding, but nearly all the practical virtues of forbearance and charity were alienated from the heart. The contentions of these polemics frequently led to the most violent animosities, and they attempted to overthrow each other, not only by the most contemptible efforts of chicanery, but by a resort to legal prosecutions, and the still more effectual force of arms. An excellent writer of the sixteenth century thus describes the character of these wrangling philosophers. 'From the writings of Aristotle they have selected, not the best and most useful, but the most intricate and unprofitable parts. The truth is, that these philosophers are less acquainted with nature than husbandmen and mechanics; and so much offended are they with nature, which they do not understand, that they have framed for themselves another nature, which God never framed, consisting of formalities, realities, relations, and other subtleties, which they honor with the name of *metaphysical world;* and if any man has a turn of mind averse to the study of real nature, but adapted to the pursuit of these fictions, they say he is possessed of a sublime genius. The topics upon which these philosophers spent the whole force of their ingenuity were of a kind the most abstruse, trifling, and useless. Intention and remission, proportion and degree, infinity and formality, guiddity and individuality, and other abstract ideas, furnished innumerable questions to exercise their subtlety. Not contented with considering properties and relations as they exist and are perceived in natural objects, they separated, in their conceptions, the former from the latter, and by this artifice transferred them into universal notions; and then, forgetting that these notions

are merely the offspring of the reasoning mind, they considered them as real entities, and made use of them as substantial principles in explaining the nature of things. This they did, not only in metaphysics, but in physics, in which these imaginary entities confused and obscured all their reasonings. If these creatures of abstraction be brought back to their natural connection with real objects, and with the terms which express them, it will appear that they had nothing more than an imaginary existence, and the whole contest concerning them will vanish into a mere war of words; whence some judgment may be formed of the value of this most profound, angelic, and seraphic philosophy.'

The disputatious spirit, inseparable from such wild and perplexing speculations, necessarily produced a variety of sects, who indulged toward each other the most vehement enmity. The disciples of Albert, called Albertists, were violently opposed by the followers of Peter Lombard. John Duns Scotus attacked with great warmth the Augustinian doctrines of Thomas Aquinas. The Dominicans, who held as sacred the opinions of St. Thomas, and the Franciscans, who equally appreciated Scotus, violently contended for the views of their respective favorites, and thence arose the Thomists and Scotists, memorable sects in the ecclesiastical history of the times. From the school of Scotus arose Occam, the celebrated English schoolman, whose followers were denominated Occamists. But the most noted sects of the schoolmen were those called Realists and Nominalists. The controversies between these two sects related to the difficult and long contested question respecting the nature of general abstract ideas.

General abstract ideas are those which we have of things when we contemplate them in their genera, or species, and are expressed by common nouns, such as man, animal, tree, bird, fish, &c. These names express no individual of the classes to which they refer, but the whole genus or species. The process by which we form general abstract ideas consists in the comparison of objects, the discovery, by this comparison, of points of resemblance and difference, and the arrangement of them according to their differences and resemblances. Thus, to use an illustration rather inadvertently stated in Locke, the word triangle is the name of a general abstract idea, because it implies no one individual, but a genus of mathematical figures, concurring in the circumstance of being bounded by three straight lines intersecting each other so as to form three angles. Now this property belongs to each individual of the class,—to the obtuse angled triangle, the acute angled triangle, the right angled triangle, &c. But if we alter the definition of triangle so as to state that it is a figure constituted of three sides in such a manner as to form three angles, one of which must be a right angle, the idea conveyed loses its general and abstract character; it is the true idea of an individual of the class—the right angled triangle—but not of the class itself, for it is not true in respect to the obtuse angled and acute angled triangles.

General abstract ideas are therefore the basis of classification.

The disputes of the Realists and Nominalists, as before stated, respected the nature of these generic conceptions. The Realists held that these ideas were not merely mental abstractions, but have

an actual and intrinsic existence. They contended that the generic qualities of all things existed thus, as models or archetypes, in the mind of the Creator, before any individuals of the species were made. This was the doctrine of Plato and Aristotle; the latter, however, contended, against the notion of Plato, that these archetypes existed not in the mind of the Deity before matter, but that they were impressed upon matter, and were essentially inherent in and coeval with it.

The doctrine of the Realists prevailed till the eleventh century, when Rosceline revived the Stoical theory called Nominalism, which, in opposition to Plato and Aristotle, taught that these alledged universal ideas were possessed of no proper form or essence, and that nothing could be called universal but mere names, and that these are general only in a qualified sense; for when any individual thing is suggested, the principle of association leads the mind to take in other individuals of a similar kind, so that, while we think of more than one, the name nevertheless refers specifically to the one first suggested. This intricate question is still considered a matter of interesting inquiry among metaphysicians.

The contentions of these two parties were the most remarkable of all the disputes of the scholastics. They nearly all embraced the opinions of the Realists in the thirteenth century, the influence of Thomas Aquinas and Albert having given a universal predominance to that sect. In the fourteenth century the combats of these antagonist sects were roused with extravagant vehemence by William Occam, the English Franciscan: they were continued until the close of the schools with unabated virulence, sometimes leading the combatants to decide their claims to the truth by a resort to blows.

The character of the dialectics which the schoolmen borrowed from the ancients may be conceived from the intricate and abstruse inquiries which gravely and for ages employed their attention. One of these important topics was as follows:—'You have what you have not lost; you have not lost horns, therefore you have horns.' Another, upon which, it is said, one philosopher wrote six books, and another studied so intensely as to contract a consumption, with which he died, was, that 'When you speak the truth and say you lie, you do lie; but you say you lie when you speak the truth; therefore while speaking the truth you lie.' Another was, 'If a body be moved, it is either moved in the place where it is, or in a place where it is not; but it is not moved in the place where it is, for where it is it remains, nor is it moved in a place where it is not, for a body can neither act nor suffer where it is not; therefore there is no such thing as motion.' Such were the hair-splitting subtleties of the logical system adopted by the scholastic divines. Many others might be added, which tortured the intellects of these bewildered speculators for years; such as the essence of the Deity, whether two infinities could coexist, whether a spirit could pass from one point in space to another without going through the intermediate distance, &c.

During the prevalence of the scholastic theology, another class of divines were common through Europe, who arose from the same origin—the introduction of the doctrine of Plato into the Church by

Origen. They were called Mystics, from the opinion which they taught that all piety consisted in spiritual meditation, by which the soul was to attain an abstraction from the world and the corruptions of the animal nature. An impostor, assuming the name of Dionysius the Areopagite, who was converted by the preaching of Paul at Athens, first published in the fourth century a system of doctrines suited to those who entertained these views, which was held in the highest reverence by them in succeeding ages. They were organized into a regular body, and, from their habits of living in solitude, and spending their time entirely in the exercises of devotion, the system of monkery arose in Europe. They led the most ascetic lives, and contemned, and frequently combated, with considerable violence, the metaphysical notions of the scholastics. With all their absurdities, they probably possessed among themselves the chief piety of these miserable times. Many men of eminent talents and piety adorn their annals, especially about the era of the revival of learning. Thomas A. Kempis may be referred to as an eminent example.

PROMINENT CEREMONIES OF THE ROMAN CHURCH AT ROME.

BY W. FISK, D. D.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—Thinking it may give some gratification to your readers to be informed of some of the most prominent ceremonies of the Roman Church, at the fountain head, I have determined to communicate some sketches of what passed under my notice during *passion week*. The exercises of this festive occasion commenced with

PALM SUNDAY.

Palm Sunday is instituted as a celebration of our Saviour's triumphant entry into Jerusalem. It happened the present year on the 27th of March. The public performances were in a small chapel called the *Capella Sistara*, which may be considered an appendage of St. Peter's. Why the capacious church of St. Peter's should be passed by, and this splendid ceremony be crowded into a small chapel, no *good* reason, I believe, can be given,—it is, however, on the principle, I suppose, by which so many things are directed in Rome, viz: the tradition of the fathers—what *has* been *must* be. The custom, however venerable for antiquity, is certainly very inconvenient. In the first place, one half of the church is reserved for the functionaries of the day. Then a kind of side gallery is allotted to the ladies, into which they are admitted *until it is full*—the filling of which does not take long, as it holds only from two to three hundred. The remainder, reserving something for alleys and yards, was appropriated to the gentlemen. The crowd was insupportable,—every man had to fight almost for his stand, and then endure such a pressure as was painful and suffocating. There was crushing of hats—there was elbowing, and crowding, and scolding, and laughing, and sometimes swearing, to an extent that rendered the scene any thing but a place of Divine worship. In this jamb, I was particularly unfortunate in my position, which was just in the

direction of access to a reserved section of the chapel, into which none seemed to get admitted but British uniforms, ecclesiastics, and such favorites as they might introduce. Frequently some bustling favorite of this description would come elbowing and pressing his way, by mere physical force, into this place. Of course, as the space where we stood was entirely *full*, there was no introducing a *foreign body* without either crowding out or compressing some portions of the matter already there. As none of us chose to yield our position, we had to undergo the compression. This compression, when once made, was *keyed* up, by some individual or individuals following up the wake of the man who pressed his way through, and remaining after the other had passed out. In this way we had for some time been growing smaller and smaller, with a fair prospect of testing experimentally Sir Isaac Newton's doctrine of the indefinite compressibility of matter. As I felt myself, however, to be something more than inert matter, I thought a just regard to my own comfort, as well as a desire to retain my original dimensions, required me to face a short, plump priest, who had been out two or three times to conduct persons in, and give him to understand he could not pass. He crowded forward, and commanded me to give place; my answer was '*non possibile*:' he threatened, but I kept my position; he crowded back to the Swiss guard, but the Swiss would not interfere: he came back with his eye flashing from *apparent* passion, and again threatened and raised his hand; '*non possibile*,' was the only reply, until the eyes of the whole company around were fixed upon us, and I found myself sustained by the surrounding crowd, who pressed closer and closer, to stop the farther progress of the priest. At length, a good-natured Irish ecclesiastic leaned over and whispered in my ear that perhaps it might be better to let the gentleman pass, for he was the *general of the Franciscans*. I replied, that might be, but he had already incommoded us several times by passing and repassing, and it had become insufferable. Behind him were two other Irish ecclesiastics, whom the *general* was convoying in, and who said they had a place assigned them by *his holiness*, and they thought it a hard case they could not be permitted to enjoy it. But, to end this occurrence, after holding the Franciscan at bay until it was thought he would not undertake another excursion through the crowd, he was permitted to pass on with much difficulty, but was glad, doubtless, to return no more. We were now permitted to witness the entry of the pope, and the commencement of the functions of the day. First of all, however, (as is common on such occasions,) the cardinals, bishops, &c., must pay their respects to the pope; which was done by gazing up to his throne, bowing to him, and kissing his hand, by the cardinals, and his feet by the other Church dignitaries. This ceremony, together, in fact, with all that followed, seemed to me a clear indication that the pope was more an object of worship than any other being. All eyes were turned towards the pope—all ceremonies seemed to centre in the pope. When he entered, all knelt before him. His robes were of the richest character, inwrought with gold and silver; the one worn outside was of a purple color, with a silver plate finely gilt, embossed, and encircled with precious stones. On his head was a mitre of silver. On each side of his throne stood

a cardinal deacon, whose business it was to open and fold his robe —to wait upon him in rising up and sitting down: others held a box bound in gold, or silver, for him to read the service—another held up his train—another offered incense before him—and ever and anon cardinals, bishops, and other Church dignitaries, left their seats, came down into the centre, which was left vacant for the purpose, and bowed the knee. Such a scene of man-worship I never before witnessed. Often during the exercise was I reminded of 2 Thess. ii, 4: 'Who opposeth and exalteth himself above all that is called God, or that is worshipped; so that he, as God, sitteth in the temple of God, showing himself that he is God.' I accuse not the present pope personally of such *feelings*—I judge no individual—but the system itself has all the characteristics of the grossest creature-homage that I can conceive of. So the pope's title seems to imply—'God's vicegerent upon earth'—and so the common people at least understand it. 'The pope,' said an intelligent servant, who was questioned upon the subject, 'is God almighty upon the earth.' But, to return from these reflections; the music, which was by the pope's choir, whose performances are admirable, commenced with the hosanna sung by the children on Christ's entering Jerusalem. The service was then read, which consists of Scripture lessons from the Old and New Testaments—reading the prayer of blessing—chanting by the choir, &c. By this exercise and benediction certain palms and olives are blessed, and prepared for distribution. These palms are artificial branches, curiously wrought, from narrow strips of the palm-leaf. They are braided, festooned, and beautifully formed: they are about three feet in length, with a beautiful open work for the stem, a circle of festoons for the centre, and a still larger festooned top. The olives were mere branches in their natural state. After they were all blessed, the distribution commenced. They passed the palms, one by one, to the pope, and he distributed them, first to the cardinals, who came up in order and bowed, kissed the pope's hand, then the palm, then his knees; they thereupon received the palm and returned to their seat: after this the patriarchs, archbishops and bishops; then follow the lower orders of mitred abbots, the penitentiaries, the governor and prince assistant, the auditor of the apostolic chambers, the major-domo, the treasurer, the prothonotaries *apostolic*, &c., &c., &c., to the number of twenty-nine or thirty lower grades, all going through the same ceremony, except that all under the grade of bishops kissed the *foot* instead of the *knee:* last of all, such distinguished foreigners as may have previously entered their names on the list of the major-domo, go up and receive palms. During the distribution, the choir is chanting appropriate anthems. The pope then washes his hands, and prepares for the procession. This is commenced by the senior cardinal's chanting 'procedamus in pace'—*let us proceed in peace*—to which is responded 'in nomine Christi, amen'—*in the name of Christ, Amen.* Then the procession moves forward, preceded by a cross veiled, to denote the mourning of the Church in the passion week. The pope is seated in his splendid chair, which is trimmed with rich crimson, gilt with gold, and elevated upon the shoulders of twelve porters, all richly clad, and over his head is a rich canopy, borne by eight referendaries, all

splendidly habited: after him follow the palm-bearers, in the order of their rank. Adjoining the Sistine chapel is a large hall, called the *sala regia*, or royal saloon. Into this hall, which is lined with soldiery, the procession advances, chanting and singing as they go: after they have passed the gates of the chapel, they are closed, and the pope, with the procession, moves round the hall, returns to the door, and voices within and without alternately answer to each other; the sub-deacon strikes upon the door without, with the staff of the cross—the gates are thrown open—and the *vicegerent* of God upon earth enters in triumph, with the anthem chanted by scores of voices, 'when the Lord entered into the holy city,' &c. The soldiers and people all dropping upon the knee, as *his holiness* passes, he is borne into the chapel, descends from the throne, and the whole ceremony closes by the celebration of high mass. As a splendid earthly princely pageant, this ceremony was certainly imposing; but as a religious ceremony, and especially as one founded upon Christ's entering into Jerusalem, it appeared to me the very contrast of the thing signified. Let the reader conceive, if he can, of the regal splendor and show of this entire ceremony—let him fix his eye upon the pope on his gilded throne—himself clothed in gold and purple, borne on high and canopied, by princely supporters, bowed to by his fellow worms, and followed by dignitaries, in purple and ermine—and when the image of the entire scene is passing vividly before his eyes, let him turn to Matt. xxi, 4–11, where this ceremony professes to have its origin—let him notice the *condition* of the Saviour, at this time, so inimitably expressed by the prophet, as recorded in the 4th and 5th verses, 'all this was done, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, saying, Tell ye the daughter of Sion, behold thy King cometh unto thee, *meek*, and *sitting upon an ass*, and upon a colt, the foal of an ass.' Who art thou, O worm of the dust, that personateth thy Saviour, in one of the humblest exhibitions of himself, by sitting upon thy throne of state in princely robes, and being borne on the shoulders of men clad like princes! Is this to be *meek* and *lowly*? How is it possible that the human mind can be brought to enact such contrasts with the word of God, and call them anniversaries of Scripture events? Call up one of those children that sung hosanna when Christ entered Jerusalem, and place him, without explanation, in the palace of the vatican, to witness a Roman Palm Sunday,—would he be able to identify it?*

TENEBRÆ AND MISERERE.

On Monday and Tuesday of the 'holy week' there is nothing very special to call the attention of the public; but Wednesday P. M. there was the finest music by the pope's choir that I ever heard. The function is called the 'tenebræ,' or 'darkness.' The performance, it is said, belongs strictly to Thursday morning, in the regular reckoning of time; and seems to be designed to commemorate the darkness and gloom of the Church at the hour of be-

* For an explanation of the different orders, and different offices and ceremonies of the Roman Church, I acknowledge myself much indebted to a little work by Bishop England, published in Rome, 1833.

trayal, or perhaps the scene in the garden. The origin and design of this performance, however, seem not to be fully settled by the Catholics themselves, nor is it of any great consequence to determine it. It is enough for me that it was, on the whole, one of the most interesting occasions that I have witnessed in Rome. The pope attended, in the Sistine chapel; and thither, of course, the multitude resorted; but as there was the same music in St. Peter's, we proposed hearing it there, rather than endure the crowd of the chapel. The exercise was long, and consisted in the fore part of lessons chanted and sung from the Psalms, the Lamentations of Jeremiah, and from that part of the Epistle to the Corinthians describing the institution of the sacrament, &c. The whole was interspersed with antiphanies, and all performed with admirable skill. Indeed, it is said that none but those trained in this school can perform this music. The French, when they were in power here, carried this music to France, but it availed them nothing; for none of their performers, it is said, could sing it. But this choir perform it to universal admiration. The great concentration of excellence, however, and of course of interest, is in the closing piece, called the *miserere*, which is the 51st Psalm set to music by Allegri. It has its name from the first word in the Psalm, which commences in Latin, 'Miserere, mei, deus,' &c. All who have read this Psalm have noticed what humble confession, what deep contrition, run through the whole of this beautiful composition. But what the psalmist has expressed so inimitably in words, seems, if possible, to be still more forcibly expressed in sounds—at least, putting the two together, they were overwhelming. Such wailing, lamentation, and wo!—such tender, melting, agonizing strains of penitential grief and contrition!—They came over my soul like a dissolving charm, melting my heart, and opening the very fountains of grief. Every emotion of my heart chimed in with the sentiments and the music, and I felt myself entirely carried away and overpowered by the inspirations of the occasion. It is worthy of notice that there are no females in the choir, and yet there were some of the finest treble voices that I ever heard. I have heard before a counterfeit treble voice from a man, but it was not natural; here, however, it was the most perfect, and the strains fell in, one after another, from the finest treble to the gravest bass, and all so skilfully arranged and modified as to produce but one effect: it was like a multitude of old men and maidens, young men and children, pouring forth their united, concordant strains of chastened grief, in all the bitterness and reverence of supplication and adoring penitence.

As is usual, in all cases of Catholic worship, numerous candles were at first burning; but they were extinguished, one after another, until only one was left, and that was partially concealed behind the altar. Of the meaning of this there is not an agreement; some say it is the gradual extinction of the prophetic lights before the coming of Christ; others say, it is designed to represent the fact, that, when Christ was apprehended, all his disciples forsook him and fled. The concealing of the only remaining lamp represents Christ in the tomb; whose light was suspended, but not extinguished. At the close is a short prayer; and then a loud clapping noise representing the earthquake, &c., closed the exercises.

MAUNDY THURSDAY.

This day was so called from the *maudatum*, or *command*, of the Saviour to his disciples to wash each others' feet. On this day there are several important functions, viz: high mass, in the presence of the pope,—the procession into the pauline chapel, with the host,—the benediction from the balcony of St. Peter's church, —the washing of feet—and the waiting upon the pilgrims at dinner, by the pope. All these, with much difficulty, through the pressure of the crowd, I succeeded in personally witnessing. I will take them up in their order.

High Mass.

This was celebrated in the Sistine chapel. Early in the gathering, I approached the door of the reserved section, and, informing the door keeper that I was an ecclesiastic from America, he very politely admitted me into the interior, which at once relieved me from the crowd and gave me a more favorable opportunity to witness the ceremony. The cardinals came in, dressed in purple robes, each attended by his chaplain. The robes had a train, several yards in length, which the chaplain, as soon as he entered the door, very adroitly unrolled and spread out in full length and breadth, and supported it till they arrived to the seat: after placing it properly on the seat behind his eminence, he unrolled the cape and arranged the front in flowing style. The chaplain then placed himself on a seat, *at the foot of the cardinal.* The bishops and other dignitaries entered; each, as he came in, paid a reverence to the place and the occasion, by kneeling, not only at the altar, as he passed, but also by his seat before he sat down. I was struck, however, on this occasion, as on many others, how much these external acts of reverence were a mere form. One man, a bishop, as I judged, came in and knelt by his seat—another, who seemed pleased to see him, took out his snuff-box, and offered him a pinch of snuff; this he took, making some passing remark, while yet on his knees, accompanied also with a smile; and after a little he crossed himself and arose. This talking when on their knees, and when some of the most important functions are performed, is very common. In most cases, I will not say always, the whole appears to be attended to as a task; and a tedious one it must be, considering the tiresome length, and monotonous repetition of the Catholic forms. Never, in any forms of worship, have I seen more yawning and apparent inattention, especially among ecclesiastics, as I witnessed frequently among the Catholic clergy. Snuff-taking also seems to be an almost universal practice among the ecclesiastics of Italy, and especially of Rome.

High mass is distinguished from common mass merely in respect to the number of the celebrants and the attendant ceremonies. Common mass is by a single priest, and an attendant—that attendant being sometimes a mere boy—as also without any music, either vocal or instrumental. The mass is the ordinance of the communion, or the Lord's Supper. The nature and design of the ordinance, however, are viewed very differently by Catholics and Protestants. The latter consider it a mere remembrancer, and a help to faith, agreeable to the command, 'This do in remembrance of

me,' while the Catholics, to use the words of Bishop England, believe it to be 'an unbloody sacrifice, in which, by the power of God, the institution of Christ, and the ministry of the priest, the *body and blood of our blessed Saviour are produced upon the altar under the appearance of bread and wine*, and are there offered to the Almighty as a *propitiation of the sins of mankind*, and in testimony of the adoration or homage which is his due.' Hence, the more masses there are, the more sacrifice is offered for the propitiation of sin, and hence too the reason why, in the mass, there is not always, nor commonly, a distribution of the consecrated elements to the faithful. In a great proportion of cases, there are none but the priest who partakes of the consecrated elements. 'The nature of this,' says Bishop England, 'is fully understood and appreciated by those who assist, even though they should not hear a word that is spoken, or, if hearing, should not understand the exact meaning of the language that is used.' On this account the priest takes no pains to be generally heard or understood. The service is in Latin, and the whole performance, almost, is either *muttered* by the priest, or chanted. In either case, it is equally unintelligible; yet, strange to tell, while the Catholic Church is so perfectly indifferent as to the intelligence of the language, she is very careful as to the pomp and extent of the ceremony of the mass, both as it respects the number of the performances in high mass, and the variety and exactness of the gesticulations and manipulation. I will briefly notice each of these. First, then, is the celebrant, or the priest or bishop, who leads in the consecration,—then the deacon, the sub-deacon, the priest who is styled master of ceremonies, two *acolyths*, who carry lights, and another who is the *thurifer*, or censor-bearer, the sacristan, who has charge of the sacred vestments, besides the musicians, &c. Each of these have a peculiar dress, most of which are derived from the robes of state among the Romans, or from the robes of the ancient Roman priests. The author already quoted acknowledges that the 'antiquarian will discover the greatest portion to consist of the ancient Roman robes of state.' They are chiefly the *toga*, or robe—the *trabea*, which is thrown over the shoulders, with an aperture for the head, and a cross generally on the back—the *amyct*, for the neck—the *alb*, or white garment, and the cincture, or girdle. When a bishop officiates, he has a *tunic* and a *dalmatic*: he also wears a hollow gold cross, hanging down in front, which is filled with sacred relics, in imitation of the *bulla*, or garden ball, which the ancient Roman patricians used to wear. He must celebrate mass fasting: he washes his fingers before he commences, and then they put a pair of gloves upon his hands, and a ring with a precious gem upon his finger. They put upon him the sacrificial vestments,—a mitre is placed upon his head, with two fillets hanging down behind. He has a golden crosier, which is a staff, with a turn at the upper end, like a shepherd's crook. Thus habited, and thus attended, he proceeds to his duties. The ceremony is very complicated, and the *master of ceremonies* stands by, to give directions, and to see that every thing is performed in due order. The acolyths hold the lights to illumine the book, although it is midday!—the thurifer attends to the incense, which is used sometimes by him, and some-

times by the celebrant, in different parts of the service—the sacristan attends to the vestments, and to the wine and bread for consecration, &c.—the assistants hold the book, change it from side to side, hold up the vestments of the bishop, take off and put on his gloves, change his mitre for a cap, and again replace the mitre, &c., &c. The celebrant reads the service, chants, turns round, waves his hand, kneels, rises, prays to himself; sometimes faces the altar, sometimes the people, kisses the altar, the book, and other things, performs a variety of genuflections, and manipulations, and ceremonies, which, it seems to me, requires a long study and practice to understand or perform. At length, when the entire transformation of the bread and wine is effected, and the body and blood of Christ is *supposed* to be produced, then follows the elevation of the host, as it is called: that is, due notice being given, the celebrant raises up the wafer as an object of worship, whereupon all the people fall upon their knees in profound adoration, and then in like manner the cup, before which, as before the wafer, the people bow. The priest divides the wafer, and puts a part of it into the wine, that the blood and body of Christ may be commingled; he then eats one part, and afterward drinks the entire contents of the chalice. This in most cases closes the mass; for, as before remarked, it is not common, compared with the number of masses celebrated, to distribute the elements to others: when this is done at all, which I witnessed in only one instance, the bread only is given—no one partaking of the wine but the priest.

In the present instance, to wit, on Maundy Thursday, the celebrant was a bishop, although the pope was present, and took some part of the ceremony. The customary honors were paid to him when he came in, and he opened the exercises. There were on this occasion, also, two portions of the elements consecrated—one being consumed by the celebrant, as usual, and the other reserved to be disposed of as will be seen in the following description of the

Procession.

Twelve esquires, dressed in red, came from the sacristy with candles: these are distributed to those who are to join the procession, and are lighted. The procession consists of the same persons as on Palm Sunday, but the pope is not now carried in state,—he walks, with his head uncovered. The choir sung beautifully—incense smoked—the pope, wrapped in a veil, and covering the host with the same veil, follows the cross that is borne before him, and proceeds to the pauline chapel, which is in a different part of the vatican, to deposit the consecrated wafer in a kind of sepulchre, which is there prepared for it. The multitude all fall upon their knees as it passes—for it is their god. It is desired, also, that all spectators should bow in like manner; but for myself I could not conscientiously prostrate myself before what I believed to be as truly and literally a wafer as it was when it came from the hands of the manufacturer.

This place of deposit is called a sepulchre, though the ceremony is more properly an anniversary of the passion in the garden than of Christ's death, the anniversary of which is the next day. This disregard, however, of the unities of time and place is not

uncommon in Italy, either in the ceremonies of the Church or in the exhibitions of the acts. Here the host reposes in state until the next day; the altar in which it is deposited is splendidly adorned, and lit up, in a beautiful manner, with six hundred wax candles.

Benediction.

After the procession, our ladies were hastened into the church of St. Peter's, to secure good places for seeing the washing of feet, while most of us went to the front of that church to witness the benediction. This is a splendid exhibition, to form any correct conception of which one must have some idea of the place and of the multitudes present. The pope is in a lofty gallery of this magnificent church, opening into the great area of the matchless piazza in front. This piazza, vast as it is, seems but a moving mass of living men and women. Every eye is turned upward to watch the coming of the pope. At length, borne in state, he approaches the gallery from the interior, attended by his liveried retinue and the waving *fabelli*, which are a pair of magnificent fans, of peacock's feathers. A short service is read, and the pope spreads out his hands; the multitude fall upon their knees while he pronounces the benediction. The vast height of the pope—the devotion with which he gives and the people receive this blessing—the multitudes that compose the assembly, from every nation, and of every description of character—the prostration of the people upon their knees—the sounding of the bells, and the firing of the cannon of St. Angelo—altogether make this a very imposing ceremony.

Washing of the Feet.

From the balcony the pope retires to prepare himself for the ceremony of washing the feet of persons selected for that purpose, in imitation of Christ's washing the feet of the disciples,—for in all things practicable by him, it behoveth the pope, it seems, to act the part of Christ, whose vicegerent he professes to be.

Here another scene of running and crowding occurred to secure good positions to witness this ceremony, which was to be performed in St. Peter's.

On a staging, elevated for the purpose, thirteen persons were placed, who had been selected to participate in this honor. It is not necessary, I believe, that they should hold any office in the Church,* but they are admitted or selected in an honorary way, to act a part for the time being in this ecclesiastical drama. It has been a question which has been answered in various ways, by Catholics themselves, and the subject is still unsettled, why they are thirteen instead of twelve, which was the number of those whom our Saviour washed. Some say the thirteenth represents St. Paul, others St. Matthias, others the host at whose house Christ celebrated the passover. But the more plausible conjecture is, that this thirteenth person was introduced to commemorate a remarkable event in the life of St. Gregory the Great. He was in the habit of feeding twelve poor persons daily; and on a certain occasion an angel appeared and seated himself in the company. On the Cœlian Hill,

* Bishop England calls them priests.

in one of the chapels of the church of St. Gregory, we were shown a table, at which these poor persons were fed, on which was the following inscription:—

'Bisenos hic Gregorios pascebat egenos angelus et duimus tertius accubuit.'

'Here Gregory fed twelve persons and an angel; the thirteenth came and seated himself with them.'

It is in commemoration of this event, it is supposed by many, the thirteenth individual was introduced into this ceremony, and into the one that follows of being fed and waited upon by the pope. It is not necessary or profitable, however, to inquire too critically into the *reason* for all the Catholic ceremonies.

The selection of these is made in the following manner, viz: 3 by the ambassadors of Austria, France, Spain, Portugal, and Venice; each one: one by each of three cardinals: one by the protector of Poland, the secretary of state, and the camerleng; by the major-domo, by the captain of the Swiss guard: the cardinal prefect of the propaganda names two, and an Armenian priest is selected by the cardinal protector of that nation.'* The stockings were cut so as to admit of laying the foot bare with ease. The pope descended from his throne, robed gorgeously, and girt with a towel trimmed with lace, attended by various officers, to hold the golden basin and ewer, to bear up his train, to hold up the foot that was to be washed, to bear the book and the lamps, to incense the pope, &c. The pope knelt, poured on the water, and rubbed the foot with the towel; after which he *kissed the foot*, and it was again covered. The treasurer followed, and gave a purse and medals of gold and silver to each. Each also was presented with a towel and a nose-gay. Thus the exercise, with a concluding prayer, &c., was ended.

Immediately following this ceremony was the greatest crowd of all, in an attempt to witness the feeding of the pilgrims. But as I have already extended my letter to an unusual length, I will cease here, and defer the account of the remaining ceremonies until another time. I remain as ever yours, W. Fisk.

From Blackwood's Magazine.

STATE OF PROTESTANTISM IN FRANCE.

* * * * * * * *

I had no idea of the warm interest of the new and exciting prospects, of the delightful hopes which this subject unfolds, till I came upon the spot where I am now. From Chalons sur Saone, to the Lower Alps, taking in the departments of the Isere, the Drome, and the Ardeche, there has been of late years a religious movement among the inhabitants of a very peculiar and most hopeful character. To these departments I shall limit the tour of observation I am now making, and to Lyons and the new churches within a day's journey therefrom, I shall confine my present communica-

* Bishop England.

tion. Instead of presenting a general picture of the Protestant population and its ecclesiastical establishments in these districts, as I had intended to do, I shall follow the more interesting track of the new religious excitement which has recently taken place. I shall commence by announcing a fact of which I feel quite sure my readers were previously ignorant—a fact which will give them as much delight as surprise, viz: that Reformed Churches have been established within the last two years and a half at Chalons, Macon, Turnus, Luhans, and Givry, towns varying in their population from fifteen to four thousand inhabitants, whereas before that time almost every individual residing in those places was a Roman Catholic. Besides this, at Lyons and St. Etienne where there had always been Protestants, a correspondent movement has taken place, and a multitude of conversions have been made. In fact, there is a spirit abroad which has not been known in France since the time of the Reformation. At present it is creeping quietly along the ground and nestling itself in the humblest settling places; but by and by gathering strength and growth in these small resting spots, it may expand, I hope, its influence, and mount into higher places. The manner in which this spirit was first excited is very remarkable, and very striking and touching from the simplicity of the means used. *Colporteurs*, or hawkers, whose business it is to sell Bibles and tracts, in excursions made for that purpose over the country, introduced themselves, a little more than two years ago, into the house of a most bigoted Roman Catholic at Turnus. Almost all the inhabitants of that place are of the lowest rank of life, and the family alluded to was of this class. The reading of the Bible, however, and the conversation especially of one particular *colporteur*, converted the whole family. A conversion of this kind, it may well be imagined, where there was no advantage to be gained, but much persecution to be sustained, which indeed followed, could only have sprung from the liveliest convictions. There was one family there, consisting of four persons, ardent and enthusiastic for the Gospel in the midst of a population of five thousand inhabitants. This was a beginning; the *colporteurs* had thereby a *pied a terre:* they could read the Bible publicly, and speak to those who, out of curiosity, came to hear them. This they did with some effect, till an audience being prepared, a preacher was sent to address them. I am told that the first time the Gospel was regularly preached in the town, crowds flocked to hear it, and that a very great sensation was produced. There is at present a permanent Church established, and I saw myself a congregation assembled, though on a week-day evening, of about fifty persons. I must mention that this work, commenced originally by the humblest instruments, had not owed its spread and its success to that impulse which very rare and superior gifts and talents may sometimes, in a happy moment, communicate to a mass. If there had not been a secret disposition towards, and a want of religion previously existing, the Gospel could not have been received as it has been received, especially in the midst of all obloquy and reproach, for such is the gross ignorance of the people of this town, that the only true Christians in it are called, and by many believed to be, Saint Simonians. An anecdote was told me of a lady formerly residing

in this place, whose name I forget, which I think sufficiently interesting to relate. She had been so zealous and devoted a Roman Catholic, that during the Reign of Terror she is thought by her influence to have kept the church of the town open, and when the priests were all banished, officiated herself, as far as prayers and exhortations went, in that edifice. She has since been converted, and has sent all her beads, relics, images, and crucifixes as a trophy to Geneva. This lady resides actually at Macon.

From Turnus the movement spread to the surrounding towns, and by the same means. The beginnings were always extremely feeble. When the pastor at Chalons first attempted to establish a worship there, he could only get three or four persons to promise to attend, and was rejected rudely by the few nominal Protestants to whom he addressed himself. He has now a congregation of about sixty persons, and an audience usually of one hundred, as many as his place of assembly can hold. The regular congregation or flock at Macon amounts to about one hundred, and the audience sometimes to double that number. In both places they are all, with a very scanty exception, converted Roman Catholics; and among these persons, decidedly separated from the Church of Rome, there exists a little corps of Christians quite of the John Bunyan stamp. If I had not seen this, I should have been comparatively but little delighted with a formal separation from Popery, however honest it might be; for Protestantism without piety is what Catholics would universally represent it to be—a mere negation—and a change from the Roman to the Reformed doctrine, occasions what Dr. Johnson has called such a *laceration* of mind, that without a conviction, deep, warm, and vital, not in what Protestantism denies, but in what it affirms, I cannot conceive how the immense space which Popish ceremonies occupy in the imaginations and affections, or at least emotions, can be filled up. Protestantism without devotion is, to one who has been a Roman Catholic, a mere retrenchment, an absolute privation. A great deal is thrown away but nothing is gained. I have been, therefore, particularly anxious to discover a warm genuine piety—warmer and purer than what is generally met with—and if I had not discovered this I should have thought I had discovered nothing. Far, however, from being disappointed in this particular, I must say that the cold, flagging, almost conventional assent to the truths of the Gospel, which distinguish those long and even piously habituated to their influence, has been utterly put to shame by what I have witnessed since I have been here, in the very humblest abodes of the humblest class of society. I have visited the family alluded to above, at Turnus, and was not five minutes under the roof which shelters them, in the most rigorous but decent poverty, without feeling how beautifully the heart can illuminate a hovel. To give an idea, not so much of the sweetness of my own emotion as of the spectacle which excited it, I must mention that I thought at the time within myself, that probably during his sojourn on the earth, our Saviour had often frequented such abodes, and partaken, perhaps, of the humble meal of their inmates, and while I was warming myself with the faith and love which beamed from coarse labor, begrimmed faces, beautified wonderfully by the expression of glowing

serenity and contentment shed over them, grandeur seemed to me, in the comparison, to have changed places with poverty, and to look squalid, cold, shivering and forlorn. Another example I met with at Macon was still more touching. I visited there a very aged woman. On approaching the door of the room in which she resides, I looked in and saw her quite alone reading the New Testament. On entering I found her, though the weather was very cold, without any fire. Her chimney smoked, and the proprietor of the house would not repair it. The old creature has a family of children, but they are all away from her. It soon appeared that all that is earthly in her heart is given to them. Some time ago, one of her four died, and left her his little savings. She was at that period a devoted Roman Catholic, and spent the whole sum in having masses said for his soul to deliver him out of purgatory. The priests consumed the widow's little portion in their vile decoying superstition, and never did I feel indignation against them so great as when I learned the story. She is now in every worldly sense forlorn and abandoned; the poor feel little for each other, being too much engrossed and hardened by their own miseries to compassionate others, and she is left quite alone with the infirmities of age, sickness, and penury; yet if human happiness be what I take it to be, nothing but *religious consolation*, I never saw a being more happy than this decrepid old female appeared to me to be. I must not omit to add that she was visited lately, after a long separation, by a daughter very dear to her, who, with tears and prayers, implored her to go to mass. Against this severe trial, however, the old woman stood firm and refused. I have mentioned these two examples of deep piety out of a multitude I might choose from, because when I assert that there is a religious movement abroad, it behoves me to prove that there is something more than a superficial tendency to change, and that the adoption of the Reformed, and the rejection of the Catholic creed is not what it may sometimes very possibly be—a step towards incredulity. On the contrary, that the movement I speak of is positive and affirmative, and not merely negative, is proved by the fact that those converted have been most frequently devoted and zealous Roman Catholics. Warmth of sincerity has, in almost every instance, led to conversions, not indifference, as a mere wish to simplify, as it is called, religion into philosophy. This is the more remarkable, as there are great masses absolutely without religion, who are yet unwilling to be thought unbelievers, and so gross is the ignorance to which the priests have reduced the people, even in those truths which they hold to themselves, that there is a prevalent notion among the peasantry, as I have learned from the best authority, that when a man dies there is an end of him. They believe not even in the immortality of the soul, but for all that they are not unobservant of Popish superstition. One would think that it would be among these that the great impression of the preaching of the Gospel would be made. But hitherto it has not been so. The reason seems to be, that it requires a mightier power of eloquence to awaken than to enlighten. Enlightenment, however, puts the stamp of genuineness on a work. One may be awakened by a false doctrine, but can only be enlightened by the true. I am glad, therefore, the move-

ment has begun in the quarter it has. Its genuineness is thereby most emphatically proved.

To interest my readers as they ought to be interested on this subject, let me recall to their attention the fact, that three years ago there were but a few isolated individuals calling themselves Protestants, who cared not for their creed, in any of the places I have above mentioned. The establishment, however, of little Churches in these blank and waste spots would not be so surprising if they had been planted and reared by a zealous and powerful national establishment, from which they may derive sustenance, support, and direction. But this has not been the case; they have sprung out of the zeal of a few of the humblest individuals. Originating in means the most feeble, and maintained most penuriously, they have yet thriven and spread, and have struck their roots firmly into the soil. They have now attached to their modest establishments *gratuitous* schools, both for children and for adults. In these schools alone, in the places I have mentioned, and shall have in the sequel to mention, is the Bible read. They are therefore sources from which the congregations are fed, many being led, by the reading of the Scriptures, to attend the worship at the Protestant chapels. I saw a very aged female, at the school at Macon, learning first, in her old age, with perseverance and success, to read, merely that she might be enabled to read the Bible. These schools, chapels, and their pastors are supported by the Evangelical Society of Geneva. Their funds are, nevertheless, utterly insufficient for their growth, sufficing barely for their maintenance in their actual condition.

I said, in a former paper, that the work going on in France met with little opposition from the priests. That assertion was correct a short time ago; but it is no longer so. Till the Gospel was preached, the priesthood regarded Protestants with sentiments far from hostile; but since it has been announced from many pulpits, with eloquence and with success, their enmity has been revived, and the pastors are constantly attacked by the spoken and written ribaldry of these men.

I did not visit the Churches of Luhans and Givry, because I am informed, that having seen those of Turnus and Macon, I might form a competent appreciation of the others.

I now turn to Lyons. This great capital of the south of France should naturally be its centre of Gospel warmth. Till the year 1824, it does not appear, however, that in this vast city, containing 160,000 inhabitants, there was a single individual in whose bosom was one spark of religious zeal or devotion. I write literally, according to what appears to me to be the truth. Nevertheless, there are here, and ever have been, a population of about 8000 Protestants, having a national temple and worship established. There may have been seasons, and I believe there have been, in which this population possessed true ministers of the Gospel; but they have always contrived to rid themselves of such as speedily as possible: and to give an idea of the utter dearth of all vitality which pervades their cold, naked forms, which we, who have a liturgy, can hardly conceive, I have only to mention one most remarkable fact, viz:—In the year 1826, on the occasion of the law of sacrilege

being promulgated by the government, 1500 Roman Catholics of the city of Lyons abandoned the worship of their fathers, and attached themselves to the National Protestant Church. Great numbers, perhaps the majority of these, have again gone back to Popery. And it would have been surprising if they had not done so; for surely a religion which fills the imagination—which captivates the senses—which is prolific in all the emotions which belong to poetry—which is gross or subtle, according to the character of its votary—which, if it applies no healing balm, at least administers an appeasing opiate, and, above all, (and this is its great charm,) satisfies the religious propensity without taxing it—must have appeared infinitely preferable to freezing under the mouldiest commonplaces of the mouldiest morality, and then calling that a worship. I am sorry to learn (but it accounts for the icy coldness of their sentiments) that most of the Protestants of Lyons are Socinians, or, as they like the title better, Arians. The theological colleges in which the pastors are educated, although very effective as far as learning goes, inculcate also Arian doctrines. It is no matter of wonder, therefore, that where the Divinity of the Saviour is denied, the incalculable importance of his mission should not be felt, and that it should dwindle, by an inevitable association of ideas, which no counter reasoning can stand against, into nothing; for to diminish an object of worship is to annihilate it. Add to this, that the great mass of French Protestants have, for a long series of years, stretching into centuries, been delivered over to a hereditary indifference about the Gospel; that many of them have been brought up, in early life, without any worship at all; and that almost all are pure rationalists, who countenance their Church more because they cannot do without the rites of marriage, baptism, and sepulture, than for any other more potent reason; and we shall be able to understand the triple adamantine firmness in which they are locked up against every impression of zeal for the propagation of their faith. Such was the condition of the National Protestant Church of Lyons at about the date last mentioned. Till then there were only a few individuals in the great city whose hearts had any sympathy with the Gospel. These, without neglecting the public worship, were accustomed to assemble together, in order to engage in that simplest and sublimest of all exercises, which alone searches the heart, and purifies the affections—the reading of the Scriptures, prayer, and praise. At first there were only three who thus met together; and the great object of their ambition was, that they might increase their number to fifteen, that they might hold something more like a regular assembly. I know that, in our own country, we sometimes regard little assemblages of this kind with an eye of disapprobation; and it cannot be denied, that in a day of general and promiscuous profession, especially where the Gospel is abundantly preached, they do not unfrequently engender what is most revolting and hateful—spiritual pride, narrowness, bigotry, and bitterness of spirit. But when we contemplate an immense population—a nation I might almost say—given over to superstition, idolatry, infidelity, and formality,—and these things being their virtues, what must be their vices?—and then see, within the very heart of this impious mass, a few poor obscure

men, untaught, unencouraged by any visible example, quitting all the high roads and beaten paths of promise in life, and, led by a celestial charity, devoting themselves assiduously to the study of the Scriptures—I can conceive no sight so beautiful, so touching, so edifying as this, or which bears upon it more evidently the mark of a Divine impulse. Such was the commencement of the Protestant Scriptual Church at Lyons.

Shortly after, in the year 1828, M. Adolphe Monod was appointed pastor to the national congregation of that city. There are some men whom to praise is to offend, and whose names are allied to thoughts which absorb and silence all profane admiration. Of this gentleman I shall only, therefore, say, that his preaching was such as soon to exasperate the consistory against him. The tax-payers had no idea that any one should presume to search their consciences, and disturb their internal satisfaction with themselves. But this the new preacher did. Their Sunday afternoon meals were spoiled by the previous morning sermon, digestion was injured, bad blood excited, and, in fact, it was a crying shame that they should be discomposed in the enjoyment of all their animal comforts by an impertinent appeal to hidden thoughts and troublesome reflections, which had before lain so snugly and profoundly asleep as to give them no uneasiness at all. The few 'notables,' the handful of rich merchants and shopkeepers, might, however, have merely turned their backs upon the obnoxious preacher, and sought elsewhere than under his ministry their periodical quieting dose of religion, if there had been any second place of worship to which they might betake themselves. But this not being the case, they had no alternative, and were obliged to rid themselves of the nuisance of hearing truth by expelling their pastor. This they did by the necessary intervention of the government, though M. Guizot, then minister of public instruction, is known to be very favorably inclined to evangelical ministers; and against M. Monod it could only be urged, that he had faithfully insisted upon the observance of the legal discipline, and on the inculcation of the established doctrines of his Church. This was his crime; yet such is the fear of offending consistories who have generally a good deal of political importance, that their will prevailed, as it almost in every case does. A greater vice than the power of consistories in a national Church establishment it is impossible to conceive. It is a taking of the Gospel out of the hands of those who have made it the subject of long years of study and meditation, to put it into the hands of men who have studied nothing but the petty concerns of traffic and commerce, to receive from the latter its interpretation. As soon as M. Monod was thus excluded from the national temple, he was offered the post of professor of theology at Geneva, or of preacher at the oratory of Lausanne. Either of these situations would have secured to him a sufficient competence for his family, and the former he declares had for him great attractions. He, however, refused them both, and preferred remaining at Lyons, where, for the support of his family, he had absolutely nothing. The motive which induced him to make this choice was, that he would not leave those who adhered to him, though a poor people, and utterly incapable of maintaining a minister and a worship, without a pastor.

This little flock, then, not separated but ejected from the national establishment, was the first beginning of a Church at Lyons, which has since created a great sensation, and raised great hopes. The Roman clergy, particularly the Archbishop of Lyons, were at first rejoiced at their extrusion from the national temple, thinking, no doubt, that the vital part of its congregation being cut off, the conversions from Romanism, which had been frequent, would be suddenly stopped. But directly the reverse has happened. The little assembly which could be originally held within a small room of their pastor's house, has so grown, that they have been obliged three times to change their place of meeting. Their present chapel can contain, with some inconvenience, three hundred auditors, and it is on Sundays always full, and sometimes even overcrowded. One of the great objects now is to procure a more spacious hall of assembly, and, if possible, to establish two services in different quarters of the city, it having been found that many who are anxious to attend are prevented by the distance of their residences. The number of members actually admitted to receive the sacrament amounts to one hundred and fifty, and as all who are admitted for the first time are invited to have a previous conversation with the pastor, who, according to the state of mind they exhibit to him, counsels them to participate or not, as it seems right to him, and as this must necessarily keep many away, the number mentioned is certainly very considerable. Of these fifty only were originally Protestants, the rest are all converted Roman Catholics. The first time the Lord's Supper was administered after the separation from the national Church, of the new communicants two-thirds were Protestants, and one-third converted Roman Catholics. On the ensuing Christmas, six months after, when this ceremony again took place, the new participants were two-thirds converted Roman Catholics, and only one-third born Protestants; and since then fresh and considerable accessions have been made and are making from the Church of Rome. With these results before him, M. Monod finds his actual position much more favorable for the spread of the Gospel, than the one he formerly occupied in the National Temple. By his change of situation one strong prejudice is removed from the mind of Roman Catholics. Against Protestantism they have an old grudge, an ancient antipathy. But those who belong not to the national worship seem to them not to be Protestants, but mere preachers and propagators of the Gospel, and against this they have no peculiar hostility; for as they do not know what it is, they feel rather curiosity than any thing else. The new sect of men who are so busy, zealous, and warm-hearted, are not identified in their minds with their old enemies, the Protestants—and this is a great point gained.

I will now give some examples of the way in which the little congregation increases. The following details might seem to have nothing remarkable, if related of any place but Lyons, but that city is the very stronghold of Popish bigotry, where the priests have more power than any where else. The extracts which I am about to give, therefore, from M. Monod's Appeal to Christians, will be found very interesting. They will show how, by means the most despised—I should like, however, to know how by any other means

the Gospel is to enter houses, hovels, and obscure corners impervious to public preaching—a great effect has been produced. 'We often,' says M. Monod in his appeal, 'see new auditors brought to our place of assembly by different motives. Some come at first out of curiosity, and return with better sentiments. Some women came lately to the chapel, procured a Bible, and not being able to read it themselves, got their husbands to read it for them, which brought the whole family to our service. A workman some time ago found a Bible in a friend's house, borrowed it from him, read it to his wife, came with her to hear the Gospel preached, attended our service regularly, were both, by the grace of God, converted at the same time, and had their marriage, which they had previously only contracted civilly, blessed and solemnized in our chapel. A few weeks ago we remarked a whole family who attended regularly the preaching of the Gospel. On inquiry, it was found that one of the members of our Church had spoken of the Gospel in the shop of a hair-dresser. A stranger who was present took the address of our chapel, and has since come to every service with his whole family. On another occasion the exhortations of a Christian friend who often passes through our city were the means of introducing the Gospel into a house occupied by several Catholic families. From this single house six persons, three husbands with their wives, have followed our preaching. In the same house a mother and her daughter, completely under the bondage of the priests, repulsed obstinately the Gospel. For a long time they refused to read the Bible. At last the mother consented to accept of a New Testament. She had not read in it many days, before she consented to go to the chapel. Her daughter, in despair that her mother was about to be *gained*, wept and implored her in vain to change her resolution, but not being able to prevail, "Well, then," said she, "since you will absolutely go to the chapel, I will go with you, but you shall come to mass with me afterward." They both went, both were *gained*, forgot the mass, and have since led the most exemplary and devoted lives.' The daughter, however, (for I must be scrupulous in telling the exact truth,) has, subsequent to the publication of the little work from which I have been extracting, wavered a little in her conduct.

To the little Scriptural Church at Lyons are attached two, or rather four, I should say, gratuitous schools,—two day schools, the one for boys, and the other for girls, and two Sunday schools, the one for males, and the other for female adults. The first schoolmaster of one of these schools was a converted Roman Catholic. They are all distinguished by the circumstance which gives them such an emphatic value, viz: in them alone, among all the places of education in the great city of Lyons, is the Bible read. On reflection, however, I must except from this remark the establishment of Mademoiselle Filhol. Here is one of the few boarding-schools in France where female accomplishments may be acquired without the risk of acquiring impiety or superstition with them. In one of the school-rooms above mentioned, was held till lately a meeting called, *La Reunion des Questions*, in which any one might require from the pastor an explanation of any difficulties he might have met with in reading the Scriptures, and many who

attended were converted, or inquiring Roman Catholics, who were and are harassed by the priests to return to the Church of Rome. These meetings were very useful. The women who were in the habit of coming to these assemblies—for they were not all what we should call ladies—used to bring their work with them, and whatever their fingers accomplished on these evenings was devoted to charitable purposes. These meetings are still continued, but having been transferred to the chapel, they have a character less familiar than they formerly had, and the females bring no longer their needlework with them. As for the more solemn services, they take place twice during the week-days, and three times on the Sunday. One of these latter is an English service. M. Monod, though a Frenchman, preaches perfectly well in our language. There are about a hundred English workmen at Lyons employed in the manufactories. For them it is that he has established this service, for he loves our nation, and was grieved to see so many of its natives living like pagans, without any worship. I am sorry to say that his kindness and good-will on their behalf has been hitherto in vain. They will not attend at his chapel, but he perseveres, nevertheless, to preach to almost empty seats. The English workmen indeed at Lyons are a most degraded set of beings. Though they receive high wages, they are most of them in miserable want, through drunkenness. They plunge into vice with an energy which astonishes the French, whose viciousness generally keeps time and tune with their interests, and with an external decency and moderation. I hope that perseverance will at last prevail, and that our countrymen at Lyons will eventually take advantage of the opportunity held out to them of profiting by their native worship offered to them in their native language. Beside this English service, there is also one in the German language, connected with the separated, or rather, ejected, Church.

I have yet to mention certainly the most remarkable characteristic of this little Church. It was originally composed of dissenters without a minister, and of those members of the national establishment who adhered to their expelled pastor. Men so divided in their ideas of Church government, it was hoped, it may well be imagined, by the Romanists, could not long hold together, and their contemplated disunion and dissension, and the great scandal and disgrace which would thereby fall on the reformed doctrines, were, no doubt, looked forward to as effectual checks to all farther conversions. And this would undoubtedly have been the effect of disagreement. A thousand arguments, brought from the depths of men's consciences, from Scripture, and from reason, are feeble against a *prima facie* external fact, against an outward appearance of discord. It is in vain to show that this is only a *concordia discors*, that uniformity in reality kills unity, that it is but the shroud of extinct life, nothing in all nature being completely uniform except death. Inquirers will always be perplexed and repelled by divergences of opinion, of which they perceive neither the common centre nor the common bond. The secret of wisdom in this matter seems to be to preserve the appearance as well as the reality of unity by leaving ample space for diversity. We are commanded to contend for the faith, but not to contend for forms; and it is on

this principle that the Scriptural Church of Lyons has hitherto produced. Its members have not shut themselves up in an inflexible discipline, which *alone* gives a narrow and sectarian character to separatists. All who come under the scope of Gospel truth come within their communion. Miserable pettinesses have not yet counteracted the grandeur of their theme; and, if it be permitted to hope so much of human infirmity, I hope they never will. Owing to this spirit of common concord, amidst many differences of small moment, the plan pursued is adapted for extension and acceptance as widely and as generally as the Gospel itself is; and to it I attribute, in a great measure, the success which a Church, whose material means are almost nothing, has met with in one of the most unfavorable spots in France for an evangelizing experiment. It may seem unnecessary to add, after what I have just written, that I have never met in any part of the world with any society of zealous Christians so free from fanaticism as that of Lyons; their warmth and activity are shielded by sobriety; and the false fires of a mere external zeal are quenched in a deep conviction of personal weakness, which ever produces a conceding spirit in all things, which in a broad generality of meaning, are not absolutely essential.

One of the great proofs that the new Church of Lyons has made numerous proselytes is, that the Roman Church has been roused to an exertion and manifestation of hostility, which, in one respect, has not been exhibited in France for many centuries, and which has excited the popular mind in a manner very extraordinary for that country. Some time ago some Catholics called on Monsieur Monod—mark, not upon the pastor of the National Temple—to demand of him conference respecting some points of the doctrine of the Catholic Church. The conferences were granted. They were first held in one of the school-rooms, but the concourse of auditors becoming always greater, they were transferred to the chapel. There they were carried on, not with intellectual pride and parade, but with seriousness and conscientiousness, and on the whole very amicably, when the priesthood, perceiving that the controversy turned terribly against them, sent a disguised priest, (according to a conjecture amounting almost to certainty,) with his followers into the assembly, who, with tumult and outrage, broke up the discussion. Two thousand five hundred copies of the narrative of these conferences have been sold. Since then a priest has been specially sent to preach in one of the principal churches of Lyons four times a day against the reformed doctrines—so great is the alarm which a little society, altogether devoid of worldly importance, and the object of bitter contempt to its adversaries, has been able to inspire! The apostasy, as the priesthood no doubt termed it, of the fifteen hundred above spoken of, occasioned no sensation of this kind, but there was no question then of the *Gospel*, and the Gospel is to priests the wormwood that makes them writhe and roar. The particular priest I have just alluded to, is a man of powerful lungs and some eloquence. I have heard him preach. He addresses always a crowded audience, for earnest preaching in a Catholic church is so rare that it causes much excitement. I observed, what perhaps most people have observed on a like occa-

sion, that Popish sermons insist exclusively on the external ceremonies and outward marks of the verity of the Church. Sanctity, according to them, resides in a particular organization, and administration, in particular forms; and the individual is supposed to receive it from a material contract with mysterious rites, not from a spiritual influence upon a spiritual essence—his conscience. For this reason Romish preachers are afraid to refer a man to himself, lest in examining himself he should find God; but they refer him to *the Church*. The great art of this Church is not to awaken but to *appease*, or only so far to awaken as to bring their appeasing specifics into request. It is true it sometimes meets with stubborn customers, and these must be appeased with a vengeance, by all sorts of austerities. Out of these, its saints are manufactured, and some so called have been really such. Rome to them, as to Pascal, for instance, has realized its own purgatory.

My object has been, since I came into this part of the world, not merely to ascertain the condition of the Churches, but to discover also the state of mind which generally prevails with respect to the Gospel. On this point, not trusting to my own observations, which, on the whole, have been very satisfactory, I have consulted those whose long experience gives them a right to pronounce a more decided judgment than I could do. Monsieur Monod especially, whose temperament is by no means sanguine, and who from his position is more capable of forming a correct opinion than any one else, has assured me that he thinks there is a general movement abroad, not toward Protestantism as Protestantism, but toward the Bible. The word 'Bible' is a sound which has been unfamiliar to French ears for many centuries; it has, therefore, superadded to its venerable name the attraction of novelty; and the old rotten garment of Popery falling from off the shoulders even of the populace, they turn naturally, in their instinctive tendency to clothe themselves with another vestment, toward it, as to the only source from which their want can be supplied; they have no longer that shuddering aversion to the word of God—which bigoted Papists still retain; they are led by curiosity, or a better impulse, to see what is in a book so much talked about, and they BUY it, for it is rarely offered as a gift. In proof of this I have to state the fact, that two thousand copies of the New Testament have been *sold* within the last two months by two *colporteurs* treading the same ground, for they go in couples, in the single little department of the Ardeche. *Colporteurs*, in general, are particularly anxious to make a plentiful distribution in the vicinity of some preacher of the Gospel. They were lately well received in a village about four leagues distant from Lyons. Monsieur Monod immediately betook himself to the spot. A room was given him to preach in, and the people flocked in crowds to hear him. For some time after, these people had the Gospel preached to them once every fortnight. This circumstance is very remarkable. Here we see a spontaneous movement among unmixed Catholics who had been left totally undisturbed in their creed, and examples of the kind are numerous. It is true that mere curiosity often draws crowds together on such occasions, and that but few remain constant to the last. But this very curiosity shows how lightly those who give way to it esteem their own

Church, and how perfectly free they are from its control. What a matter of wonder it would be to us if such a circumstance were to happen in Ireland—that Bibles should not only be received but *bought*, throughout a whole Catholic village, and that a Protestant minister should not only be heard by crowds, but invited to preach every fortnight. At present one of the principal members of the Church at Lyons is about to depart for Vienne, a town about seven leagues distant, to see what can be done in that place for the establishment of a Scriptural worship. All this is very encouraging. The reception which the visiters—the deacons, elders, and chief members of the little Churches—meet with in prisons, hospitals, and private houses, is no less so. They are for the most part well received, often coldly, but hardly ever offensively. They are generally listened to with attention and kindliness. A wife will often call her husband, or a husband his wife, to hear what the visiter may have to say. There is, in fact, as far as I have been able to observe or to learn, a feeling of benevolence in individuals—which will often be found in company with a still more general sentiment of hostility and forced scorn—toward the persons and characters of the new evangelizers. On the whole, their labors have been attended with surprising results, and seem to promise, with adequate means, a very extensive success to their philanthropic and Christian exertions.

I must now give some account of the pecuniary resources of the Church at Lyons. This Church subsists entirely upon occasional gifts made by individuals. It receives no support either from the Continental Society or Geneva, and its own congregation is much too poor to meet the one tithe of its necessities. To exhibit this part of my subject in its true light, I cannot do better than extract the following touching passage from Monsieur Monod's Appeal to Christians. 'The Lord,' says he, 'gave me so clear a view of his leadings in all that had happened to us, and a conviction so firm that the work was prepared and approved of by him, that I undertook to carry it on without having (far from it) the funds that were necessary. By faith, I entered into engagements for the chapel, for the school, &c., following the principle that a single sous should not be spent without necessity, but that no doubt should be entertained that money for indispensable expenses would arrive. My expectation was not a vain one. I had hardly concluded my arrangements relative to the chapel, when an English lady, whose aid I had not solicited, and whom I merely knew by name, sent to tell me that if I wanted money she would send me £50. This was nearly sufficient to meet the hire and furnishing of the chapel. A little after, another Christian of the same country, whose name I only learned by his first letter, put at my disposition £150, payable in the course of the year. The same person sent to our poor a few hundred francs, which reached us just at the time when we had appointed our deacon. Nearly about the same time, a French Christian sent us nine hundred francs. Some other friends in France and Switzerland came also to our aid. We received likewise two loans, of which one amounted to one thousand francs, from an American friend. It is thus that God enables us to advance, awaiting from him, day by day, the funds necessary for his

work, and receiving them in the moment of want. His fidelity is great. As for myself, while I might desire, if God should permit it, both for his Church and for my own family, more regular and certain resources, I shall bless God all my life for this exercise of faith, often painful and humiliating, but very salutary, by which we receive from him, in answer to prayer, and as from day to day, our daily bread.' I must add to this touching and simple exposition of the material means of this most interesting Church, that its precarious mode of existence is the more to be regretted, as, from its position, it is calculated to be a centre for the diffusion of Gospel truth over all the south. It attracts attention; it excites curiosity; awakens sympathy; provokes hostility; and derives importance from its very locality; and it seems, in all human probability, that the movement abroad will either spread, acquiring the force of combination from the prosperity of its central reservoir of life, or with it languish and die away in isolated spots. The Church of Lyons should therefore be made strong, not so much for its own sake as for the sake of the little detached Churches of the surrounding departments, which have sprung up so numerously of late years, and have remained as yet separate and single—each struggling for itself alone, and deriving from each other no mutual stay and support, because they possess no metropolis, as it were, for general reference, consultation, and direction. This Lyons might be made to them.

I shall say but little of the Church at St. Etienne, because almost all that I have said of that at Lyons may be applied to it. The pastor of the national temple of that place was expelled from his ministry in a like manner, and for the same cause, that Monsieur Monod was. The only difference between the two cases is, that those members of the consistory of St. Etienne who were most active in the expulsion of their pastor, were precisely those who never went to church at all, and that, with the ejected minister, almost the whole congregation seceded from the established worship, and have since formed a separate assembly, which continues to prosper and to increase.

I cannot close this paper without dwelling, as upon the most pleasurable part of my subject, on the manner in which the members of the new Churches above mentioned live together. We judge of, and interest ourselves in, men much more on account of their individual and social characters, than on account of their outward denomination and position, or even the doctrines they proclaim. The living expression of principles it is that captivates the beholder, not principles themselves, which, devoid of this expression, are mere objects of assent or dissent. It is true, that where the truths of the Gospel are widely diffused and received, the expression I allude to in the demeanor of those who embrace them, loses something of its pristine charm, and is mingled with a work-day worldly aspect, which shades from sight its full beauty. But when a few pious men are surrounded by a great, a universal multitude of the impious, their separation from the latter is so distinct and marked, and is kept thereby so pure from all mixture, that one is immediately struck by the genuine distinctive impress which the Gospel stamps upon the heart, upon the face, and upon the life.

This is an observation I have made since I came to Lyons, and I have made it in the mixed societies of the members of its new Church. 'Without love,' says Lord Bacon, 'an assemblage of men is but a gallery of pictures.' I can assure my readers, there is no gallery of pictures to be seen in any of these societies, and more especially, there is none in the pastor's house, where almost every evening a company of from six to a dozen persons meet to take tea—that English habit having been adopted in Monsieur Monod's English family. While passing some of the most happy hours there I ever passed in my life, an involuntary comparison has often forced itself upon me, between these hours and those I have usually devoted to social recreation, even in the most really select companies; and I find, that though the latter have excited me, the only solid gain they have brought, after all, has been a relief from, or rather suspension of, the petty toils and troubles of the day; whereas, in the modest *soirèes* I have been lately enjoying, I have experienced an absolute *restauration* (to make use of the word in a French sense and with French spelling) of my inward mind. It is not so much what is said, as what is felt in these little meetings, that constitutes their charm and their edification. The affections, rather than the intellect, are entertained, though the latter wants not its part in the feast. Compared to the radiant calm I have been sensible of in these homely unpretending parties, all other emotions caused by other conversations seem to me but an unmeaning jingle of sentiments without depth and without reality.

I must be permitted to return for a few minutes, ere I conclude, to the principal subject of this paper. From all that I have above written, it results that there is a negative disposition, that is, no indisposition, to say the least, to receive the Gospel throughout many wide-extended tracts of the south of France. If zeal in a few could meet this favorable state of mind, great things would be done. But one man cannot do the work of twenty, and there is therefore a feeling of hopelessness in the midst of passive circumstances the most hopeful. The national Church, even if it were as zealous generally as it is in some particular places, is not, from the limited number of its localities, and from other features of its organization, so constituted as to *spread;* and the Churches which have been broken off from it, wanting neither in zeal nor in devotion, can scarcely subsist themselves, and instead of extending their operations, are obliged to contract them from an absolute want of funds. A multitude of spots there are where a Scriptural worship might be established, which are at present only retained in their adherence to Popery by the slight fragile hold of a disenchanted habit. A breath might break this hold, provided another breath inspired other affections. Our religious societies at home are certainly actively and beneficially employed in all quarters of the globe, and can, therefore, perhaps, according to their present views, spare but little aid to France. It appears to me, however, that that country has been considered by them but as a secondary object, whereas it ought to be regarded as the first, and should, as it were, concentre all their zeal upon itself. Here is a land, the heart, in many senses, of the civilized world, where Popery is falling off, as a

snake changes its skin; where philosophy is wearied out, wherein are all the agitations and convulsions of a period of transition, and where the Gospel, adorned by professors who recall the primitive times of Christianity, is essaying, through the dim eclipse of centuries, to break brightly out of its dense envelopements, and yet its little Churches are left to struggle in all the mire of pecuniary difficulties and want. Our zealous men at home seem to me not to be at all sensible of the importance of this subject, or they would perceive that to propagate the movement for which a field is opening in the south of France, would do more to promote the general diffusion of Christian truth than all their other labors put together. Well may an infidel government, in the present state of things, proclaim religious liberty; well may a Popish hierarchy boast of its tolerance in suffering what it cannot prevent; they know, both the one and the other, that this liberty, and this tolerance, can produce no effect, but on the most limited scale, as long as material means are wanting for the propagation of the Gospel. Well may the puny efforts of Christians provoke, among enemies, laughter and scorn, and a chuckle of malicious joy, as long as these efforts are crippled and rendered almost abortive, as they are now. The priests may well console themselves that they have lost their power over the people, since they perceive, that this power, remaining at least in *abeyance*, has not yet gone over from the ministers of the Popedom to the ministers of Christ; and that it never can do so while the exertions of the latter are shut up in the narrowest circles, by reason of their paltry resources. I feel persuaded that there is hardly a village, in many departments of the south of France, where the Gospel would not be received with welcome; that there is hardly a town or city in which it might not plant a firm foot, provided there were funds to give effect to a zeal, already prepared, waiting, and full of alacrity. Something more, at least, might be done than has been done hitherto. This consideration is of such immense importance, that it is not, I am sure, merely to the sympathies of religious societies, already overtasked, but to the sympathies of all who value the pure doctrines of Christianity, that an appeal should be made. Such sympathies exist, I am convinced, in every nook and corner of our happy land. It has always been the great glory of Englishmen that they have brought prompt succor of heart, hand, and purse, to their oppressed brethren in the faith on foreign shores; and these, also, have ever acknowledged the benefit—for, as the Jews of old, when captives at Babylon, turned their faces in their prayers toward the temple at Jerusalem, so do distressed Christians, in all parts of the world, look with hope, in their hour of weakness, toward our favored island, as to the great citadel of their earthly help and strength. Would that aid might thence be plentifully administered to the little Churches of the south of France! and that thus they might be endowed with an efficiency, at least somewhat more commensurate to the work which is before them to be accomplished.

From the Foreign Quarterly Review, for July, 1835.

JOURNEY TO MOUNT ARARAT.

BY DR. F. PARROT.

[The Scriptures inform us that when the waters of the deluge subsided, the ark of Noah rested upon the mountains of Ararat. There is a great chain of mountains called by this name. Jerome places mount Ararat, on which the ark rested, toward the middle of Armenia, near the river Araxes, about 280 miles north-east of Al. Judi, where the Emperor Heraclius is said to have seen the place of the ark. The opinion of Jerome is the most generally received, and, undoubtedly, the most correct one. It is called by the Armenians Mount *Massis*, from Amasia, the founder of their nation, whom tradition makes an early descendant of Japhet. Such narratives are interesting from their connection with sacred history, and the tendency they have to lead the mind to a consideration of those important events in the order of the Divine administration which are calculated to display the righteous judgments of God to man.]

THOUGH this visit to Mount Ararat was undertaken nearly six years ago, and some particulars of the results have at different times transpired, the full account of it contained in the work before us, was published but a few months since at Berlin.

Twenty years ago Professor Parrot, being on the summit of the mountain Kasbeg, in the Caucasus, beheld in the distant horizon a lofty, isolated, snow-capped summit, which he presumed to be the silvery head of Ararat. From that time he had constantly cherished the wish to undertake a scientific expedition to this mountain, and if possible to reach its summit, which had from time immemorial been deemed inaccessible. But the difficulties of such an undertaking might be considered as nearly insuperable, so long as Ararat was on the frontiers of the two great powers, both inimical to Christianity. An important and unexpected change had, however, taken place. The peace of Turkmaschai, between Russia and Persia, was concluded in 1828, the dominion of Christianity extended beyond the Araxes, and Ararat became the boundary of Russia toward Persia and Turkey; but the predatory Koords still invested the country toward the north and south, when war broke out between Russia and the Porte. The Russian troops crossed the Araxes, and occupied the pashalik of Bayazeed, by which the roving tribes of banditti were driven away; and this favorable opportunity revived the professor's desire to realize his long-cherished plan. Passing over all the preliminary details, we merely premise that it was arranged that the professor should be accompanied by Mr. Behagel, a pupil of Professor Engelhardt's, as mineralogist; Messrs. Hehn and Schiemann, two medical students of the university of Moscow; and a young astronomer, Mr.

Federow, who was studying in the imperial school at St Petersburg. The emperor not only granted his consent, but highly approved the plan, and ordered one of the class called feld-jagers, often employed as couriers, to accompany the party on the whole journey. The expedition was recommended to the special protection of Count Paskewitsch.

They set out on the 20th March, 1829, which was later in the season than might have been wished. As our chief object is the ascent of Mount Ararat, we shall not dwell much on the particulars of the journey. The professor had intended to go to the Caspian Sea, in order to obtain by actual survey a confirmation of his opinion that the Caspian and Euxine were once united; but in this plan he was disappointed.

We shall make a few detached extracts from the Journal previous to the attempt to ascend the mountain.

"At Wladikaukas we met with the Persian Prince Chosref-Mirza, one of the 380 male children and grand-children of the Kadschar Feth Ali, the reigning Shah of Persia, who already in the year 1826 had eighty-one sons and fifty-three daughters, and who is not the first one who has had twenty members added to his family in the course of one week. Wladikaukas still continues as heretofore the most important military central station, whither all those flee for refuge, who, after dangerous journeys, have escaped the pursuit of the Tscherkessians and Kabardinians; and in the environs of this place the old rude mode of life still prevails, so that even the shortest excursion, unless under military escort, is attended with danger, and for this reason strictly prohibited. A short time ago, ninety-five horses were carried off close to the fortress, and during our stay of only two days, we saw, quite unexpected from the walls of the fortress, a large body of Ossetes settled here under Russian protection, who, without any assistance from the military, were driving home before them, with music and loud acclamation, amid the waving of caps and firing of musketry, a flock of 600 sheep, which they had taken from their neighbors, the Tschetschenzes, by way of retaliation for their having carried off 400 of their oxen."

On the arrival of the travellers at Tiflis, on the 6th of June, Count Paskewitsch was engaged in the campaign against the Turks, but had recommended the expedition to the military governor-general Stekalow, who did his utmost to promote their object. Professor Parrot, however, instead of being able to proceed to Mount Ararat, was obliged to remain many weeks at Tiflis, because the plague had broken out in Armenia. The time, nevertheless, was well employed in various scientific occupations. The latitude of Tiflis was ascertained with the utmost precision, and the tower of the cathedral found to be 41 deg. 41 min. north; the longitude, according to Birdin, 62 deg. 34 min. east of Ferro. The greatest degree of heat during their stay at Tiflis was 30 deg. 4 min. R. on the afternoon of the 28th July.

It was not till the first of September that they were able to leave Tiflis. The distance to Mount Ararat, reckoning all the windings of the road, is about 280 wersts, namely, 230 to the convent of Etschmiadsin, and 50 more to the village of Arguri, which is situ-

ated on the northern declivity of the mountain. The road from Tiflis runs through a plain about 600 feet above the level of the Kur, into the valley of the Chram, a shallow but broad stream that runs into the Kur, with a bridge built over it at some ancient but uncertain period. The celebrated convent of Etschmiadsin is the seat of the Armenian Patriarch of the Synod, and of all the superior clergy of that religion; the central point to which flows the tribute of gratitude and veneration, from all parts of the world to which it has spread, in such abundance that, for wealth and splendor, this see might well bear comparison with the papal see of Rome, if the sovereigns of Persia had not turned its wealth into a source of revenue. To this burden the Armenians submit, because they thereby obtain toleration for their religion, and a much better lot than that of their brethren in the Turkish provinces of Asia Minor. The present Persian sardar, Hussim Chan, is said to have taken great pleasure in seeing the Christian Churches in good order, and even to have attended Divine service with great devotion.

"About thirty-five wersts from Etschmiadsin, I separated myself from the rest of our party, and, attended by only a single Cossack, traversed a district which was formerly invested by swarms of predatory Koords, and had recently been the theatre of those great military movements in which the armies of the crescent and the cross contended for the possession of the fort of Erivan, in sight of the ancient Ararat. Villages and convents were visible in the distance, but there were no traces of agriculture; and an approaching thunder-storm, which had already enveloped Mount Ararat, and was hanging like a heavy canopy over me, had impelled both man and beast to seek shelter. A solitary monk, who, wrapped in his ample talare, endeavored to escape the coming rain on his Persian horse, surveyed me with a look of curiosity, but gave a friendly nod, and pointed to the south, when I called to him in Russian, 'Etschmiadsin convent, Father Joseph.' The rolling of the thunder did not disturb me; I enthusiastically indulged now in the contemplation of the country spread before me, the longed-for goal of my undertaking; now in deep reflection on an ancient period, replete with the most interesting historical events. How could it be otherwise? I was at the foot of Mount Ararat, the mountain of the patriarch Noah, whose barren and thirsty soil even now shows indisputable traces of the flood. I was in the valley of the Araxes, on whose banks Hannibal took refuge."

Passing over our author's account of the convent of Etschmiadsin, of his reception there, and his sketch of the modern history of Armenia, we come to his departure for the object of his journey. A young deacon belonging to the convent was allowed, at his own earnest entreaty, to join the company.

"Ararat has borne this name for three thousand three hundred years: we find it mentioned in the most ancient of books, the history of the creation, by Moses, who says, 'the ark rested in the seventh month, on the seventeenth day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat.' In other passages of the Old Testament, written several centuries later, in Isaiah xxxvii, 38; 2 Kings xix, 37, we find mention of a land of Ararat, but in Jeremiah li, 27, of

a kingdom of Ararat; and the very credible Armenian writer, Moses, of Chorene, states that this name was borne by a whole country, and that it was so called after an old Armenian king, Arai the Fair, who lived about 1750 years before Christ, and fell in a bloody battle against the Babylonians, on a plain of Armenia, which is hence called Arai-Arat, *i. e.* the ruin of Arai. It was formerly called Amasia, after the ruler Amassis, the sixth descendant from Japhet, and from him Mt. Massis also derives its name. This is the only name by which it is now called among the Armenians, for though the Armenian translation of the Old Testament always calls it Mount Ararat, yet the people (to whom the Bible can be no authority, since they do not read it) have retained the name of Massis, and do not know it by the other; so that were we to ask an Armenian, even if he came from the holy mountain itself, respecting Mount Ararat, he would be as ignorant as if we were to ask a European respecting Mount Massis as a place of note. To the Turks and Persians the name of Ararat is of course unknown. By the first it is called by the Arabic name Agridagh, *i. e.* Steep Mountain, and as the Arabic is almost a universal language in those parts, it is known to the Koords, Persians, and even the Armenians, by this name. It is said that some of the Persians call it Kuhi-Nuh, *i. e.* Noah's Mountain, but on this I am not competent to decide, as I spoke to only a few Persians, and these invariably called it Agridagh.

"The mountains of Ararat arise at the southern extremity of a plain, which the Araxes traverses in a considerable bend, and which is about 50 wersts in breadth, and more than 100 in length. Ararat consists of two mountains, namely, the Great Ararat, and its immediate neighbor the Little Ararat, the former lying to the north-west, the latter to the south-east, their summits ten wersts and a half apart from each other in a right line, and the base of both mountains united by a broad level valley. This is occupied by the herdsmen for the pasturage of their flocks, and was formerly used as a safe retreat by the predatory Koords, by which they were enabled to keep up an easy and safe communication between the northern and southern provinces.

"The summit of the great Ararat is situated in 39 deg. 42 min. north latitude, and 61 deg. 55 min. east longitude from Ferro; its perpendicular height is 16,254 Paris feet, or nearly five wersts, above the level of the sea, and 13,530 Paris feet, or rather more than four wersts, above the plain of the Araxes. The north-eastern declivity of the mountain may be estimated at twenty, its north-western at thirty, wersts in length. In the former we recognize at some distance the deep black chasm, which many have compared to an extinct crater, but which has always appeared to me to resemble a cleft, as if the mountain had once been split from above. From the summit, for about one werst in a perpendicular, or four wersts in an oblique direction, it is covered with a mantle of eternal snow and ice, the lower edge of which is indented according to the elevation or depression of the ground. On the whole of the north side of the mountain, however, from about 13,300 Paris feet, or rather more than four wersts, above the level of the sea, it runs along in one rigid crust, broken but by few projections of rock, up

to the summit, over which it extends down to the southern side to a less considerable depth. This is the hoary head of Ararat. The Little Ararat lies in 39 deg. 39 min. north latitude, 62 deg. 2 min. east longitude from Ferro. Its summit is elevated 12,284 Paris feet, rather above three and three quarter wersts perpendicular above the level of the sea, and 9561 Paris feet above the plain of the Araxes. Notwithstanding this considerable elevation it is not covered with perpetual snow, but in September and October, and probably in August or even earlier, it is quite free from it. Its declivities are considerably steeper than those of the Great Ararat; in shape it is almost a perfect cone. Numerous small furrows which radiate from the summit give this mountain a peculiar and very interesting character.

"Although the two Ararats have no appearance whatever of forming a part of any chain, but stand independent, they are not wholly unconnected with other mountains. While the south-west declivity is lost in the Mounts Bayazeed and Diadina, which contain the sources of the Euphrates, the north-western declivity of the Great Ararat is connected with a long chain of hills which runs along the whole of the right bank of the Araxes, and in which some very deep cones strike the eye. The western extremity of this chain winds round the sources of the Araxes, touches Erzerum, and crowns the left bank, in the same manner as the right, with a chain of mountains, some of which, especially in the direction of Kars, must be of a very considerable height, as I saw their summits in October, a time when in general the Great Ararat alone is mantled in its eternal snow, covered to a great depth, and to an extent of about twenty wersts, with a thick layer of snow. These mountains are probably the Saganlug and a part of the Taurus.

"The impression which the sight of Ararat makes on every one whose mind is capable of comprehending the stupendous works of the Creator, is awful and mysterious, and many a sensitive and intelligent traveller had endeavored, with glowing pen and skilful pencil to describe this impression; and in the feeling that no description, no delineation, can come up to the sublime object before him, every one who has made such an attempt must certainly have experienced how difficult it is to avoid, both in language and in sketching, every thing that is poetical in expression or exaggerated in form, and to keep strictly within the bounds of truth.

"I find the first views of Ararat in Chardin; that taken from Erivan is a complete failure, while the one from Etschmiedsin is not bad in the outline, and more faithful than many more recent drawing. Tournefort has entered into the subject with spirit, and his drawing is so far accurate, that every feature of his rough sketch may be traced in nature, but with those grotesque exaggerations with which his lively imagination has also hurried him away in the description. Morier has sketched the two Ararats from the east side. In the representation of forms he has not been true to nature, but seems rather to have followed the impression with which his enthusiastic mind was inspired at the sight of this venerable record of antiquity. His Little Ararat is too small, and looks like a mere conical rock; there is also too much regularity

in the contours, a circumstance which this traveller regards as the distinguishing beauty of this mountain.

"The intelligent Sir Robert Ker Porter, in his interesting view of the two Ararats, taken from the neighborhood of Erivan, has exaggerated the steepness of the declivities; he has been particularly unfortunate in giving the conical acumination of the smaller mountain. Sir William Ouseley has given three small drawings, of which I consider the one taken from the plain of Erivan, though it is only two inches broad, and has scarcely any details, to be the best of the sketches that have been hitherto taken. The two mountains are given with perfectly accurate contours and their true relative proportions.

"My desire to approach more closely the venerable summit of this sacred mountain would not suffer me to tarry long in the convent of St. James. Apprehensions respecting the lateness of the season determined me, as the sky was remarkably clear, to fix my journey to the summit for the following day. To many it may seem strange that in describing this attempt I should speak of the great difficulties which attended it, as my sketch of the mountain might lead them to suppose that the declivities are not so steep, and that the ascent therefore cannot be so arduous an undertaking. This, however, is occasioned by an optical deception, to which every traveller amid mountain scenery should endeavor to accustom his eye, in order to avoid erroneous conclusions. Whenever we ascend a mountain and have its acclivity straight before us, the angle of obliquity is estimated much larger than the plummet gives it. It is very common to fix it at twice the amount of the reality.

"The reason of this is the perspective fore-shortening. This image, which has been formed in our mind of the steepness of the ascent, we immediately transfer to our outline, and hence the exaggerated form of all mountains, drawn merely by the hand. Were these really so steep as they are generally represented, but few of them would ever have been ascended; for while we not unfrequently see in drawings, mountains, and even those that are really the most easy of ascent, represented with an angle of elevation of 60 deg., the fact is, that a mountain which is at an angle of only 35 or 40 deg. cannot possibly be ascended but with the assistance of ladders, or when the surface happens to be composed of moderately large angular pieces of rock, forming a sort of steps.

"At seven o'clock in the morning of the 12th September I set out on my journey, accompanied by Mr. Schiemann. We took with us one of our Cossacks and a peasant of Arguri, who was a good huntsman, and our route was first in the bottom of the valley, then up its right acclivity toward the spot where there are two small stone houses standing close to each other; the one formerly a chapel, and the other built as a protection for a spring which is considered sacred. The Armenians assign a very ancient origin to this chapel, call it after St. Gregory, and make frequent pilgrimages to it from distant places. During our stay, there were many Armenians from Bayazeed, who came to attend the devotions performed here; after which the pilgrims are accustomed to repair to the neighboring valley, where they amuse themselves with shooting and other diversions.

"The water of the spring which issues from the rock at this place is very pure and of a pleasant flavor, which alone would render it an object of general estimation, as there are probably very few perpetual springs that rise from Mount Ararat; at least I never met with any in all my excursions on the mountain, neither did I hear of the existence of any other. It may have induced some pious monk of a former time to settle in this neighborhood as a hermit, whose fame for sanctity may have obtained for the spring the character of some miraculous virtues, till, in the course of centuries and amid the storm of political events, this lone hermit vanished, and only the miraculous spring was left, as an object of universal admiration and blind credulity among the Armenians. The tradition of the wonder-working power of this water is as follows:—the locusts, which sometimes traverse the countries on this and the other side of the Caucasus in incredible swarms, and sometimes in a single day lay waste a whole tract of land, can be neither destroyed nor dispersed, except by a certain bird, which, however, I never saw, but which, from the description given of it, may be a kind of thrush, though by the Russians who live here it is called a starling. It is not large, of a black color, and yellowish white on the breast and back; and, at the time the mulberries are ripe, large flocks of them arrive on the Araxes, the people know not whence, and by destroying all the mulberries, cause much injury to the country: its name in Armenian is Tarm, and likewise Tetagusch. Gusch is a bird in Tartary, and tut is the Armenian for mulberry. If he appears in a neighborhood where the locusts abound, it may be considered safe, for he pursues them as an inveterate enemy. To entice this useful bird, it is necessary to have some water from this holy spring, and it is sufficient to fill a pitcher or a bottle with it, and carry it to the place which is visited by the locusts, but with the precaution not to set the vessel down by the way, as the water would immediately evaporate. When however it is put in the open air in the place of its destination, it is said never to have failed to attract large flocks of tetagusch, and by this means to rid the country of the locusts. Not only the common people and Armenians have endeavored to convince me of the truth of this tradition, but also persons of education, and who were not Armenians, and they even adduced as a proof that a few years ago, the district of Kislijar to the north of Caucasus being visited by the locusts, the country was cleared of them by means of a pitcher of this water, which was fetched in the greatest haste from the holy spring, and which instantly drew together large numbers of those birds. In Ararat and in Tiflis every one knows that the water was fetched, and in Kislijar a confirmation of the result may be obtained, and a portion of the miraculous water seen in a bottle in the church.

"From the chapel we crossed the grassy elevation which forms the right declivity of the cleft: we suffered so much from the heat of the day, that our Cossack, who would probably have much rather been seated on horseback and galloping about on the Steppes for three days than scrambling over the rocks for a couple of hours, was ready to sink from fatigue, and we were obliged to send him back. At about six o'clock in the evening, when we also

were much tired, and had almost reached the snowy region, we chose our night's lodging in the clefts of the rocks. We had attained a height of 11,675 Paris feet; in the sheltered places about us lay some new-fallen snow, and the temperature of the air was at the freezing point. Mr. Schiemann and I had provided ourselves tolerably well for such an undertaking; beside the pleasure of the expedition warmed us; but our athletic Jager, Schak of Arguri, (Isaac,) was quite dejected from the cold, for he had nothing but his summer clothing; his whole neck, and also his legs, from the knee to the sandal, were quite bare, and his head was only covered with an old handkerchief. I had neglected to think about his wardrobe before setting out, and, therefore, it was my duty to help him as well as I could: but, as neither of us had much clothing to spare, I wrapped up his neck and his bare limbs in sheets of blotting paper, which I had taken with me for drying plants, and this was a great relief to him. At daybreak we pursued our journey toward the eastern side of the mountain, and soon reached the declivity which runs immediately from the summit; it consists entirely of pointed rocky ridges coming down from above, and leaving between them ravines of considerable depth, in which the icy mantle of the summit loses itself, and glaciers of great extent. There were several of these rocky ridges and clefts of ice lying between us and the side of the mountain which we were endeavoring to reach. When we had happily surmounted the first crest and the adjoining beautiful glacier, and reached the second crest, Schak had no courage to proceed. His benumbed limbs had not yet recovered their warmth, and the icy region toward which he saw us hastening, did not hold out much prospect of relief; thus one remained behind from heat and another from cold—only Mr. Schiemann, though unaccustomed to these hardships, did not for an instant lose his courage or his desire to accompany me, but shared with alacrity and perseverance all the difficulties and dangers we had to encounter. Leaving the Jager behind us, we crossed the second glacier, and gained the third rocky ridge. Then, immediately turning off in an oblique direction, we reached the lower edge of the icy crest at a height of 13,180 Paris feet, and which from this place runs without interruption to the summit. We had now to ascend this declivity covered with perpetual snow. Though the inclination was barely 30 deg., this was a sheer impossibility for two men to accomplish in a direct line. We therefore determined to advance diagonally toward a long pointed ridge which runs far up toward the summit. We succeeded in this by making with our ice-poles deep holes in the ice of the glacier, which was covered with a thin layer of new-fallen snow, too slight to afford the requisite firmness to our steps. We thus reached the ridge, and advanced direct toward the summit by a track where the new snow was rather deeper. Though we might by great exertions have this time reached the goal of our wishes, yet the fatigue of the day had been considerable, and as it was already three o'clock in the afternoon, we were obliged to think of providing a lodging for the approaching night. We had attained the extreme upper ridge of the rocky crest, an elevation of 14,550 Paris feet above the level of the sea, (the height of the top of Mont Blanc,) and yet the summit of

Ararat lay far above us. I do not think that any surmountable obstacle could have impeded our farther progress, but to spend the few remaining hours of daylight in reaching this point would have been worse than madness, as we had not seen any rock on the summit which could have afforded us protection during the night; independently of which our stock of provisions was not calculated to last so long.

"Having made our barometrical observations, we turned back, satisfied from the result that the mountain on this side was not inaccessible. In descending, however, we met with a danger which we had not anticipated; for if in the descent of every mountain you tread less safely than in going up, it is still more difficult to tread firmly, when you look down upon such a surface of ice and snow as that over which we had to pass for more than a werst, and where, if we had slipped and fell, there was nothing to stop us but the sharp-pointed masses of stone in which the region of eternal ice loses itself. The danger here is perhaps rather in the want of habit than in real difficulties. My young friend, whose courage had probably been proof against severer trials, lost his presence of mind here—his foot slipped and he fell: but as he was about twenty paces behind me, I had time to thrust my pole firmly into the ice, to take a sure footing in my capital snow-shoes, and, while I held the pole in my right hand, to catch him in passing with my left. My position was well chosen, but the straps which fastened my ice-shoes broke, and, instead of being able to stop my friend I was carried with him in his fall. He was so fortunate as to be stopped by some stones, but I rolled on for half a werst, till I reached some fragments of lava near the lower glacier. The tube of my barometer was dashed to pieces—my chronometer burst open, and covered with blood—every thing had fallen out of my pockets, but I escaped without severe injury. As soon as we had recovered our fright, and thanked God for our providential escape, we collected the most important of our effects, and continued our journey. We were soon afterward delighted to hear the voice of our good Schak, who had very prudently waited for our return. Having made a fire, we passed the night in the grassy region, and on the third day reached the convent, where we were regaled with an excellent breakfast. We however took care not to tell the Armenians any thing about our accident, as they would certainly not have failed to ascribe it to a judgment from Heaven for our presumptuous attempt to reach the summit, which, they say, has been prohibited to mortals by a Divine decree since the time of Noah. All the Armenians are firmly persuaded that Noah's ark exists to the present day on the summit of Mount Ararat, and that, in order to preserve it, no person is permitted to approach it. We learn the grounds of this tradition from the Armenian chronicles in the legend of a monk of the name of James, who was afterward Patriarch of Nissibus, and a contemporary and relative of St. Gregory. It is said that this monk, in order to settle the disputes which had arisen respecting the credibility of the sacred books, especially with reference to their account of Noah, resolved to ascend to the top of Ararat to convince himself of the existence of the ark. At the declivity of the mountain, however, he had several times fallen

asleep from exhaustion, and found on awaking that he had been unconsciously carried down to the point from which he first set out. God at length had compassion on his unwearied though fruitless exertions, and during his sleep sent an angel with the message, that his exertions were unavailing, as the summit was inaccessible, but as a reward for his indefatigable zeal, he sent him a piece of the ark, the very same which is now preserved as the most valuable relic in the cathedral of Etschmiadsin. The belief in the impossibility of ascending Mount Ararat has in consequence of this tradition, which is sanctioned by the Church, almost become an article of faith, which an Armenian would not renounce even if he were placed in his own proper person upon the summit of the mountain."

After recovering in some measure from the effects of his fall and an attack of fever which ensued, the professor set out on the 18th September to make a second attempt to gain the summit, taking with him a cross ten feet high, which it was proposed to set up on the top of the mountain, with an inscription in honor of Field Marshall Paskewitsch, by whose victories the Russian dominions had been extended to this point. They chose this time the north-east side of the mountain, by which the way was much longer, but not so steep. But as this second attempt also failed, we pass over the account of it, and proceed without farther preface to the third, which succeeded. They however erected the cross on an almost horizontal surface covered with snow, at the height of 15,138 Paris feet above the level of the Euxine, or about 350 feet higher than the summit of Mont Blanc.

"In the mean time the sky cleared up, the air became serene and calm, the mountain too was more quiet, the noise occasioned by the falling of the masses of ice and snow grew less frequent—in short, every thing seemed to indicate that a favorable turn was about to take place in the weather, and I hastened to embrace it for a third attempt to ascend the mountain. On the 25th of September I sent to ask Stepan whether he would join us, but he declined, saying that he had suffered too much from the former excursion to venture again so soon; he however promised to send four stout peasants with three oxen and a driver. Early the next morning, four peasants made their appearance at the camp to join our expedition, and soon after a fifth, who offered himself voluntarily. To them I added two of our soldiers. The deacon again accompanied us, as well as Mr. Hehn, who wished to explore the vegetation at a greater elevation; but he did not intend to proceed beyond the line of snow. The experience of the preceding attempt had convinced me that every thing depended on our passing the first night as closely as possible to this boundary, in order to be able to ascend and return from the summit in one day, and to confine our baggage to what was absolutely necessary. We therefore took with us only three oxen laden with the clothing, wood, and provisions. I also took a small cross carved in oak .... We chose our route toward the same side as before, and, in order to spare ourselves, Abowian and I rode on horseback, wherever the rocky nature of the soil permitted it, as far as the grassy plain Kip-Ghioll, whence we sent

the horses back. Here Mr. Hehn parted from us. It was scarcely twelve o'clock when we reached this point, and, after taking our breakfast, we proceeded in a direction rather more oblique than on our former attempt. The cattle were however unable to follow us so quickly. We therefore halted at some rocks which it would be impossible for them to pass—took each our own share of clothing and wood, and sent back the oxen. At half-past five in the evening we were not far from the snow-line, and considerably higher than the place where we passed the night on our previous excursion. The elevation of this point was 13,036 Paris feet above the level of the sea, and the large masses of rock determined me to take up our quarters here. A fire was soon made, and a warm supper prepared. I had some onion broth, a dish which I would recommend to all mountain travellers, in preference to meat broth, as being extremely warm and invigorating. This being a fast day, poor Abowian was not able to enjoy it. The other Armenians, who strictly adhered to their rules of fasting, contented themselves with bread and the brandy which I distributed among them in a limited quantity, as this cordial must be taken with great caution, especially where the strength has been previously much tried, as it otherwise produces a sense of exhaustion and inclination to sleep. It was a magnificent evening, and, with my eye fixed on the clear sky and the lofty summit which projected against it, and then again on the dark night which was gathering far below and around me, I experienced all those delightful sensations of tranquillity, love, and devotion, that silent reminiscence of the past, that subdued glance into the future, which a traveller never fails to experience when on lofty elevations and under pleasing circumstances. I laid myself down under an overhanging rock of lava, the temperature of the air at four and a half deg., which was tolerably warm, considering our great height.

"At daybreak we rose, and began our journey at half past six. We crossed the last broken declivities in half an hour, and entered the boundary of eternal snow nearly at the same place as in our preceding ascent. In consequence of the increased warmth of the weather, the new-fallen snow, which had facilitated our progress on our previous ascent, had melted away, and again frozen, so that, in spite of the still inconsiderable slope, we were compelled to cut steps in the ice. This very much embarrassed our advance, and added greatly to our fatigue. One of the peasants had remained behind in our resting place, as he felt unwell; two others became exhausted in ascending the side of the glacier. They at first lay down, but soon retreated to our quarters. Without being disheartened by these difficulties, we proceeded, and soon reached the great cleft which marks the upper edge of the declivity of the large glacier, and at ten o'clock we arrived at the great plain of snow which marks the first break on the icy head of Ararat. At the distance of a werst, we saw the cross which we had reared on the 19th of September, but it appeared to me so extremely small, probably on account of its black color, that I almost doubted whether I should be able to find it again with an

ordinary telescope from the plains of the Araxes. In the direction toward the summit, a shorter but at the same time a steeper declivity than the one we had passed lay before us; and between this and the extreme summit there appeared to be only one small hill. After a short repose we passed the first precipice, which was the steepest of all, by hewing out steps in the rock, and after this the next elevation. But here, instead of seeing the ultimate goal of all our difficulties, immediately before us appeared a series of hills, which even concealed the summit from our sight. This rather abated our courage, which had never yielded for a moment so long as we had all our difficulties in view, and our strength, exhausted by the labor of hewing the rock, seemed scarcely commensurate with the attainment of the now invisible object of our wishes. But a review of what had been already accomplished, and of that which might still remain to be done, the proximity of the series of projecting elevations, and a glance at my brave companions, banished my fears and we boldly advanced. We crossed two more hills, and the cold air of the summit blew toward us. I stepped from behind one of the glaciers, and the extreme cone of Ararat lay distinctly before my enraptured eyes. But one more effort was necessary. Only one other icy plain was to be ascended, and at a quarter past three on the 27th of September, O. S., 1829, we stood on the summit of Mount Ararat!"

Having thus happily accomplished his fatiguing and perilous enterprise, our author's first wish and enjoyment was repose; he spread his cloak on the ground, and sitting down contemplated the boundless but desolate prospect around him. He was on a slightly convex, almost circular, platform, about 200 Paris feet in diameter, which at the extremity declines pretty steeply on all sides, particularly toward the S. E. and N. E.; it was the silver crest of Ararat, composed of eternal ice, unbroken by a rock or stone. Toward the east, the summit declined more gently than in any other direction, and was connected by a hollow, likewise covered with perpetual ice, with another rather lower summit, which by Mr. Federow's trigonomical measurement was found to be 187 toises distant from the principal summit. On account of the immense distances nothing could be seen distinctly. The whole valley of the Araxes was covered with a gray mist through which Erivan and Sardarabad appeared as small dark spots; to the south were seen more distinctly the hills behind which lies Bayazeed; to the N. W. the ragged top of Alaghes, covered with vast masses of snow, probably an inaccessible summit; near to Ararat, especially to the S. E. and at a great distance toward the west, are numerous small conical hills, which look like extinct volcanoes; to the E. S. E. was little Ararat, whose head did not appear like a cone, as it does from the plain, but like the top of a square truncated pyramid, with larger and smaller rocky elevations on the edges and in the middle; but what very much surprised Professor Parrot was to see a large portion of Lake Goktschai, which appeared in the N. E. like a beautiful shining dark blue patch, behind the lofty chain of mountains which encloses it on the south,

and which is so high that he never could have believed he should have been able from the top of Ararat to see over its summit into the lake behind it.

Mr. Parrot, having allowed himself time to enjoy this prospect, proceeded to observe his barometer, which he placed precisely in the middle of the summit. The mercury was no higher than fifteen inches, three quarters of a line Paris measure, the temperature being 3 7–10 below the freezing point of the centigrade thermometer. By comparing this observation with that which Mr. Federow made at the same time at the Convent of St. James, the elevation of the summit appears to be 10,272 Paris feet above the convent, and adding to that the height of the latter, the top of Ararat is 16,254 Paris feet, or nearly five wersts, above the level of the sea. While the professor was engaged in his observations, the deacon planted the cross, not precisely on the summit, where it could not have been seen from the plain, as it was only five feet high, but on the N. E. edge, about thirty feet lower than the centre of the summit. The professor and his five companions, viz. the deacon, two Russian soldiers, and two Armenian peasants, having remained three-quarters of an hour on the summit, commenced their descent, which was very fatiguing; but they hastened, as the sun was going down, and before they reached the place where the great cross was erected, it had already sunk below the horizon.

"It was a glorious sight to behold the dark shadows which the mountains in the west cast upon the plain, and then the profound darkness which covered all the valleys, and gradually rose higher and higher on the sides of Ararat, whose icy summit was still illuminated by the beams of the setting sun. But the shadows soon passed over that also, and would have covered our path with a gloom that would have rendered our descent dangerous, had not the sacred lamp of night, opportunely rising above the eastern horizon, cheered us with its welcome beams."

Having passed the night on the same spot as on their ascent, where they found their companions, they arrived the next day at noon at the convent of St. James, and on the following day, Sunday, the 28th of September, O. S., they offered their grateful thanksgiving to Heaven for the success of their arduous enterprise, perhaps not far from the spot where "Noah built an altar to the Lord."

Having thus brought our author to the conclusion of his main object of his journey, our readers will probably be surprised to hear that doubts were soon raised of his having really reached the summit. Many orthodox Armenians had expressed their doubt even before he left the country, and it being afterward publicly asserted by a man eminent in the scientific world that it was impossible, the professor found it expedient to request that all persons in that country who had taken part in the expedition might be examined upon oath, and he has inserted their depositions at full length, entirely confirming his statements.

Beside the account of the ascent of Ararat, to which, as being the most important, we have confined our remarks and extracts, the work contains many interesting observations, especially on the geology of the country, illustrated by a map, and views of Mount

Ararat, &c. The second part contains some scientific observations, measurements, &c. Among these papers there is one "on the Difference of Elevation between the Euxine and the Caspian, and the Connection that may have formerly existed between those two Seas," from which, as the point has been considered by geologists as highly important, we extract a few particulars:—

"Since the publication of the result of the barometrical measurement, which I undertook in the year 1811, with M. Engelhardt, on the north side of the Caucasus, between those two seas, it has been pretty generally taken for granted that the level of the Caspian is 300 Paris feet lower than that of the Euxine. But the more interesting this result has become to the science of physical geography, and the more attention and confidence have been given to it by naturalists, the more important has every experiment become to us, the original authors, which seems either to confirm or to contradict this result."

The professor, having observed that some facts which he details had excited in his mind doubts of the correctness of his former conclusions, thus proceeds:—

"I hoped that my journey to Mount Ararat would afford me a fit opportunity for solving those doubts, by means of a barometrical survey through the steppe north of the Caucasus, along the banks of the river Manetsch, where the two seas are only between 500 and 600 wersts apart. I was assisted in my operation by Mr. Behagel."

Mr. Parrot details very minutely his proceedings on this occasion. He was not able to go the whole way to the Caspian, but he travelled more than half the way, and found his doubts much strengthened. He was therefore very desirous of visiting the country on his return from Mount Ararat. The season was unfavorable; but he obtained a great deal of interesting information, and surveyed a great extent of country, all the particulars of which he gives, and states the results, which we add in his own words:—

"I cannot place less confidence in our measurements than in the survey of 1811, and must therefore consider the position which I formerly laid down, viz. that the Caspian is about 300 feet lower than the Euxine, to be disproved, however flattering it might have been to me to be able to do the contrary. But what higher object can the naturalist, as such, aim at than truth? and what more important duty can he have with respect to the learned world, whose confidence and approbation he desires?"

In an Appendix Mr. Parrot informs us that after the Essay on the comparative height of the Caspian and Euxine was printed, he had received a letter from Baron Alexander von Humboldt; in which, considering several new facts and arguments on both sides of the question, he expresses a wish to see the matter more thoroughly examined in a future treatise. Baron von Humboldt himself, in his journey through Southern Russia to the Caspian, made numerous barometrical observations, with his learned fellow-travellers, Messrs. Rose and Ehrenberg, which, at least, do not indicate a lower elevation of the Caspian than the sea. These doubts are strongly confirmed by the results of the observations of other scientific travellers in those countries. But, notwithstanding these

reasons, Mr. von Humboldt, considering the rigorous accuracy which is now justly demanded in such matters, thinks that the result of the survey of 1811, which makes the Caspian 300 feet below the Euxine, ought not to be rejected till another can be opposed to it which has higher claims to confidence. He therefore thinks it necessary, if the new survey is to be opposed to that of 1811, that the professor shall enter more fully into details, to show the value of the new operations compared with the former. Mr. Parrot enters into various reflections on the subject, and in the end is induced to infer "that, in the operations of the year 1811, there may have been some defect in one of the two barometers; and, the measurement being also in the open air, at the mean temperature of 16 deg. Reaumur, on our journey out, and of 5 deg. Reaumur on our return; if the second barometer—that is, mine—had a small portion of air in it, it must on the way out have been too low, and on the return too high, (and of this no notice was taken in the calculations,) and the termination of the first survey, being the Caspian, would appear too low, and that of the second, being the Black Sea, too high. Three hundred feet divided among fifty stations, requires only a constant error of eight-hundredths of a line; and this might occur if the second barometer had a portion of air in it, which at one time was 5 deg. R. above, and at another 5 deg. R. below, the temperature which was fixed upon as the mean differences of the two barometers." Mr. Parrot is positively certain that there was no such defect in the barometers employed in his operations in 1830.

We might have extended our remarks by comparing Professor Parrot's observations with the works of Chardin, Tournefort, Morier, Ker Porter, Kotzebue, Sir William Ouseley, and others; but as none of these ascended, nor, except Tournefort, made any serious attempt to ascend, the mountain, they can convey no information on the point to which we have confined ourselves. We must add, to the honor of the Emperor Nicholas, that, on the return of the travellers, he ordered the whole of their expenses to be repaid, conferred on Professor Parrot the order of St. Anne, and gave to Mr. Federow, the fine theodolite which he had used in his surveys, with a sum of money, and a diamond ring to the Jager, whose zeal and activity had been of the greatest service.

We have lately received an account of an ascent of Mount Ararat in the middle of August, 1834, accomplished by a Mr. Antonomoff, a young man holding an office in Armenia, who was induced to make the attempt partly to satisfy his own curiosity, and partly out of regard for the reputation of Professor Parrot; who having actually reached the summit of the mountain is still obstinately denied, particularly by the inmates of the convent, who fancy that the truth would lower the opinion of the people with regard to the sanctity of their mountain. Mr. Antonomoff succeeded in reaching the summit: the large cross set up by Parrot was nearly covered with snow; the smaller cross planted on the summit was not to be found, and was probably buried in the snow. One of his guides, who had also accompanied Mr. Parrot, showed him the spot where it had been set up. He asked some persons to look while he was at the top, and try if they could see him. On his coming down,

however, nobody would admit having seen him there; they all affirmed that to reach the summit was impossible; and though he and his guides agreed, the magistrates of the village refused, not only to give him a certificate of his having ascended the mountain, but even of his guides having declared that he had done so.

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

THE MARTYR'S TRIUMPH, OR LAST HOURS OF ST. PAUL.

BY J. T. A.

PAUL was dragged before the furious Nero a second time. Knowing the relentless disposition of the tyrant, he had nothing to expect from him but the most cruel torture his malignity could invent. His guardian angel, who, in all similar cases of peril, had intimated that he would be delivered out of the hands of his enemies, now gave him no such assurance. On the contrary, he had an unequivocal premonition that his last battle was about to be fought. For this he girded himself. As he surveyed the fields of his labors, Damascus, Jerusalem, Corinth, Athens, Laodicea, Decapolis, Ephesus, Galatia, Collosse, Sardis, and others, his bowels of compassion yearned over the flocks he had been instrumental in raising up, and whom he must now leave in the midst of the devouring beasts of prey let loose by the demon of persecution to glut themselves with the blood of the saints. Never again would he be permitted to encourage and animate their hearts by his presence and his counsels—never again witness their expressions of ecstasy at his arrival among them. His sun was fast sinking below the horizon. But it brought in a tranquil night.

Solicitous rather to fill up the fragment of time yet remaining in doing good, than to avoid the sufferings before him, he hastened to write his last Epistle to Timothy. He addressed him as his own son in the Gospel, and affectionately exhorted him to a faithful discharge of all his duties as a minister and a Christian. Under circumstances which would have agitated an infidel philosopher, and caused the mighty men of the earth to quake as Belteshazzar did when he saw the mysterious hand-writing upon the wall, he calmly said, "I am ready to be offered, and the time of my departure is at hand." Already he had become familiar with the howlings of the wild beasts roaming through the tyrant's parks, and the shrieks of the dying whom they were by turns employed to devour. The fires which were kindled around the bodies of his suffering companions had illumined the heavens above him, and the light thereof had stolen into the gloomy recesses of his prison. The coarse and blasphemous shouts of throngs of impious pagans, at witnessing the cruelty practised upon the dying martyrs, fell discordantly upon his ear. He knew they awaited his arrival, as the potent enemy of their gods, their altars, and their licentious abominations, to swell their notes of vengeful triumph to the full. But none of these things moved him. He longed with intense desire for the final hour, but it was with becoming submission and Christian patience.

He paused to survey the past; and all was right. All he could

do to weaken the dominion of Satan and plant the standard of holiness in the earth, he had done. From the time he had entered the holy warfare, not an hour had been lost, nor its labors misapplied. Instant in season, and out of season—in all the social circles where he moved—in the synagogues, and schools—before philosophers, and kings, and courts—in prisons, palaces, and ships—on continents, and islands—in the classic groves where Socrates and Plato had philosophized, and where inspired bards had sung—under all circumstances of adversity and prosperity—of want and plenty—he had ever stood forward in bold defence of the everlasting Gospel. All his powers and all his skill were brought to centre upon this single point, until, by a kind of habitual impulse, they never varied from their wonted action. Under the influence of his resistless appeals, the sophistry of the schools and the sanctity of the oracles lost their power—kings and governors trembled—priests and altars long consecrated to the service of idols were stripped of their bewitching enchantments, and multitudes were brought, clothed in their right minds, to worship at the foot of the cross. In looking down through the vista of the past, he saw the way that had been cleared before him. In the lively images of gone-by scenes, idols bowed down in confusion, licentiousness and revelry withered and disappeared, profaneness was struck dumb, bigotry raged in chains and lost its power to harm, and things lovely and of good report were strewed in all the consecrated path. What holy ardor animated his soul while with the honesty of a martyr he contemplated the past, and aspired to penetrate the future! His cup was now full. No worldly thought, or care, or fear, obtruded to distract his meditations. Wealth and worldly honors were alike nought to him. Thrones and diadems, such as tyrants struggle for, had no charms to divert the eye of his faith from its fixed gaze on everduring ones in heaven. All his thoughts and feelings were absorbed in a holy breathing after God and glory, and lost at once to the desires of the world, and the fear of death. In the vision of his ecstasy he exclaimed, 'I have fought the good fight, I have finished my course, I have kept the faith; henceforth there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous Judge, shall give me at that day.' Never till now did he deem it fixedly sure. The faith of assurance that he was a child of God he certainly had long before; but not that his final triumphs were unconditionally certain. By the defection of others, his soul had been pained and admonished. Demas had forsaken him, allured by the love of this present world. He had witnessed, and faithfully recorded, the admonitory truth, that the love of money is the root of all evil, which, while some coveted after, they had erred from the faith—that they, even believers, who would be rich, had fallen into temptation, and a snare, and many foolish and hurtful lusts which drown men in destruction and perdition. In the day of his warfare, with such examples and admonitions before him, he had learned to bring his body under and keep it in subjection, lest after he had preached to others he himself should become a castaway. But there is a point, even in this life, beyond which apostasy is no more to be feared. That point the triumphant apostle had attained. To the consolations of the internal witness that he was in favor with

God, was now added the new and transporting assurance that his warfare was ended. Temptation had lost its power, and the world had no charms to beguile. The spirit soared upward; nor was there any tendency in its nature to retard its flight. There is divinity as well as poetry in the sweet verse we sing—

> 'Could we but climb where Moses stood,
> And view the landscape o'er,
> Not Jordan's streams nor death's cold flood
> Should fright us from the shore.'

From the elevation whence our Divine Lord intends to take his saints directly home, he will never allow them to be removed. This is true of ordinary believers, who to that very hour have much of the unfaithfulness and frailties of their lives to deplore. Here on the confines of the better world he meets them to arm their spirits against the terrors of death. There is a holy hour of triumph to the devout Christian, though his faith have been comparatively feeble, and his hopes faltering; and that is his last hour on the shores of time. Upon this narrow shore, however he may tremble to approach it, he shall find that his feet stand strong. If this be true of ordinary believers, how mighty in this high tower was the holy apostle, who was the chief of all the apostles, in labors, in sacrifices, and in success? The terrors of a martyr's death were before him. Scourges, and scoffing, and tortures the most appalling to human weakness, were open to his view. To honor God and commend his cause in passing through the scenes which awaited him, the special energies of grace were needed; and for this they were imparted. His noble spirit towered above the low menacings of a guilty, degraded multitude, who waited to glut their vengeful souls with his innocent blood. With the rage and howlings of demons they rush into his prison, but he seems not to know it; they drag him forth, but he heeds it not. Like his Master, he is led as a lamb to the slaughter, but opens not his mouth. While all is noise and confusion around him, his own soul is calm as the sunshine of Eden. To scoffing and infidel spectators the scene is delusive; he seems a prisoner, but he is a victor. The reality of the issue is hidden in his own bosom, and the contemplation of it inspires his soul with holy triumph. Cæsar returned from his Gallic wars, and entered Rome as a conqueror. Paul leaves the imperial city, and is treated as a criminal. The acclamations with which Cæsar was hailed by his subjects were short, and he died a slave to ambition and folly. Thousands of holy beings wait around to proclaim the triumphs of the Christian soldier, and escort him to the paradise of God. In his nearer approach to the fatal hour, he feels the inspiration of Heaven moving upon his soul in all its glowing energies. Once he saw the glory of the Divine Redeemer shining above the brightness of the sun at mid-day, but the glory disappeared, and he was left to baffle with the storms of life. Once, too, he was admitted to the third heaven, but remanded again to earth. With the remembrance of those anticipations of the excellent glory, and an assurance that soon he should inherit it to be separated from it no more, with an alacrity which astonished his enemies, he hastens to the scene

of blood, and bows his neck to the fatal block. No chains nor cords are necessary to secure him. The final blow is struck, and amid the shouts of infuriated foes, his senses close to terrestrial objects, and his soul soars to the world of bliss. Thus to die is gain, though it cost a world of suffering, sacrifice, and toil.

MORAL EDUCATION.

From Essays on the Principles of Morality.

BY JONATHAN DYMOND.

To a good moral education, two things are necessary: That the young should receive *information* respecting what is right and what is wrong; and that they should be furnished with *motives* to adhere to what is right. We should communicate moral knowledge and moral dispositions.

I. In the endeavor to attain these ends, there is one great pervading difficulty, consisting in the imperfection and impurity of the actual moral condition of mankind. Without referring at present to that moral guidance with which all men, however circumstanced, are furnished, it is evident that much of the practical moral education which an individual receives is acquired by habit, and from the actions, opinions, and general example of those around him. It is thus that, to a great extent, he acquires his moral education. He adopts the notions of others, acquires insensibly a similar set of principles, and forms to himself a similar scale of right and wrong. It is manifest that the learner in such a school will often be taught amiss. Yet how can we prevent him from being so taught? or what system of moral education is likely to avail in opposition to the contagion of example and the influence of notions insensibly, yet constantly, instilled? It is to little purpose to take a boy every morning into a closet, and there teach him moral and religious truths for an hour, if, so soon as the hour is expired, he is left for the remainder of the day in circumstances in which these truths are not recommended by any living examples.

One of the first and greatest requisites therefore in moral education, is a situation in which the knowledge and the practice of morality is inculcated by the habitually virtuous conduct of others. The boy who is placed in such a situation is in an efficient moral school, though he may never hear delivered formal rules of conduct: so that if parents should ask how they may best give their child a moral education, I answer, Be virtuous yourselves.

The young, however, are unavoidably subjected to bad example as to good: many who may see consistent practical lessons of virtue in their parents' parlors, must see much that is contrary elsewhere; and we must, if we can, so rectify the moral perceptions and invigorate the moral dispositions, that the mind shall effectually resist the insinuation of evil.

Religion is the basis of morality. He that would impart moral knowledge must begin by imparting a knowledge of God. We are not advocates of formal instruction—of lesson-learning—in moral

any more than in intellectual education. Not that we affirm it undesirable to make a young person commit to memory maxims of religious truth and moral duty. These things may be right, but they are not the really efficient means of forming the moral character of the young. These maxims should recommend themselves to the judgment and affections, and this can hardly be hoped while they are presented only in a didactic and insulated form to the mind. It is one of the characteristics of the times, that there is a prodigious increase of books that are calculated to benefit while they delight the young. These are effective instruments in teaching morality. A simple narrative, (of *facts* if it be possible,) in which integrity of principle and purity of conduct are recommended to the affections as well as to the judgment,—without affectation, or improbabilities, or factitious sentiment, is likely to effect substantial good. And if these associations are judiciously renewed, the good is likely to be permanent as well as substantial. It is not a light task to write such books nor to select them. Authors color their pictures too highly. They must, indeed, interest the young, or they will not be read with pleasure; but the anxiety to give interest is too great, and the effects may be expected to diminish as the narrative recedes from congeniality to the actual condition of mankind.

A judicious parent will often find that the moral culture of his child may be promoted without seeming to have the object in view. There are many opportunities which present themselves for associating virtue with his affections,—for throwing in among the accumulating mass of mental habits principles of rectitude which shall pervade and meliorate the whole.

As the mind acquires an increased capacity of judging, I would offer to the young person a sound exhibition, if such can be found, of the *principles* of morality. He should know with as great distinctness as possible, not only his duty, but the reasons of it. It has very unfortunately happened, that those who have professed to deliver the principles of morality, have commonly intermingled error with truth, or have set out with propositions fundamentally unsound. These books effect, it is probable, more injury than benefit. Their truths, for they contain truths, are frequently deduced from fallacious premises,—from premises from which it is equally easy to deduce errors. The fallacies of the moral philosophy of Paley are now in part detected by the public: there was a time when his opinions were regarded as more nearly oracular than now, and at that time and up to the present time, the book has effectually confused the moral notions of multitudes of readers. If the reader thinks that the principles which have been proposed in the present essays are just, he might derive some assistance from them in conducting the moral education of his elder children.

There is negative as well as positive education,—some things to avoid, as well as some to do. Of the things which are to be avoided the most obvious is, unfit society for the young. If a boy mixes without restraint in whatever society he pleases, his education will in general be practically bad; because the world in general is bad: its moral condition is below the medium between perfect purity and utter depravation. Nevertheless, he must at some period mix in society with almost all sorts of men, and therefore he must be pre-

pared for it. Very young children should be excluded if possible from *all* unfit association, because they acquire habits before they possess a sufficiency of counteracting principle. But if a parent has, within his own house, sufficiently endeavored to confirm and invigorate the moral character of his child, it were worse than fruitless to endeavor to retain him in the seclusion of a monk. He should feel the necessity and acquire the power of resisting temptation by being subjected, gradually subjected, to that temptation which *must* one day be presented to him. In the endlessly-diversified circumstances of families, no suggestion of prudence will be applicable to all; but if a parent is conscious that the moral tendency of his domestic associations is good, it will probably be wise to send his children to day schools rather than to send them wholly from his family. Schools, as moral instruments, contain much both of good and evil: perhaps no means will be more effectual in securing much of the good and avoiding much of the evil, than that of allowing his children to spend their evenings and early mornings at home.

In ruminating upon moral education, we cannot, at least in this age of reading, disregard the influence of books. That a young person should not read every book, is plain. No discrimination can be attempted here; but it may be observed that the best species of discrimination is that which is supplied by a rectified condition of the mind itself. The best species of prohibition is not that which a parent pronounces, but that which is pronounced by purified tastes and inclinations in the mind of the young. Not that the parent or tutor can expect that all or many of his children will adequately make this judicious discrimination; but if he cannot do every thing, he can do much. There are many persons whom a contemptible or vicious book disgusts, notwithstanding the fascinations which it may contain. This disgust is the result of education in a large sense; and some portion of this disgust and of the discrimination which results from it, may be induced into the mind of a boy by having made him familiar with superior productions. He who is accustomed to good society feels little temptation to join in the vociferations of an alehouse.

And here it appears necessary to advert to the moral tendency of studying, without selection, the ancient classics. If there are objections to the study resulting from this tendency, they are to be superadded to those which were stated in the last chapter on intellectual grounds; and both united will present motives to hesitation on the part of a parent which he cannot, with any propriety, disregard. The mode in which the writings of the Greek and Latin authors operate is not an ordinary mode. We do not approach them as we approach ordinary books, but with a sort of habitual admiration which makes their influence, whatever be its nature, peculiarly strong. That admiration would be powerful alike for good or for evil. Whether the tendency be good or evil, the admiration will make it great.

Now previous to inquiring what the positive ill tendency of these writings is,—what is *not* their tendency? They are pagan books for Christian children. They neither inculcate Christianity, nor Christian dispositions, nor the love of Christianity. But their tendency is not negative merely. They do inculcate that which is

adverse to Christianity and to Christian dispositions. They set up, as exalted virtues, that which our own religion never countenanced, if it has not specifically condemned. They censure as faults, dispositions which our own religion enjoins, or dispositions so similar that the young will not discriminate between them. If we enthusiastically admire these works, who will pretend that we shall not admire the moral qualities which they applaud? Who will pretend that the mind of a young person accurately adjusts his admiration to those subjects only which Christianity approves? No: we admire them as a whole; not perhaps every sentence or every sentiment, but we admire their general spirit and character. In a word, we admire that which our own religion teaches us not to imitate. And what makes the effect the more intense is, that we do this at the period of life when we are every day *acquiring* our moral notions. We mingle them up with our early associations respecting right and wrong—with associations which commonly extend their influence over the remainder of life.*

A very able essay, which obtained the Norrisian medal at Cambridge for 1825, forcibly illustrates these propositions; and the illustration is so much the more valuable because it appears to have been undesigned. The title is, "No valid argument can be drawn from the incredulity of the heathen philosophers, against the truth of the Christian religion."† The object of the work is to show, by a reference to their writings, that the general system of their opinions, feelings, prejudices, principles, and conduct was utterly incongruous with Christianity; and that, in consequence of these principles, &c., they actually did reject the religion. This is shown with great clearness of evidence: it is shown that a class of men who thought and wrote as these philosophers thought and wrote, would be extremely indisposed to adopt the religion and morality which Christ had introduced. Now this appears to me to be conclusive of the question as to the present tendency of their writings. If the principles and prejudices of these persons indisposed them to the acceptance of Christianity, those prejudices and principles will indispose the man who admires and imbibes them in the present day. Not that they will now produce the effect in the same *degree*. We are now surrounded with many other media by which opinions and principles are induced, and these are frequently influenced by the spirit of Christianity. The study and the admiration of these writings may not therefore be expected to make men absolutely reject Christianity, but to indispose them, in a greater or less degree, for the hearty acceptance of Christian principles as their rules of conduct.

Propositions have been made to supply young persons with selected ancient authors, or perhaps with editions in which exceptionable passages are expunged. I do not think that this will greatly avail. It is not, I think, the broad indecencies of Ovid, nor any other insulated class of sentiments or descriptions that effects the great mischief; it is the pervading spirit and tenor of the whole,—a spirit and tenor from which Christianity is not only excluded, but

* 'All education which inculcates Christian opinions with pagan tastes, awakens conscience but to tamper with it.' Schimmelpenninck: Biblical Fragments.

† By James Amiraux Jeremie.

which is actually and greatly adverse to Christianity. There is indeed one considerable benefit that is likely to result from such a selection, and from expunging particular passages. Boys in ordinary schools do not learn enough of the classics to acquire much of their general moral spirit, but they acquire enough to be influenced, and injuriously influenced, by being familiar with licentious language: and at any rate he essentially subserves the interests of morality who diminishes the power of opposing influences, though he cannot wholly destroy it.

Finally, the mode in which intellectual education, generally, is acquired, may be made either an auxiliary of moral education or the contrary. A young person may store his mind with literature and science, and together with the acquisition, either corrupt his principles or amend and invigorate them. The world is so abundantly supplied with the means of knowledge—there are so many paths to the desired temple, that we may choose our own and yet arrive at it. He that thinks he cannot possess sufficient knowledge without plucking the fruit of unhallowed trees, surely does not know how boundless is the variety and number of those which bear wholesome fruit. He cannot indeed know every thing without studying the bad: which, however, is no more to be recommended in literature than in life. A man cannot know all the varieties of human society, without taking up his abode with felons and cannibals.

II. But in reality, the second division of moral education is the more important of the two,—*the supply of motives to adhere to what is right*. Our great deficiency is not in knowledge, but in obedience. Of the offences which an individual commits against the moral law, the great majority are committed *in the consciousness* that he is doing wrong. Moral education, therefore, should be directed not so much to informing the young what they ought to do, as to inducing those moral dispositions and principles which will make them adhere to what they know to be right.

The human mind, of itself, is in a state something like that of men in a state of nature, where separate and conflicting desires and motives are not restrained by any acknowledged head. Government, as it is necessary to society, is necessary in the individual mind. To the internal community of the heart the great question is, Who shall be the legislator? who shall regulate and restrain the passions and affections? who shall command and direct the conduct?—To these questions the breast of every man supplies him with an answer. He knows, because he feels, that there is a rightful legislator in his own heart: he knows, because he feels, that he *ought* to obey it.

By whatever designation the reader may think it fit to indicate this legislator, whether he calls it the law written in the heart, or moral sense, or moral instinct, or conscience, we arrive at one practical truth at last; that to the moral legislation which does actually subsist in the human mind, it is right that the individual should conform his conduct.

The great point then is, to induce him to do this,—to induce him, when inclination and this law are at variance, to sacrifice the inclination to the law: and for this purpose it appears proper, first, to impress him with a high, that is with an accurate, estimate of the

authority of the law itself. We have seen that this law embraces an actual expression of the will of God; and we have seen that even although the conscience may not always be adequately enlightened, it nevertheless constitutes, to the individual, an authoritative law. It is to the conscientious *internal apprehension* of rectitude that we should conform our conduct. Such appears to be the will of God.

It should therefore be especially inculcated, that the dictate of conscience is never to be sacrificed; that whatever may be the consequences of conforming to it, they are to be ventured. Obedience is to be unconditional,—no questions about the utility of the law,—no computations of the consequences of obedience,—no presuming upon the lenity of the Divine government. 'It is important so to regulate the understanding and imagination of the young, that they may be prepared to obey, even where they *do not see the reasons* of the commands of God. We should certainly endeavor, where we can, to show them the reasons of the Divine commands, and this more and more as their understandings gain strength; but let it be obvious to them that we do ourselves consider it as *quite sufficient* if God has commanded us to do or to avoid any thing.'*

Obedience to this internal legislator is not, like obedience to civil government, enforced. The law is promulgated, but the passions and inclinations can refuse obedience if they will. Penalties and rewards are indeed annexed, but he who braves the penalty and disregards the reward may continue to violate the law. Obedience therefore must be voluntary, and hence the paramount importance, in moral education, of habitually subjecting the will. 'Parents,' says Hartley, 'should labor from the earliest dawnings of understanding and desire, to check the growing *obstinacy of the will*, curb all sallies of passion, impress the deepest, most amiable, reverential, and awful impressions of God, a future state, and all sacred things.' 'Religious persons in all periods, who have possessed the light of revelation, have, in a particular manner, been sensible that the habit of *self-control* lies at the foundation of moral worth.'† There is nothing mean or mean-spirited in this. It is magnanimous in philosophy, as it is right in morals. It is the subjugation of the lower qualities of our nature to wisdom and to goodness.

The subjugation of the will to the dictates of a higher law must be endeavored, if we would succeed, almost in infancy and in very little things; from the earliest dawnings, as Hartley says, of understanding and desire. Children must first obey their parents and those who have the care of them. The habit of sacrificing the will to another judgment being thus acquired, the mind is prepared to sacrifice the will to the judgment pronounced within itself. Show, in every practicable case, *why* you cross the inclinations of a child. Let obedience be as little blind as it may be. It is a great failing of some parents that they will not descend from the imperative mood, and that they seem to think it a derogation from their authority to place their orders upon any other foundation than their wills. But if the child sees—and children are wonderfully quick-sighted in such things—if the child sees that the *will* is that which governs his

* Carpenter: Principles of Education. † Ibid.

parent, how shall he efficiently learn that the will should *not* govern himself?

The internal law carries with it the voucher of its own reasonableness. A person does not need to be told that it is proper and right to obey that law. The perception of this rectitude and propriety is coincident with the dictates themselves. Let the parent, then, very frequently refer his son and his daughter to their own minds; let him teach them to seek for instruction there. There are dangers on every hand, and dangers even here. The parent must refer them, if it be possible, not merely to conscience, but to enlightened conscience. He must unite the two branches of moral education, and communicate the knowledge while he endeavours to induce the practice of morality. Without this, his children may obey their consciences, and yet be in error and perhaps in fanaticism. With it, he may hope that their conduct will be both conscientious, and pure, and right. Nevertheless, an habitual reference to the internal law is the great, the primary concern; for the great majority of a man's moral perceptions are accordant with truth.

There is one consequence attendant upon this habitual reference to the internal law which is highly beneficial to the moral character. It leads us to fulfil the wise instruction of antiquity, Know thyself. It makes us look within ourselves; it brings us acquainted with the little and busy world that is within us, with its many inhabitants and their dispositions, and with their tendencies to evil or to good. This is valuable knowledge; and knowledge for want of which, it may be feared, the virtue of many has been wrecked in the hour of tempest. A man's enemies are those of his own household; and if he does not know their insidiousness and their strength, if he does not know upon what to depend for assistance, nor where is the probable point of attack, it is not likely that he will efficiently resist. Such a man is in the situation of the governor of an unprepared and surprised city. He knows not to whom to apply for effectual help, and finds perhaps that those whom he has loved and trusted are the first to desert or betray him. He feebly resists, soon capitulates, and at last scarcely knows why he did not make a successful defence.

It is to be regretted that, in the moral education which commonly obtains, whether formal or incidental, there is little that is calculated to produce this acquaintance with our own minds; little that refers us to ourselves, and much, very much, that calls and sends us away. Of many it is not too much to say that they receive almost no moral *culture*. The plant of virtue is suffered to grow as a tree grows in a forest, and takes its chance of storm or sunshine. This, which is good for oaks and pines, is not good for man. The general atmosphere around him is infected, and the juices of the moral plant are often themselves unhealthy.

In the nursery, formularies and creeds are taught; but this does not refer the child to its own mind. Indeed, unless a wakeful solicitude is maintained by those who teach, the tendency is the reverse. The mind is kept from habits of introversion, even in the offices of religion, by practically directing its attention to the tongue. 'Many, it is to be feared, imagine that they are giving their children religious

principles when they are only teaching them religious truths.' You cannot impart moral education as you teach a child to spell.

From the nursery a boy is sent to school. He spends six or eight hours of the day in the school room, and the remainder is employed in the sports of boyhood. Once, or it may be twice, in the day he repeats a form of prayer; and on one day in the week he goes to church. There is very little in all this to make him acquainted with the internal community; and habit, if nothing else, calls his reflections away.

From school or from college the business of life is begun. It can require no argument to show that the ordinary pursuits of life have little tendency to direct a man's meditations to the moral condition of his own mind, or that they have much tendency to employ them upon other and very different things.

Nay, even the offices of public devotion have almost a tendency to keep the mind without itself. What if we say that the self-contemplation which even natural religion is likely to produce, is obstructed by the forms of Christian worship? 'The transitions from one office of devotion to another, are contrived like scenes in the drama, to supply the mind with a succession of diversified engagements.'* This supply of diversified engagements, whatever may be its value in other respects, has evidently the tendency of which we speak.† It is not designed to supply, and it does not supply, the opportunity for calmness of recollection. A man must abstract himself from the external service if he would investigate the character and dispositions of the inmates of his own breast. Even the architecture and decorations of churches come in aid of the general tendency. They make the eye an auxiliary of the ear, and both keep the mind at a distance from those concerns which are peculiarly its own; from contemplating its own weaknesses and wants; and from applying to God for that peculiar help which perhaps itself only needs, and which God only can impart. So little are the course of education and the subsequent engagements of life calculated to foster this great auxiliary of moral character. It is difficult, in the wide world, to foster it as much as is needful. Nothing but wakeful solicitude on the part of the parent can be expected sufficiently to direct the mind within, while the general tendency of our associations and habits is to keep it without. Let him, however, do what he can. The habitual reference to the dictates of conscience may be promoted in the very young mind. This habit, like others, becomes strong by exercise. He that is faithful in little things is entrusted with more; and this is true in respect of knowledge as in respect of other departments of the Christian life. Fidelity of obedience is commonly succeeded by increase of light, and every act of obedience and every addition to knowledge furnishes new and still stronger inducements to persevere in the same course. Acquaintance with ourselves is the inseparable attendant

* Paley, p. 3, b. 5, c. 5.

† The author does not mean to insinuate any disrespect for the offices of public devotion, which he elsewhere commends in strong and vigorous terms, but only to show the necessity of an intense application to the single point of retired self-contemplation, into a neglect of which all external objects of interest have a tendency almost insensibly to betray us.—Eds.

of this course. We know the character and dispositions of our own inmates by frequent association with them: and if this fidelity to the internal law, and consequent knowledge of the internal world, be acquired in *early* life, the parent may reasonably hope that it will never wholly lose its efficiency amid the bustles and anxieties of the world.

AN INTERESTING BIOGRAPHY.

Charleston, June 29th, 1836.

MESSRS. EDITORS,—By presenting your readers with the following obituary notice, you will no doubt promote the good cause of experimental and practical piety among them.

Thomas Fletcher Sewell was born in Staunton, Va., 18th Sept., 1822, and died in Charleston, S. C., June 25th, 1836, aged fourteen years, nine months, and seven days.

From the first dawn of reason it was a matter of solicitude on our part that Thomas should have a religious education, hence, while his teachers were engaged in cultivating his mind, we put forth our humble endeavours to impress his heart with the great doctrines and moral duties of the Gospel. It will be seen, in the sequel, that our labour was not in vain in the Lord. Nearly two years have passed away since our dear boy (at the Wesley chapel in Baltimore city) was brought to experience a radical change of heart. He joined the Church on probation, and after the expiration of six months, was admitted into full membership by the Rev. William Hamilton. When his name was announced, Brother Hamilton observed, that he was the son of one of the stationed ministers, and then prayed that the choicest blessings of Heaven might rest upon him. It will afford my former worthy colleague some satisfaction to learn that his prayer was answered.

We can truly say, that our son was a thoughtful, intelligent, and obedient child. The ordinances of the Lord's house and the means of grace were his delight; when his strength would admit, his seat was never vacant in the sanctuary or in the class-room. To a considerable extent, he was a counsellor to me, a comfort to his mother, and a guide to his younger brothers and sisters. Often would he take his seat in the family circle, and edify all around with his pious conversation and modest deportment. His disease terminated in an obstinate chronic affection of the stomach and bowels, which it was beyond the power of medicine to remove. He observed to me on one occasion, "that he was altogether resigned to his affliction;" I added, "Well you may, my son; when God has declared, that all things shall work together for your good, and an apostle could *even rejoice* in *tribulation*." He replied, "Tribulation worketh patience, patience experience, experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in the heart," (here he was so full he could proceed no farther,) I subjoined, "by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us." At another time he remarked, "I have not been tempted for some weeks until yesterday, when the thought rushed into my mind,—'all Christians are tempted, you are not tempted, therefore you are no Christian.' I soon saw," said he,

"that this was a stratagem of the enemy to rob me of my confidence; for at the moment that he was telling me I was not tempted, he was tempting me to believe I was no Christian."

Often, when going to fill my appointments, this dear child would take me by the hand and in great weakness walk by my side to the place of worship, and having been seated, he would listen with prayerful attention to the discourse, and on our return from church, he has more than once given me an epitome of the sermon worthy of an older head.

We did hope, that our removal to the south would have produced a favourable change in his health; this also was the opinion of his physician. The subsequent history of his case proved, however, that we were mistaken. Paroxysm followed paroxysm, until he was reduced almost to a walking skeleton. Finally, he was thrown upon his bed; here he lay for upwards of seven weeks, but, during the whole of that time, I do not recollect to have heard a murmuring word escape his lips. He was a monument of meekness, patience, and resignation. In his sufferings the *grace of God* was manifested in an eminent degree. He would often say, "The will of the Lord be done,"—"Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." He said to me, with peculiar emphasis, "I am a poor, unworthy, unprofitable servant, but my Redeemer is very good to me, better to me than all my fears." He requested me to send his love to his friends and relations in Baltimore, and inform them of his peaceful and happy end.

Having, on one occasion, been told he desired to see me, I entered his room, and found him solemnly engaged in self-examination. He observed, "There are certain marks laid down in Scripture by which we may try ourselves, and come at a knowledge of our state." He then quoted, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye have love one for another." "Now," said he, (with tears gushing from his eyes,) "I love every creature God has made." He went on, "This is the love of God, that ye keep his commandments." He then remarked, "Here I have failed and come short." After a little conversation, in which I endeavoured to encourage him, the clouds were dissipated, and never again were they permitted to darken his prospects. He would sometimes say, "Glory, glory to God; all is well—all is peace—no pain—no doubts—no fears; my way is straight to the haven of rest." Coming in to see him early on Sabbath morning, he reached out his arms, and having embraced and kissed me, he gave me to understand he wished to have the sacrament administered to him. His request was attended to on the afternoon of the same day. It was a feeling time; we wept, and sung, and rejoiced together. At a subsequent period, the sacrament was again administered to him by the Rev. J. M'Coll, one of my colleagues, who was about to travel for his health, and whom Thomas greatly loved; but never expected to see again in the flesh. "On Jordan's stormy banks I stand," was his favourite hymn; he would pitch the tune, and when we supposed he was almost too feeble to speak, he would sing so loud, that the sweet intonations of his voice could be heard in the next room.

Many persons would call in to see him, and while they were seated at his bedside, it would frequently appear as if the eloquence of heaven flowed from his lips. One of the visitors remarked, "I

have doubted sometimes of the accounts I have read of the happy deaths of children; but I am a skeptic no longer." If he desired any thing, and we intimated that there was an impropriety in letting him have it, he would yield the point at once. He remarked to his mother, that the fact of his having been a dutiful son, afforded him a satisfaction he could not express. When his sufferings became in any measure acute, he would mourn, and then cry out, "The will of the Lord be done;" and I recollect to have heard him repeat these lines,

> "God nothing does or suffers to be done,
> But thou wouldst do thyself, couldst thou but see
> The end of all events as well as he!"

As the time of his departure drew near, (when speaking of his class-mates in Baltimore,) he said, "Give my love to J. D., tell him, 'I have suffered no man to take my crown.' Remember me to my dear Boyd; he is the first-fruits of my labour, and he loved me dearly. Tell him, 'I have gone to rest; be faithful and meet me in heaven.' Give my love to Brother Joseph France; tell him, 'It has pleased the Lord to take me to himself; but he has left him here to be a useful man in his Church.'" These were lads about his age, with whom he was wont to take sweet counsel.

In the same proportion that the prospects of his recovery grew dark, the prospects of his future felicity grew bright. He would say,

> "Jesus can make a dying bed
> Feel soft as downy pillows are, &c."

He observed to me, "My home is over Jordan;" and to his dear mother he remarked, "*The Lord has cleansed my heart.*" To the sisters, who sat up with him night after night, (for they were very kind,) he said, "May the blessing of an obedient son come upon you," (at the same time looking at his mother and myself, and adding,) "if you say so." On Saturday morning we saw that he was sinking fast into the arms of death; but his soul was untrammelled by the weakness of his body. He whispered out, "Glory, glory." After this he said but little until near five o'clock in the afternoon. Having obtained relief from a violent struggle, his mother said, "Do not fear, or be dismayed, my dear son." He replied, "O no, no, no!" Some of the friends coming in, we commenced singing his favourite hymn. He lay in a listening attitude, and at times a smile would steal over his countenance. Having finished the hymn, he asked for some drink; but on making the attempt, he failed to swallow it; discovering this, he said, "*I shall drink the flowing fountain.*" Pointing to his mother, he intimated, that he would be her guardian angel. He then gave us the parting kiss, and, reaching out his dying hand, bade those friends farewell, who were surrounding his bed. I asked him, if all was peace, to raise his finger; he did so, and having opened his expressive eyes, as if to give the last lingering look of love, he immediately afterward, without a struggle, sigh, or groan, fell asleep in Jesus.

The loss of this our eldest son is a heavy stroke, but we regard it as a stroke of love. We mourn, we deeply mourn; but grace has kept us from murmuring. The most beautiful flower of our little

garden has been cut down. We cannot theorize on a subject of this kind; experiment will tax our feelings, and test our principles. We may say of our child, in conclusion, that he ripened soon, and soon he was taken from us. I remain, yours in the best of bonds,

JAMES SEWELL.

For the Magazine and Quarterly Review.

THE DYING SAINT.

Let death assail me in all horrid forms
Of grim menacing, such as would with fear
Turn pale the mightiest men of daring deeds;
Let frightful spectres of infernal mien,
Dark, huge, and haggard, gather thick around,
To vent malignant spite, and terrify
The soul; let all the multifarious pains
That e'er attack'd a mortal system frail,
As lightnings zig-zag dart through clouds high charged,
Strike through my quiv'ring frame, and agonize
With torture, head, and heart, and ev'ry limb,
And piece-meal steal away the vital strength,
Which, like a chain that slowly wears away,
Long binds me to the shore where pelting storms
In fury rage; let these expend their force,
And ev'ry other torturing engine, wrought
By demons' skill, play on this feeble frame:—
But in that final hour I crave, as boon
And blessing, all that heart can wish, kind friends
Who know to soothe by sympathetic care
The feelings of the one they dearly love;
The tender wife, with watchful eye to mark
Each sign of want, and hasten to relieve;
And children dear, anew to speak their love
Through weeping eyes; and saints of God, to sing,
And by their ardent prayers commend the soul
To Him who bade it live, and to his care
The loved one, who, in agony of grief,
A waking angel seems; and more than all
I crave the strong, abiding faith, which brings
The heavenly light that shines through all the dark
Domain of death—and consolation strong,
Which breaks his power and quenches all his wrath;—
And holy angels on their wings of fire
Near hov'ring round;—and Jesus, (blessed name!)
With smiles approving, underneath to lay
His mighty arm; and quietly, with eye
Steadfastly fix'd upon the prize, to wait
The whisper, "Sister spirit, come away."
'Midst friends and scenes like these, with ev'ry care,
And fear, and fond desire of earthly good,
In deep oblivion lost,—nor death, nor pains,
Nor all the powers that rule the world below,
Can harm whom Heaven kindly deigns to bless.
As calmly sinks the vital flame of life,
And vision fails, and chills the purple flood,
And earthly music dies upon the ear,
The soul unburden'd now, and unrestrain'd,
To exercise, 'midst scenes of pure delight,
Her noble powers, redeem'd and sanctified,
Soars to the world of bliss, where all is joy.

THE DELUGE.

Causes and objects of the General Deluge, its history, and the traditional evidence corroborating the Mosaic account.

THE following article is contained in a recent publication entitled, "The Sacred History of the World, attempted to be philosophically considered, in a series of letters to a son; by Sharon Turner, F. S. A. & R. A. S. L."—Harpers' edition. It embraces the subject of three letters, and is considered under three distinct heads.

1. "A few considerations on the causes and objects of the General Deluge, and on the state of our historical information concerning it."

2. "Ancient traditions of the Deluge in Chaldea, Assyria, Egypt, Greece, Rome, Phenicia, Syria, Armenia, and Persia."

3. "Traditions of the Flood in China—in the Parsee Books—in the Sanscrit—in Arabia and Turkey—and various nations of South America—also in North America and the South Sea Isles."

We place these captions here that the remarks of the author may be embodied in the form of a regular article, and perused by the reader without interruption. We also omit his notes of reference, because we have not space to insert them; they can be of little use except to such as may have a curiosity to examine the grounds of the evidence he adduces, in which cases reference may be had to his work. The author proceeds thus:—

MY DEAR SYDNEY,—I have now to call your attention to that great event from which our present natural and social worlds have more immediately proceeded.

The anterior state of both was so different from what followed the awful revolution which terminated their previous condition, that the new order of things had many of the effects of a new creation. It established that system of life and course of nature under which the human race have ever since been subsisting. It is from the deluge that we may date the more direct commencement of the present state and mode of existence, and laws of human life and society; and therefore it deserves some consideration of its cause, objects, effects, and evidences.

It is a waste of ingenuity or labour to seek to account for it by natural causes; partial inundations may arise from local circumstances, and partial operations of ordinary agencies; but no existing laws could produce a universal destruction, because the regular course of nature is to continue as it is, and not to subvert itself. It is made to subsist, and to be what we find it to be; and it looks like a contradiction which approaches an impossibility, that established laws and agencies can at the same time be both preserving and destroying. We may likewise say, that if natural laws could then have produced a universal deluge, they would have since repeated the operation with reiterations like the cometary visitations;

but the history of all nations attests, that since the existing records of human transactions began, no second general deluge has ever taken place. We therefore run no risk of error in referring this stupendous incident to a supernatural cause, and that can only have been the will, and appointment, and exerted power of that Being, who alone can create and destroy; who would never suffer any agents to abolish what he meant to continue; by whose omnipotence either event is equally producible, but who never causes any thing to perish without adequate reasons, and for beneficial results.

Intelligence like that which has formed the universe amid which we are existing, employs its boundless power with as much wisdom and goodness when it alters, as when it constructs. We may therefore be certain that it effected this great revolution in its human world as an improvement in its condition; as an advancing stage of its grand process; for the benefit of those who were afterward to inhabit it; and as an assistant to the progression of human nature at large. As death, without any assignment of a fixed mode or time of dying, was made the law to all human life; the removal of the existing population by an overwhelming flood, was no other alteration of the previous course of things, than the causing all those to die at the same time, and at that particular time, who would have inevitably departed at some subsequent though varying periods. It brought no more death into the world than had been before attached to it. It only caused the individual termination to occur earlier to the existing race than would have happened without it. The Deity did not choose that the future generations of his human creatures should be the offspring of those who had become so contaminated by corruption and violence; and whose reproductions would have thereby been injurious to themselves and to human nature. He did not mean that such vices and crimes as had become general should be perpetuated, as the character and habit of the human order of beings; and therefore he terminated the population which had become so depraved. In their stead he began a new production of mankind, from a particular and single stem, selected out of the pre-existing society for that purpose. He observed one family that was fit to be the new founders of a fresh series of human nature, consisting of one aged parent and three maturing sons. He preserved these, with their wives, in a spacious vessel, built under his direction, with such of the animal genera as he intended should spread again their species over the new surface that would be formed. The safety of these chosen survivers having been provided for, the tremendous commotion was produced. No detail of the operation has been recorded. Descending rains, and waters bursting up from below, are all that is alluded to of the natural means. The discharges from the skies continued for forty days, but the waters continued rising and rushing onward for one hundred and fifty days, until they covered the high hills. Their general elevation above the surface is marked as having been fifteen cubits, but the tumultuous movements of the agitated waves were so directed, that their torrents swept over the mountains during the continuance of their destructive operation; and all that had life on earth perished in their overwhelming violence, except the eight persons whom the ark rescued from the catastrophe, as it floated on the new-made sea.

As a single day's convulsion and inundation would have been sufficient to extinguish human life, the facts that the effusions from the skies lasted forty days, that the waters continued rising and prevailing for one hundred and fifty, and that one hundred and fifty more days were afterward occupied in the retiring and subsidence of the watery fluid, announce to us that a great process was then in operation for other objects than the death of the subsisting population. These objects must have related to the state and structure of the earth itself in its habitable surface; and as geological investigations show that the present rocks and masses of our surface are fragmentary formations of earlier ones, and have been preceded or accompanied by great changes, and convulsions, and dislocations, it is our duty, and the dictate of our common sense to remember, that we have here, in the diluvian catastrophe, an actual period, historically recorded, in which events and agitations of this character are attested to have taken place.

Beyond this remark I will not press the consideration here; but no man of science can do justice to his subject, who forgets or disregards the facts which have been thus preserved for our knowledge. It is not indeed within the capacity of every geologist, nor perhaps of any one in the present imperfect state of the almost new-made science, to discern amid the phenomena which the rocks and remains of the earth present to his observing judgment, what were the operations and changes which attended the commotions of the deluge. But we should not repeat the common error of depreciating what we fail to understand, or dismiss that from our consideration which we cannot satisfactorily explain. The true is true at all times, whether we comprehend or like it, or not; it is therefore a hasty act of mind, and not sound judgment, to reject the admission of a deluge because it does not suit our pre-adopted theories. It is wiser to mistrust them than to disbelieve what has been so authoritatively recorded. But such conduct will only be a stimulus to new minds, to take up the subject with calmer impartiality, and to endeavor to form happier suppositions, to make juster inferences, and to exercise a penetrating sagacity, superior to that of their predecessors. These results will in time take place. Most of the last series of geologists, and some of the present, have thought proper to discredit the interposition of the deluge, and have treated the idea of it, and its supporters, with mingled animosity and contempt. This is to be regretted, and will not deter the friends of intellectual religion from still desiring to see it in friendly harmony and coalition with real scientific knowledge: nothing is done well by their disunion. The more you study geology, the more you will be convinced that the opponents of the Mosaic deluge have not advanced one single step in accounting for the appearances and present state of things without it, nor will any degree of talent or labor be more successful that may choose to disregard it. For as it is an event which has really occurred, it will be as impossible to form a true theory of the earth without it, as it would be to write an authentic history of England, and yet discredit or omit the Roman and Anglo-Saxon or Danish invasions.

Looking up to the Divine will and exerted power as the producing cause of the deluge, and considering the objects of its mission to be

the termination of a state of human nature which had become incurably deteriorated in that form by the existing population; and to be also the commencement of a new generation and diffusion of human beings of a superior kind, and from a selected stock, that was the least vitiated by the demoralization of the rest, our next consideration will be directed to its effects, and to see what historical evidences yet remain of its occurrence.

The effects will be of two sorts, those on physical nature, and those on the human race; but I will postpone my remarks on these, till we have taken a review of the traditions that exist in various parts of the world concerning this grand catastrophe; and only here observe, that the authentic narrative of it indicates that a space of three hundred days elapsed from the commencement of the dispensation, before all that had been intended and ordained was fully accomplished. During this interval, the external characters of the awful operation were those of confusion and commotion, and violent transmutations. But the confusion was but in outward seeming. The commotions, fierce and boisterous as they were in reality, were yet all strictly regulated and scientifically directed. The transmutations, however vast, and apparently for some time most anomalous in their dislocations, were all found to have been undergoing the most harmonious adaptations, and the most useful and benevolent distribution and arrangement for the future comfort of mankind. Hence, when Noah and his family descended from the ark, they found a new earth provided for them, in which all that was beautiful and picturesque to the eye, and sublime and elevating to the feelings, and rich and beauteous to their comfort and conduct, in due time appeared, and has ever since continued to subsist and recur for the delight and benefit of human kind. The day of anger and terror had passed away, and the new-created surface displayed their almighty Sovereign in that aspect, which is to himself the most gratifying: the aspect of paternal kindness, of condescending guardianship, and of the most gracious beneficence.

We will now consider the notions which prevailed in the world on this point of its history, or rather such of them as have been noticed by the writers we possess who have alluded to it. We shall find them to be very inaccurate and very imperfect, but as almost all the ancient writings on the history of these several countries have been destroyed, we shall find the information which we can collect, although quite sufficient to authenticate the fact of a general deluge, yet very wild, incongruous, and scanty. It occurred so long before correct and rational history began to be written out of Judea, and such a vast quantity of what was composed has been lost for ever to us, that it is more remarkable that so many intimations of it can be collected, than that more numerous allusions, more just accounts cannot now be obtained. Let us take a fair review of them as men desirous to ascertain only what is true, and therefore giving to each its due weight and estimation, and observing, likewise, what coincidences they display with the Hebrew history, amid those divergences which all traditions, and popular narratives, and foreign representations usually exhibit, wherever a solemn record has not been kept and faithfully transmitted. The Mosaic document is the only account which possesses this character.

The most ancient account of the deluge, except that of the Pen-

tateuch, but much later, which has escaped the ravages of time, is the narrative which Berosus has inserted in his Chaldean Annals. He lived in the period of the Macedonian dynasties, but what he mentions he declares that he compiled from the written documents kept at Babylon; so that it is their evidence we are reading when we peruse his statement. These described Chronos, one of their worshipped deities, as having appeared in a dream to the King Xisuthrus, to apprize him that mankind would be destroyed by a flood; and commanding him to build a naval vessel to contain his relations, the necessary food, and also birds and quadrupeds.

The brief detail which the historian of Chaldea has thus preserved of this people's tradition and public memorials of the event, comes nearest of any others to the Hebrew account; and being derived from an independent source, and coinciding with it in the most essential points of the Divine premonition and causation of the preservation of one family, and of the enjoined fabrication of a floating ark for that purpose, with the conservation of animals likewise, and even of birds sent out to ascertain the state of the coast, this Chaldean record is an impressive testimony to the reality of the catastrophe, and of its moral causes.

Abydenus was another ancient author, who, in his Median and Assyrian History, had notices of the same catastrophe, with some circumstances similar to the Chaldean account. We learn from Diodorus Siculus, that the Egyptians had likewise preserved a memory of it, and discussed their origin from the calamitous event, either as having been preserved from its general devastation, or as springing up afterward anew from the teeming earth. All these allusions imply a universal deluge.

The destruction of the whole living world, in its primordial times, by a deluge to which, as in Egypt, the name of Deucalion was attached, was the prevalent opinion in Greece. From him and his wife Pyrrha, the human race were stated to have been renewed. Individual writers occasionally arose, who confined the incident to Greece; but this was not the popular or predominant impression. According to that, it was a general destruction of the existing mankind. The Greek mythologist, Apollodorus, details the tradition as it was usually accredited, and makes the third generation of men, or the Brazen Age, which preceded our Iron one, to have been that which so perished; though, as Deucalion's antediluvian abode was in Greece, he only specifies the local effects there.

Hesiod inculcated that the second race of mankind had been removed by the Divine power from the earth, on account of their wickedness. Neither account limits the destruction to Grecians only, but both apply it to the entire race of men then subsisting, called the Second or Silver Generation in the one, and the Brazen in the other; both represent the extinction as produced by the Divine will, and as followed by a new race or production of human kind.

Lucian shows us that in his time the same ideas and belief were prevalent, for he exhibits his misanthrope Timon, as reproaching Jupiter for sending in his youthful days, that is, in the most ancient period of the world, such a calamity on human kind, and for a universal destruction of them by lightning, earthquake, and overwhelming waters, preserving only Deucalion in an ark.

In his Essay on Dancing, he likewise mentions the ark, in which the relics of the human race were preserved. In another of his works, his largest dissertation, which has been generally received as his, and which there are no satisfactory reasons to ascribe to any other, he narrates the Grecian opinions more fully about it. For this purpose, it is immaterial by whom they are stated. What we desire to know is, what traditions were in general circulation in pagan Greece on this subject. We have these at length in this treatise, and they correspond with Lucian's briefer intimations in his other compositions. He expressly professes to state the popular belief on this subject. In this we find that the deluge was a general destruction of all mankind for their wickedness, and by a universal flood of waters, and that one family, with several animals, were preserved in an ark, and repeopled the earth.

We have another authentication to us of the same accredited traditions in Greece, in the casual intimation of Plutarch, that a dove was let out of his ark by Deucalion, to ascertain if the catastrophe had ceased. He alludes to this as to a general notion abroad in his time, in the same way that he would to any other popular opinion. He refers to it as an illustration of his argument, which, in this treatise, was on the mental powers of the animated races.

Plato has also incidentally left us an admission that a universal deluge, and only one, was the public opinion of Greece, for he introduces the Egyptian priest who meant to controvert it, as thus representing it. Solon is here exhibited as having the same belief with his countrymen, and therefore it is clear that the popular idea was that also of the wisest and greatest men in Greece, in the sixth century before the Christian era. The Egyptian proceeds to tell him that there had been many, on the authority of the priesthood of the Nile; but that before "this mighty deluge," a great state and city of the Athenians, with a vast population and splendid history, had existed. This looks like an exaggerated tradition of some part of the antediluvian history, as all that was placed before Deucalion, by any one may have been. But it was what Solon and the Greeks had never heard of, and therefore the Egyptian detailed it to him as new history, and Plato preserves it as so narrated. No casual allusion can give a stronger testimony to the fact, that Deucalion's deluge was then considered by all Greece as a universal desolation, and as the only deluge. Plato, in another work, mentions the same catastrophe in the same meaning, and as implying the same extent of destruction.

Aristotle seems to have been one of those who thought that the general tradition ought to be contracted into a local inundation of Greece only. Yet, as if aware that the public impression was against him, he does not choose to commit himself by explicitly declaring that it extended no farther. On the contrary, the words he has selected to employ give it a greater diffusion, for he introduces the qualifying adverb "chiefly." He says, "It *chiefly* happened about Greece."

The Arundelian Marbles have the deluge of this Deucalion briefly inscribed on them, and state that he fled to Athens from the Lycoris; which is the mountain on which Lucian mentions that he was saved.

The Athenians believed that the flood retired from the land

through a cavity in their district, over which their ancestors had erected a sacred building. Pausanias notes this. They made this event the subject of an annual ceremony. This is a striking corroboration of the fact of the general belief of the deluge; though national vanity chose to follow its usual course, of localizing among themselves the memorial of its departure.

These authorities are quite sufficient to prove that the public opinion in Greece, transmitted from age to age on this subject, was, that the deluge of Deucalion was a universal catastrophe, whatever other notions any particular author or district may have formed, as better suiting other wishes or conjectures. Deucalion was usually placed at the very beginning of the present human race; for he was always made the son of Prometheus, whom Hesiod represents as the framer of the female sex. The poet of the Argonauticæ describes Deucalion as the first founder of cities; the first builder of temples to the gods, and the first king.

It is a curious connection with the Mosaic intimations of the diluvian ancestors of the renewed human kind, that Prometheus was considered by the Grecian poets as the son of Japetus. Japheth or Japet, is the child of Noah, from whom the Greeks and other nations descended. There is in this Greek genealogy a substitution of the great-grandson for the grandfather, making Deucalion the second descendant of him who was the son of the preserved patriarch; but this is only one of those confusions and mistakes, from lapse of time, of the real circumstances, which so commonly distinguish tradition from authentic history. The Grecians, in their genealogical chronology, placed the deluge under the great-grandson, who may have so moved into and settled in Thessaly, and from thence have gone to Athens, instead of under the actual ancestor, his grandfather, who was with Noah in the ark.

Pindar, in one of his Olympic odes, refers to the same catastrophe, and in words whose just meaning implies the idea of a general destruction of mankind.

We have not the ancient traditions of the Romans on this subject. But Ovid gives us at great length the notions which he patronized and versified upon it in the reign of Augustus; and as poets who write to please, generally adopt the most popular ideas on the topics they select, we may take his statement as a representation of what was then circulating among his countrymen, and especially the higher order, for he was a courtly author in this respect.

Pliny expressly alludes to the deluge, as an actual occurrence. He speaks of it as we should do, as a well-known and understood era, and as a general overwhelming; for Joppa was in Syria, and not in Greece. Mela and Solinus also notice it as if it had been of this kind, a universal one.

We may infer that the Phenicians had preserved some memory of this catastrophe by their tradition of it at Joppa, and by the fact that it was noticed by Hieronymus the Egyptian, in his Phenician Annals. That it was an object of public belief in Syria, we learn from Lucian's account of its temple at Hierapolis. The narrative there coincided with the Grecian account. But the people of this city ascribed the foundation of their sacred edifice to Deucalion; and added, that the chasm in the ground, over which it was built, had absorbed the waters from the earth: ascribing to their country

that local deliverance from them, which Athens appropriated to her own land, and which the Syrians here commemorated in a similar manner; by erecting a temple over the presumed place of their departure.

It was a natural consequence, both of such an event and of the transmitted remembrances of it, that some countries would claim to be the locality, where the preserving vessel rested as the tempestuous waters subsided. Parnassus was the mountain reported in part of Greece to be the place where those who escaped were saved. But the highest point of the Armenian chain was supposed by others to be the station on which they descended from the ark. An ancient writer related that the person preserved went from Armenia into Syria. Such pretensions are farther evidences of the diffusion of the persuasion, that a catastrophe like this had occurred to mankind.

Mount Ararat in Armenia has obtained the distinction from most writers of being the position to which Moses alluded in his words, "And the ark rested upon the mountains of Ararat."

Among the ancient Persians, the orthodox Magi believed the deluge to have extended over the whole earth, while some of the sects of their superstitions disputed or doubted its universality.

The preceding historical traditions were those of the ancient world: if we extend our view from these to the modern nations who have become prominent around us, we shall find that similar impressions have also prevailed among them, although more mingled with fantastic absurdities, in proportion to the inferiority of their intellectual cultivation, and to the extravagance of their popular superstitions.

The Chinese literature has several notices of this awful catastrophe. The Chou-king, the history of China written by Confucius, opens with a representation of their country being still under the effect of the waters. The opposing school of the Tao-see also speaks of the deluge as occurring under Niu-hoa, whom they make a female. The seasons were then changed: day and night confounded: great waters overspread the universe, and men were reduced to the condition of fishes. Other Chinese writers refer to the same event. The modern Parsees or Guebres have succeeded to the Magi of antiquity in their fire worship, and to many of their ideas. Their mussulman conquerors drove them out of Persia; but they have found a home on the northwestern shores of the Indian peninsula, where they pursue their peculiar system.

In one of their sacred books attached to their Zendavesta, the deluge is wildly but obviously alluded to.

The ancient and venerated books of the Hindoos, in their Sanscrit literature, distinctly and copiously commemorate this destruction. It forms a prominent part of their great and revered poem, the Mahabharat. It is also the subject of the first of their Puranas, the sacred writings which they revere next to the Vedas, entitled Matsya, or the Fish. In the eighth book of the Bhagawata Purana, it is also narrated at length, with true Hindoo peculiarities; but the account is remarkable for making eight persons the number of those who were preserved. It is also noticed in others of their venerated Puranas.

Mohammed has preserved the traditions of the old Arabians about it in his Koran, in which it is mentioned in several chapters,

and as sent from Heaven as a punishment to mankind. The Turkish writers have also their peculiar narrations about it.

We know as yet but little of the African mind, or ancient history of Africa. Yet in one of its nations, the memory of a deluge has been found to have been preserved.

As the American continent had been possessing for ages a variety of populations in different states of civilized and savage life, unknown to the rest of mankind, and maintaining no relations with them before Columbus revealed the new world to the old one; it is a natural inquiry of our curiosity if any traditions of the deluge existed there. To our surprise we find them in every part. Yet I would correct this expression, because the awful event being an actual truth, it would be surprising if no intimation of it could be traced there. It is therefore quite natural, and it indicates to us the reality of the catastrophe, that both in South and North America traditions prevail about it, sometimes whimsical indeed in the circumstances, but decided as to the fact.

The ancient inhabitants of Chili, the Araucanians, make the flood a part of their historical remembrances. The Cholulans, who were in the equinoctial regions of New Spain before the Mexicans arrived there, preserved the idea of it in a fantastic form in their hieroglyphical pictures. The Indians of Chiapa, a region in those parts, had a simpler narrative about it. The Mexicans, in their peculiar paintings, which constituted their books and written literature, had an expressive representation of the catastrophe. The nations contiguous to them, or connected with them, had similar records of it, and depict the mountain on which the navigating pair who escaped were saved. It is still more interesting to us to find, that the natives of the province of Mechoacan had their own distinct account of it, which contained the incident of the birds that were let out from the ark to enable Noah to judge of the habitable condition of the earth. These people had also applied another name to the preserved individual, Tezpi, which implies a different source of information for what they narrated. The belief of a flood has also been found to exist in the province of Guatimala. It was also in Peru and Brazil.

We learn from Humboldt, to whom we owe so much knowledge of all sorts of the natives of South America, that the belief prevailed among all the tribes of the Upper Oroonoko, that at the time of what they call "the Great Waters," their fathers were forced to have recourse to their boats to escape the *general inundation.* The Tamanaiks add to their notions of this period, their peculiar ideas of the manner in which the earth was repeopled. Upon the rocks of Encamarada figures of stars, of the sun, of tigers, and of crocodiles, are traced, which the natives connected with the period of this deluge. Humboldt appropriately remarks, that similar traditions exist among all the nations of the earth, and, like the relics of a vast shipwreck, are highly interesting in the philosophical study of our species.

Ideas of the same sort existed in the Island of Cuba, and Kotzebue found them among the rude Pagans of Kamtschatka, at the extremity of the Asian continent. The Peruvians preserved the memory of a general destruction, as far as their own country was concerned, which their neighbors, the Guancas and others, also entertained. In Brazil, there were also various traditions of the

diluvian catastrophe, which, though agreeing in fact, differed in the circumstances attending it. In Terra Firma it was also floating in the popular memory, and equally so among the Iroquois in Canada, and at the mouth of the St. Lawrence.

The Arrawak Indians, near the Essequibo and Mazaworry rivers, have preserved traditions both of the separate creation of the first male and female, and also of the deluge; and describe it as caused by the demoralization of mankind.

In North America we find in the various Indian tribes or nations, who spread over it, some memorial intimations of this great event. Captain Beechey found that the natives of California had a tradition of the deluge. The Koliouges, on the northwest coast of America, have also peculiar notions upon it. Sir Alexander Mackenzie heard it from the Chippewyams. The idea prevailed, but with fantastic additions, among the Cree Indians. Mr. West heard a similar account from the natives who attended his school on the Red river. In Western or New Caledonia, which was an unexplored country beyond the rocky mountains in these parts till Mr. Harmon visited them, he found a vague and wild tradition of the same catastrophe, with the singular addition of a fiery destruction.

In the islands of the South Sea, whose population had no connection with the North American Indians, the belief of the deluge was preserved among them. Ancient traditions of it exist in the Sandwich Islands in various shapes. In Tahiti, it was ascribed to the displeasure of the Deity at human misconduct. It was mentioned in Eimeo, and in a diffuser shape in Raiatea.

ADVERTISEMENT.

In conformity to a resolution of the late General Conference to continue the Magazine and Review, we have proceeded to issue the April number. The series, it will be recollected, was interrupted by the destruction of the Book Concern by fire; and the number for April, which was printed and ready for distribution, was destroyed, together with the copy from which it was made up. The present number is consequently of entirely other materials, and is sent out, not as the April number, or any part of it, but only to fill its place, that the regular series may be continued. The general character and design of this periodical may be found in the prospectus at the commencement of the series. As nothing has occurred of sufficient importance to justify any material change in the course therein pointed out, it is unnecessary at this time to say any thing on that subject. As soon as the present number can be despatched, we shall proceed to prepare one for July, and then for October, that the course may be brought up as soon as possible. Meantime the agents will publish the copies that may be wanting of the January number to supply those who may not have received them, and volumes for new subscribers. The inconveniences we labour under at present, and the necessity of hurrying out the first numbers, in order to bring up the series, will, we hope, be an apology for any defects which may be detected in the execution of the work, and also induce our friends to aid in it by furnishing suitable and timely contributions for its pages.

REV. S. MARTINDALE.

of the New York Conference.

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For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

THE CHRISTIAN SPECTATOR *versus* JOHN WESLEY AND THE WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT.

BY N. BANGS, D. D.

THIS, our readers must know, is a Quarterly Review, published in New-Haven, Connecticut, under the supervision of New School Congregationalists. Not content with maintaining their own doctrinal peculiarities, for doing which they have an unquestionable right, they have manifested no little solicitude for Methodism, as though to them were committed the high responsibility of taking it under their special guardianship. Were it not for the rude manner in which they have on some occasions heretofore treated us, we might feel under no small obligation to the conductors of that work for the fraternal care they have at times exemplified in our behalf. As it is, however, we shall leave it to our readers to determine on which they have the greatest claim, our gratitude or our patience. Giving them all the credit they have a right to demand for the goodness of their *intentions*, we cannot yield to them the palm of superior *discernment* in espying those delicate lines of distinction which divide us from other Christian denominations.

As a proof of their warm solicitude for our welfare, we remark that, not many years since, they expressed no little self-satisfaction from the hope that Dr. Clarke would set us right on a mooted point of Christian doctrine, and that the influence of his example would tend to excite among us a love of science and literature. For these pious wishes, however much of reproach they may have implied, they will accept of our *gratitude*—and it would be unmixed, were we not constrained to accompany the remark with that significant *but*, which is so often used to mark the infirmities of our fellow beings.

But, then, in spite of all these good wishes for our welfare and respectability, they could not help mingling with their ardent aspirations, many reproachful epithets. Their pages, indeed, were rife with severe strictures upon Dr. Adam Clarke's Commentary, upon his Sermons, as well as upon the entire structure of Methodism; and their remarks were mingled with much sneering contempt and no little vituperative misrepresentation and flippant caricature. With an air of magisterial authority, as though they were authorized to deliver lectures on Methodism *ex cathedra*, not altogether becoming the meekness of *Christian gentlemen*, and with a partial regard to truth not perfectly in character with *candid spectators*,

they affirmed that "the doctrines of Wesleyan Methodism were miserably defective,"—that whatever is peculiar in its government and economy, is not only "confessedly without Scripture authority," but also "in open contempt of its testimony;" and that its ministry were guilty of descending to a peculating management to attain their objects. These heavy charges were a trial of our *patience.*

Coming, however, from the quarter they did, and reiterated through the medium of several other public vehicles of periodical literature, though of themselves so manifestly unfounded and ridiculous, they were considered by our friends to be worthy of notice; they were therefore met, their falsity exposed, the assertions and reasonings by which they were attempted to be supported, refuted and overthrown by an appeal to facts and arguments derived from sources of unquestionable authority. Here both our patience and gratitude were called into exercise—*patience* in wading through the mass of evidence requisite for the refutation of alleged facts, and managing the arguments necessary to overthrow their false reasonings—and *gratitude* to find ourselves sustained by so ample materials and by the impartial readers of our wearisome controversy.

From the termination of this bloodless warfare, the Christian Spectator, until quite recently, had observed a modest silence, so far as Methodist doctrines and usages are concerned. Whether its conductors became conscious that they had done us an act of injustice, and on that account refrained from a repetition of their offence, or whether they only rested for a season with a view to recruit their exhausted strength for future use, we determine not. Be this as it may, and we have no solicitude as to the fact or its results, in their number for September last they have renewed the combat in an article headed "JOHN WESLEY AND THE WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT." In comparison with their former numbers, this is mild and conciliating, though the writer could not, it seems, conclude his remarks without giving utterance to the following very offensive sentence:—"Hitherto, our Methodist brethren have shown a morbid sensitiveness whenever their favorite writers have been reviewed, or their favorite doctrines controverted. We would remind them, that, astonishing as it may seem in their eyes, we have no more confidence in their infallibility than we have in that of the pope."

Now we are not at all astonished at this want of confidence in our infallibility; but we are somewhat astonished that any writer should have given utterance to such a reproachful sentence, as though "the Methodist brethren" had in reality laid claim to "infallibility," and were so secure in the belief that the claim was yielded them by these Congregational reviewers, as to make it a matter of astonishment that it should be withheld. Whenever the time comes to make it expedient to set up for infallibility, we may apply for some lessons on the subject of human impeccability to those whose disagreements among themselves are of such notoriety and irksome perplexity, as to make it extremely desirable to have some infallible standard of truth by which their orthodoxy may be tested, and their disputes brought to a close.

But the "Methodist brethren manifest a morbid sensitiveness whenever their favorite writers are reviewed." This personal reflection comes with an ill grace from those whose sensitiveness is so

proverbial that merely on account of some metaphysical differences on particular points of what they call the "philosophy of the Gospel," new theological schools are established, conflicting reviews published, and even the censures of the Church inflicted on dissentient ministers. But how is this "morbid sensitiveness" displayed? Why, a Congregational reviewer sees fit to enter his protest against our doctrinal peculiarities, to denounce our Church authorities, to caricature our ecclesiastical economy, and to pour forth a stream of sarcastical declamation against our proceedings—and, what is worse than all, to accuse us of misleading the public mind, and even of imposing on our own people by keeping from them requisite information in regard to the financial concerns of the Church—and we have presumed to complain of these things, to refute their unfounded charges, and to appeal to the public for the correctness of our statements. For doing this in the most unexceptionable manner we could, instead of submitting to be thus loaded with reproach in silence, we are accused of "showing a morbid sensitiveness." It is not, however, a matter of astonishment, that they who have exhibited so much of this mental disease, in the instances above enumerated, should suspect their neighbors of *being actuated* by a similar infirmity.

Had we looked on with cold indifference, while these courteous reviewers were representing John Wesley as having been actuated by motives and designs similar to managing and intriguing demagogues, and by a love of power, which was manifested, as they *said*, in his arbitrary proceedings—and while they represented the entire superstructure of Methodism as being built upon an assumption of usurped authority, in contempt of Scripture testimony—had we done this in submissive silence, no doubt we might have escaped the censureship of this writer, as being under the influence of a diseased mind. But we very much doubt whether these gentlemen would secretly have honored us under these circumstances, as servants faithful to our trust—faithful in defending that which had been committed to our keeping by our fathers. At any rate, *we* should have considered ourselves reckless of the characters of those whom we had been accustomed, from an intimate knowledge of their doctrines and conduct, to venerate, as among the most honest, wise, and industrious of our species.

We think, moreover, that our labors in this respect have not been altogether without effect, even on the minds of these Congregational reviewers. This we judge from the tone of the article under consideration. While from the character of former articles, which involved the doctrine and conduct of Mr. Wesley and Methodism, we had reason to believe that the writers never had read Mr. Wesley, nor acquainted themselves with the system they so vehemently condemned, we are bound to think that the present writer has both read and admired the character and general conduct of Wesley. This we judge from the altered tone in which he writes. He thinks the character of Wesley, though he admits that Watson and not Southey has given the most faithful portrait of him, is best seen and appreciated in his Journals. Of course he has read these Journals, as well as Southey's and Watson's life of that excellent man. It is these sources of information which have compelled him —if we may identify him with the former writer on "Wesleyan

Methodism" in the Christian Spectator—to exchange the bitterness of invective for an admission of the goodness and excellence of Mr. Wesley's character. Though he cannot withhold from his readers the palpable instance of his inconsistency in averring that these Journals exhibit "the true expression of Mr. Wesley's superstition and mysticism," at the same time that they record evidences "of his living piety, his holy life, his tireless labors to serve man, his sufferings from persecution, his unshaken steadfastness in his work, until he went 'up higher' to stand before the throne." That a *superstitious mystic*, sometimes "insane as well as sane," should have furnished evidence of so much contrariety of character, is no less extraordinary than it is that this writer should insinuate that his Methodist brethren had set up for infallibility. This admission, however, will afford some consolation to those who exhibit alternate marks of *insanity* and *sanity*, of *superstition* and *living piety*, that they may nevertheless at last stand acquitted before the holy throne above.

What follows, as a eulogium upon Mr. Wesley's character, is less exceptionable, more especially, as it seems to have been extorted from the writer as a reluctant homage to truth—truth derived, not from a perusal of Southey's contemptible narrative of one of the most holy, learned, laborious, and successful of God's servants, but from an inspection of his Journals. "Far be it," says this writer, "from us to speak of Mr. Wesley without suitable feelings of respect. He was a highly distinguished servant of God, whose glory no human efforts can tarnish; and if we could we would not pluck a leaf that laurels his brow. We regard him as a luminary of uncommon brightness, whose shining gladdened the Church, and whose splendor still lingers upon its path. His name is enrolled with those worthies whose destiny is to shine for ever in the kingdom of heaven with the brightness of the firmament." This homage to the excellence of John Wesley's character, be it remembered, was extorted from one who had read his Journals, and who had just now given us a labored *jejune* exposition of *mysticism* as exemplified by this self-same John Wesley, and whom he had, almost in the same breath, pronounced sometimes *insane as well as sane*, and which same Journals "contain a record of his superstitions and mysticism." We may therefore conclude that a "highly distinguished servant of God, whose glory no human efforts can tarnish,"—(of this these reviewers have doubtless become convinced by former experiments) and "a luminary of uncommon brightness," may nevertheless be under the influence of a *superstitious mysticism*, and sometimes, at least, exhibit evidences of *insanity*—and even, if the Calvinistic doctrine respecting the necessary continuance of indwelling sin be true, may "sin every moment, in thought, word, and deed." Such inconsistencies may indeed meet in the same character, according to the doctrine of this review, and therefore, though they may deserve rebuke, need not excite astonishment.

Nor should we demur at the following exceptions to the character of Mr. Wesley, did they not proceed from the same pen which had before recorded the lines we have quoted: "But while we eulogize, we cannot be insensible to the fact, that this luminary was not perfectly unclouded. There were spots upon it, which enthusiastic

admiration may easily overlook, but which the unjaundiced eye of a Christian spectator may detect and expose without the least diminution of merited respect." As this writer seems to allow that a "luminary of uncommon brightness" may "not be perfectly unclouded," we hope he will excuse us from supposing that he himself, notwithstanding his claim to be a "Christian spectator of unjaundiced eye,"—not much removed from the claim of "infallibility"—may sometimes wander under the clouds of error, and lose himself in those mystical reveries which distinguish "enthusiastic admirers" of a false philosophy, and of a falser theory of divinity.

This we shall now proceed to test—for it is time that we come to the chief object of the present article, namely, to examine the criticisms of this writer on Mr. Wesley's doctrine of the *witness of the Spirit.*

As the foundation of his remarks upon this deep and vital subject of Christian experience, the reviewer quotes the following sentence from Mr. Wesley's sermon on the Witness of the Spirit.

"The testimony of the Spirit is an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God directly witnesses to my spirit that I am a child of God; that Jesus hath loved me and given himself for me, and that all my sins are blotted out, and that I, even I, am reconciled to God."

This the reviewer condemns as an evidence of Mr. Wesley's mysticism. He not only faults the language in which it is expressed, but denies the doctrine as unscriptural and irrational. Before we proceed to examine the objections which the writer prefers against this doctrine, we will, in the first place, state Mr. Wesley's views at large, so that there need be no misunderstanding of what they were. Mr. Wesley has two sermons on this subject, the one on the Witness of our own Spirit, and the other on the Witness of God's Spirit; both of which witnesses testify to the same fact, namely, that we are the children of God. In the first of these sermons is found the sentence above quoted by the reviewer, and commented upon in terms of severe reprehension. In the second he says, "After twenty years' consideration, I see no cause to retract any part of this. Neither do I conceive how any of these expressions may be altered, so as to make them more intelligible. I can only add, that if any of the children of God will point out any other expressions, which are more clear or more agreeable to the word of God, I will readily lay these aside." Do these modest words sound like the confident boastings of a self-conceited mystic, bewildered in the mists of his own imaginary wisdom and greatness? We may have an opportunity of contrasting this becoming deference to the judgment of others with some of the dogmatical assertions of this self-confident reviewer.

But Mr. Wesley, who perhaps was one of the most cautious writers of the age in which he lived, to prevent any misapprehension on this deeply interesting and important subject, adds the following:—

"Meantime let it be observed, I do not mean hereby, that the Spirit of God testifies this by any outward voice; no, nor always by an inward voice, although he may do this sometimes. Neither do I suppose, that he always applies to the heart (though he often

may) one or more texts of Scripture. But he so works upon the soul by his immediate influence, and by a strong though inexplicable operation, that the stormy wind and troubled waves subside, and there is a sweet calm; the heart resting as in the arms of Jesus, and the sinner being clearly satisfied that God is reconciled, that 'all his iniquities are forgiven, and his sins covered.'" And after answering a variety of objections to this doctrine, most of which are much stronger than any brought by this reviewer, and therefore, if he had duly weighed them, he might have saved himself the trouble of stating, and us the labor of canvassing his own objections, Mr. Wesley sums up the whole argument thus:—

"The sum of all is this: the testimony of the Spirit is an inward impression on the souls of believers, whereby the Spirit of God directly testifies to their spirit, that they are children of God. And it is not questioned, whether there is a testimony of the Spirit; but whether there is any *direct* testimony? Whether there is any other than that which arises from a consciousness of the fruit of the Spirit? We believe there is; because this is the plain natural meaning of the text," (namely, *The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God,*) "illustrated both by the preceding words, and by the parallel passage in the epistle to the Galatians; because, in the nature of the thing, the testimony must precede the fruit which springs from it; and because this plain meaning of the word of God is confirmed by the experience of innumerable children of God; yea, and by the experience of all who are convinced of sin, who can never rest till they have a direct witness; and even of the children of the world, who, not having the witness in themselves, one and all declare none can *know* his sins forgiven."

This then is the doctrine of Mr. Wesley, concerning the witness of God's Spirit, so plainly laid down, that no one who is not wilfully blind, need misapprehend him. He believed and taught constantly, on the authority of the word of God, that it is the privilege of every believer in Jesus Christ to have a direct witness from God that his sins are blotted out, and that he is "reconciled to God through the death of his Son." But he believed also, that it was possible for a person to be deceived on this point of Christian experience; to imagine he has this direct witness when he has it not; though he allowed at the same time that it is possible to have an *assurance* of the Spirit of adoption—such an assurance as to exclude all rational doubt. To prevent any one from deceiving himself on a subject of such vital importance to his eternal interests, Mr. Wesley furnishes his readers with those Scriptural marks and rational deductions, by which he may detect the deception, and fully satisfy himself whether he be in the favor of God or not. This he calls the *testimony of our own spirit*, which, in an experimental Christian, bears a *joint* testimony with the Spirit of God, that he is "an heir of God and a joint heir with Jesus Christ." These marks are laid down in the first of the above-mentioned sermons, in which he speaks of the testimony of our own spirit, in bearing witness to the same consoling truth, that we are the children of God. After having explained the meaning of this declaration, he says:—

"Agreeable to this are all those plain declarations of St. John, in

his first epistle: 'Hereby we know that we do know him, if we keep his commandments,' ch. ii, 3. 'Whoso keepeth his word, in him verily is the love of God perfected; hereby know we that we are in him,' ver. 5. 'We know that we are passed from death unto life, because we love the brethren,' ch. iii, 14. 'Hereby we know that we are of the truth, and shall assure our hearts before him,' ver. 19; namely, because we 'love one another, not in word, neither in tongue; but in deed and in truth.' 'Hereby we know that we dwell in him, because he hath given us of his [loving] Spirit,' ch. iv, 13. 'And hereby we know that he abideth in us, by the [obedient] spirit which he hath given us,' ch. iii, 24.

It is highly probable, there never were any children of God, from the beginning of the world unto this day, who were farther advanced in the grace of God, and the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ, than the Apostle John, when he wrote these words, and the fathers in Christ to whom he wrote. Notwithstanding which, it is evident, both the apostle himself, and all those pillars in God's temple, were very far from despising these marks of their being the children of God; and that they applied them to their own souls for the confirmation of their faith. Yet all this is no other than rational evidence, the witness of our spirit, our reason or understanding. It all resolves into this:—Those who have these marks are the children of God: but we have these marks: therefore we are children of God.

But how does it appear that we have these marks? This is a question which still remains. How does it appear that we do love God and our neighbor, and that we keep his commandments? Observe, the question is, How does it appear to *ourselves?* (not to *others.*) I would ask him, then, that proposes this question, How does it appear to you that you are alive? Are you not immediately conscious of it? By the same immediate consciousness, you will know if your soul is alive to God; if you are saved from the pain of proud wrath, and have the ease of a meek and quiet spirit. By the same means you cannot but perceive if you love, rejoice, and delight in God. By the same you must be directly assured, if you love your neighbor as yourself; if you are kindly affectioned to all mankind, and full of gentleness and long-suffering. And with regard to the outward mark of the children of God, which is, according to St. John, the keeping his commandments, you undoubtedly know in your own breast, if, by the grace of God, it belongs to you. Your conscience informs you, from day to day, if you do not take the name of God within your lips, unless with seriousness and devotion, with reverence and godly fear; if you remember the Sabbath day to keep it holy; if you honor your father and mother; if you do to all as you would they should do unto you; if you possess your body in sanctification and honor; and if, whether you eat or drink, you are temperate therein, and do all to the glory of God.

Now this is properly the testimony of our own spirit; even the testimony of our own conscience, that God hath given us to be holy of heart, and holy in outward conversation. It is a consciousness of our having received, in and by the Spirit of adoption, the tempers mentioned in the word of God, as belonging to his adopted children;

even a loving heart toward God, and toward all mankind; hanging with child-like confidence on God our Father, desiring nothing but him, casting all our care upon him, and embracing every child of man with earnest, tender affection; so as to be ready to lay down our life for our brother, as Christ laid down his life for us:—a consciousness, that we are inwardly conformed, by the Spirit of God, to the image of his Son, and that we walk before him in justice, mercy, and truth, doing the things which are pleasing in his sight."

This is what Mr. Wesley means by the testimony of our spirit, or the rational conviction of our understanding that we are the children of God, though he by no means excludes that joint testimony of our spirit to the inward and strong witness of God's Spirit, which immediately and simultaneously accompanies the communication of the direct attestation of the fact to the heart of the penitent believer, that he is now adopted into the family of God. For thus he speaks in reference to this witness, as being antecedent in the order of nature, to those fruits which he had before enumerated:—

"Not that I would by any means be understood, by any thing which has been spoken concerning it, to exclude the operation of the Spirit of God, even from the testimony of our own spirit. In nowise. It is he that not only worketh in us every manner of thing that is good, but also shines upon his own work, and clearly shows what he has wrought. Accordingly this is spoken of by St. Paul, as one great end of our receiving the Spirit, 'That we may know the things which are freely given to us of God:' that he may strengthen the testimony of our conscience touching our 'simplicity and godly sincerity;' and give us to discern, in a fuller and stronger light, that we now do the things which please him."

From this view of the subject, Mr. Wesley thinks that the true believer in Jesus Christ can come to a logical conclusion in favor of his sonship. Thus he sums up the whole:—

"The soul as intimately and evidently perceives when it loves, delights, and rejoices in God, as when it loves and delights in any thing on earth. And it can no more doubt, whether it loves, delights, and rejoices or no, than whether it exists or no. If therefore this be just reasoning,

He that now loves God, that delights and rejoices in him with an humble joy, and holy delight, and an obedient love, is a child of God:

But I thus love, delight, and rejoice in God;

Therefore I am a child of God:—

Then a Christian can in nowise doubt of his being a child of God. Of the former proposition he has as full an assurance as he has that the Scriptures are of God; and of his thus loving God, he has an inward proof, which is nothing short of self-evidence. Thus, the testimony of our own spirit is with the most intimate conviction manifested to our hearts, in such a manner, as beyond all reasonable doubt to evince the reality of our sonship."*

* It appears to us to be capable of moral demonstration, that as in the order of nature, the testimony of God's Spirit is anterior to the appearance of its fruits, so our own spirit, that is, our rational soul, must also receive and recognize that Divine testimony *before* we can perceive the existence of its fruits.

From these ample quotations it is manifest that Mr. Wesley held to the three following propositions:—

1. That God does directly give by his Holy Spirit to the penitent believer an evidence of his adoption.

2. That this penitent believer receives and recognizes this evidence by his own spirit, by which he knows that he is a child of God, anterior to those outward marks called the "keeping the commandments of God."

3. That in order to detect any delusion upon this subject, we must examine our hearts and lives. If we bring forth the "fruits of the Spirit," such as "love, peace, joy, faith, long-suffering, meekness, goodness, gentleness, and temperance," and are holy in all manner of conversation, keeping the commandments of God from a loving and obedient heart, all which he includes in the testimony of our own spirit, then we are authorized to believe that our experience is genuine: but if, on the other hand, a man thinks he has received the Spirit of adoption, and still finds evil tempers, hatred, wrath, and bitterness rankling in his heart, pride and vain glory actuating his soul, and an indifference to the commandments of God, he ought to conclude that he has deceived his own soul.

If the Divine testimony to a matter of fact be given to an individual, it can be no testimony to him unless he perceive and understand it; there must be a recipient intelligent being in order to receive and understand an intelligible communication; and after this communication or witness is received and recognized as the testimony of God, the same mind which received it will bear witness to the fruits which follow.

We say with Mr. Wesley, that the witness of God's Spirit must, in the very nature of things, precede the existence of its fruits; and though in respect to *time*, our own spirit recognizes this witness simultaneously with its being given, yet in the *order of nature* the testimony of the Divine Spirit must be antecedent to its direct recognition by our spirit. This is manifest from the inseparable connection between *cause* and *effect*, and of the dependence of the latter upon the former for its existence. The sun is the *cause* of light and heat in the natural world. And as the sun must exist and act on the earth *before* light and heat are produced, so must the Holy Spirit operate upon the heart antecedently to its recognition by our spirit; and this recognition must also, in the order of nature, *precede* the existence of its fruits, just as certainly as a *cause* must *precede* the *effects* which it produces.

To assert the contrary would be no less absurd than it would be to say that there may be a stream of water without any fountain whence it proceeds, or that we can see that stream before we have any eyes to see it with. Those, therefore, who assert that we may have the fruits of the Spirit without the presence and agency of the Spirit himself to produce them, are equally inconsistent with those who should affirm that there can be water where there is no fountain, or light and heat without the instrumentality of the sun.

Our Saviour has said, "Make the tree good, and the fruit will be good also,"—by which he unquestionably meant to say, the heart of the sinner must be made good by the grace of his Spirit, before his life can be holy. And who in his sober senses will undertake to controvert this plain dictate of common sense? Well, if the heart be made good by the *Spirit of holiness prior* to its bringing forth holy fruits, must not the person on whom this great moral change is wrought be *conscious* of it *before* the fruit itself is perceived? The recipient of this great spiritual blessing must be conscious of its reception, by the direct operation of that *Spirit of truth* which brings its own witness to the heart, otherwise it is no witness to him, and might therefore as well, as to all the benefits he derives from it, be given to a stock or a stone. Why should God speak to a being who is not capable of hearing and understanding his voice? Why bear witness to a fact, of which the person for whose benefit alone the fact is announced, is entirely ignorant?

Why then, it may be asked, do we appeal to the fruits at all? The answer is,

To this doctrine, but more especially that contained in the first proposition, the reviewer objects, calling it Mr. Wesley's "*mysticism*," and an evidence of his "*superstition*" and occasional "*insanity*." This being the case, it shall be our endeavor to support the doctrine,

2. From the explicit declarations of God's word,—by which it will appear that it has been the experience of God's people in every period of the Church, under both the Old and New Testament dispensations. St. Paul says of Abel, who was the first martyr to truth and righteousness, "He obtained WITNESS that he was righteous, God TESTIFYING of his gifts." Of Enoch, also, who walked with God three hundred years in all holy conversation, the same apostle testifies, "Before his translation, he had this TESTIMONY, that he pleased God," Heb. xi, 4, 5. This *witness* and *testimony* must have been either by an audible voice, or by some symbolical representation, such as the manifestation of the Divine presence in the *Shechinah*, or by the *direct witness of the Spirit of God* from heaven to their hearts, that their works were righteous and their offerings accepted. But whatever might have been the medium through which the communication was made, it must have been a satisfactory evidence to them, and that, according to the language of the apostle above quoted, from God himself, bringing an infallible certainty that their works and offerings were acceptable in his sight.

And what shall we say of Job, the perfect man, who feared God and eschewed evil? Though surrounded with the waves of affliction, which beat upon him one after another, in such quick succession, as to threaten to drown him beneath their overwhelming surges, yet he held on to the anchor of hope, which was founded on an inward and inspiring consciousness of the Divine approbation. Hence, in

a person may be deceived—he may *think* he has the Spirit, when he has it not—and to prevent deception of this sort, he must seek for those fruits which always and infallibly flow from the witness of God's Spirit—and if he find them not, he should conclude that he has deceived himself. The *test*, therefore, is to detect deception in those who are not otherwise certain that they are in the favor of God.

"But if they are already certain, what need of the *test*?" And suppose we should allow that there is no need of the *test*, in order to satisfy ourselves of the fact, it would not follow that the fruits are not there, but directly the reverse. If there be an inseparable connection between cause and effect, and if the Holy Spirit, operating upon the heart of a believer, be the cause of those fruits, then, whether they be necessary or not to test the genuineness of the witness, they must exist and flourish. But, will the objector tell us why it is that God requires that "in the mouth of TWO or THREE witnesses every word should be established?"

Because the first witness tells the truth, does it follow that the testimony of the second is needless? How often is a second and even a third witness brought to corroborate the testimony of the first? And shall we here interpose our philosophy, and say that because we are satisfied that the first has told the truth, the second is unnecessary? The fact is, God is determined not to leave himself without a witness, strong and indubitable, of his work on the sinner's heart, that he may be entirely inexcusable, if he allows himself to be deceived by the illusions of error. Hence he has established, it seems, this order, this inseparable connection between cause and effect, that the one shall bear witness to the existence of the other, so that the absence of the one declares the absence of the other, and *vice versa*. Thus the fruits of the Spirit bear witness to the presence of the Spirit himself, while this latter speaks in his own authoritative language to the heart, and bids the "light to shine out of darkness," and it is done. In the mouth of these two witnesses every word respecting the sinner's adoption into the family of God is established.

the midst of the storm, he cries out in these triumphant words,—"Also now my WITNESS is in heaven, and my RECORD on high," ch. xvi, 19. This surely could have been none other than the *witness of the Spirit* for which we contend; for Job had no Scriptures to guide him, no such symbol of the Divine presence as that to which the faithful Hebrews were wont to look, and no other instructer than the heavens over his head, and the earth beneath his feet, and that faithful monitor and Divine Teacher, the *Holy Spirit*, which is alike accessible to all pious people in every age and nation under heaven, and to which Job himself alludes when he says, "There is a spirit in man, and the inspiration of the Almighty giveth them understanding." What other *witness* than that same Almighty Spirit, which "garnisheth the heavens," and "giveth wisdom to the simple," to the honest hearted, could have inspired Job with that holy confidence which enabled him to say to his mistaken friends, "I know that my Redeemer liveth, and that he shall stand at the latter day upon the earth?" ch. xix, 25. This was the Lord's "candle" which "shined upon his head," by whose "light he walked in darkness," when, "in the days of his youth, the secret of God was upon his tabernacle," ch. xxix, 3, 4.

Isaiah bears testimony to the same important truth in those memorable words in the sixth chapter of his inimitable prophecy. After having said, from a consciousness of his sinfulness, "Wo is me! for I am a man of unclean lips, and I dwell in the midst of a people of unclean lips," he adds, "Then flew one of the seraphim unto me, having a live coal in his hand"—"and he laid it upon my mouth, and said, Lo, this hath touched thy lips, and thine iniquity is taken away and thy sin purged." Now how could he know that his iniquity was taken away and his sin purged, but by that same Almighty Spirit which is promised to those who "turn at his reproof?" Prov. i, 23. No man, it is presumed, will pretend to say that Isaiah is to be understood literally, when he says, this was done by one of the cherubim; but only that these cherubim were an emblematical representation of the "seven Spirits of God before the throne," or that eternal Spirit, whose office it is to impart various gifts to his believing people, and, among others, the gift of pardon and salvation to all who believe in Jesus Christ "with a heart unto righteousness."

But, though this witness of their acceptance in the sight of God was the privileged enjoyment of the saints of God, under the Old Testament dispensation,—the nature of true religion being the same under every dispensation,—yet the promises of this unspeakable blessing are more plentifully found in the New Testament. The general promise made unto all true believers is undoubtedly contained in those celebrated words of our Saviour, which he uttered upon the last day of the feast of tabernacles, as recorded in John vii, 37, 38, 39, "Jesus stood and cried, saying, If any man thirst, let him come unto me and drink. He that believeth on me, as the Scripture hath said, out of his belly shall flow rivers of living water. (But this spake he of the Spirit, which they that believe on him should receive; for the Holy Ghost was not yet given, because that Jesus was not yet glorified." It is here declared, by the Master himself, that they who believe, in every age and nation, shall

receive the Holy Spirit. The same promise was renewed unto his disciples immediately before he took his departure from them:—"For if I go not away, the Comforter will not come unto you; but if I depart, I will send him unto you:"—and "when the Spirit of truth is come, he will guide you into all truth"—"for he shall receive of mine, and shall show it unto you," John xvi, 5–14. Accordingly St. Peter said unto his trembling audience on the day of pentecost, "Repent, and be baptized every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, for the remission of sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Ghost. For the promise is unto you, and to your children, and to all that are afar off, even as many as the Lord our God shall call," Acts ii, 38, 39. In these memorable words, St. Peter undoubtedly refers to the grand promise of Jesus Christ, quoted above, and which had been so recently fulfilled in the hearts of the disciples who had waited at Jerusalem "for the promise of the Father," the promised gift of the Holy Spirit, which was to lead them into all truth. At the time the apostle addressed this multitude, Jesus was *glorified*, and the *promise* of the Holy Spirit had been fulfilled, and this fulfilment of the promise was a *direct* and *infallible testimony* to all who received it, that Jesus Christ had entered upon his kingdom, and that the Spirit had taken the things that belonged to him, and had now imparted them unto his disciples. An indubitable evidence this that Jesus Christ now reigned as a living king, at the right hand of the Majesty on high, inasmuch as it was a complete accomplishment of that grand promise he had made to his disciples before his crucifixion, and renewed to them after his resurrection. To this identical promise the apostle refers in the words under consideration, and assures the people to whom he spoke, that it was made unto *them*—to those who were now listening with such trembling anxiety, for an answer to their question, "What shall we do?"—and not to them only, but also to their *children*—to the next generation—and to *all* that are afar off, even "as many as the Lord our God shall call," in every age and nation, down to the latest generation.

That this is the true interpretation of this grand promise, will appear most evident from numerous passages found in the apostolic writings. St. Paul especially, in the eighth chapter of his epistle to the Romans, dwells upon this subject at large, and corroborates his own sentiments as expressed in this chapter, in various parts of his other epistles. "But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead, DWELL in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead shall also quicken your mortal bodies, by his Spirit that DWELLETH in you." Can the Spirit of God *dwell* in the heart without bearing witness to his own presence, and without exerting his own sanctifying influences? But the reader is requested to mark well the following words:—"For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God. For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the Spirit of adoption whereby we cry, Abba, Father. The Spirit itself beareth WITNESS with our spirits that we are the children of God." One would suppose that these words need no comment. They are not brought in incidentally, while the writer was pursuing another subject; but he is laboring to prove the very point in debate between us and

the reviewer; to assert this great fundamental truth of the Gospel, namely, that it is the privilege of the children of God to have a satisfactory evidence of their adoption into his family, that they may duly estimate their high and holy privileges: hence he adds, with a sort of holy triumph, as the conclusion of his argument, "If children, then heirs—heirs of God, and joint heirs with our Lord Jesus Christ." And he speaks a language plain and distinct, perfectly familiar to every experimental Christian; for all such know from painful experience the "spirit of bondage again to fear," and they also know, from most joyful experience, what it is to have the Spirit of God *dwell* in their hearts, to bear *witness* to their adoption, to *lead* them into all necessary truth, and into all holy tempers, words, and actions, as well as *work* in them to "will and to do of his good pleasure."

Nor are the words of the same inspired writer less express and unequivocal in his Epistle to the Galatians, ch. iv, 4–6, "But when the fulness of time was come, God sent forth his Son, made of a woman, made under the law, to redeem them that were under the law, that we might receive the adoption of sons. And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the SPIRIT of his Son INTO YOUR HEARTS, crying, Abba, Father." Could any words more forcibly, more unequivocally, and more pointedly express the doctrine of the *direct witness* of the Spirit? Equally express are the words of St. John, "He that believeth on the Son of God hath the WITNESS in himself." Now if these texts of sacred Scripture do not establish the doctrine for which we contend, and that in the most plain and formal manner, then may we fail to establish any point of doctrine whatever.

No less strong and pointed are the words of the Apostle Paul in the second chapter of his First Epistle to the Corinthians. Speaking of the "hidden wisdom, which God ordained before the world, unto our glory, which none of the princes of this world knew," and which their "eye had not seen, nor ear heard, neither entered into the heart of man," to conceive, "the things God hath prepared for them that love him," he adds, "But God hath REVEALED them unto US by his Spirit; for the Spirit searcheth all things, yea, the deep things of God." Here the apostle declares that those "deep things of God" which were hidden from the wise men of the world, who ignorantly crucified the Lord of glory as a vile impostor, were nevertheless *revealed*, or fully *made known* to the children of God, by his eternal Spirit—even that Spirit which searcheth all things, or which taketh of the things of Christ and giveth them to his disciples. It is this Spirit, which "worketh mightily in them that believe," that makes the children of God, however simple in other respects, wiser in the things of God than the wisest of the wise among those who have not the sealing influence of this Spirit.

And what has the reviewer brought against these express and pointed declarations of Holy Scripture? Nothing indeed but bare assertion. We have passed through his remarks, cold and powerless as they are, and not a single text of Scripture enriches his pages from beginning to end. Instead of appealing to the sacred writers for the support of his theory, as if their sacredness and awful solemnity frowned him into a consciousness of the falsity of his specula-

tions and the frivolity of his objections to the doctrine he was assailing, he entertains his readers with common-place remarks about the danger of "animal feeling," "nervous sensibility," "fitfulness in religion," "mysticism," and makes a flourish of well-rounded periods, about the danger of aiming to produce "a swollen torrent of wrong and tumultuous excitement," consisting chiefly in "nervous sensibility." Did he not consider that a religion which has not the Spirit of God in it, can consist of nought but "animal feeling?" That those who imagine themselves Christians without the Spirit of Christ, if they have any excitement at all, it must be a "nervous excitement?" And that all such as rejoice at all, whose joy does not spring from the Holy Spirit, must rejoice under the influence of the "swollen torrent" "of wrong and tumultuous" passions? But we shall, before we close this article, bring some of this reviewer's philosophical remarks to the test of a sound Scriptural and logical argument, and see of what "sort of stuff" they are made.

In the meantime, having fortified Mr. Wesley's doctrine of the witness of the Spirit, by quotations from the sacred Scriptures, we will, in the third place, examine it in the light of some Calvinistic writers, and see if they do not bear testimony to the same inestimable truth.

3. That Mr. Wesley is by no means singular in so strenuously insisting upon the necessity of our having the witness of the Divine Spirit, will appear evident from the following quotations. The first is taken from the Confession of Faith of the Presbyterian Church, of which, if we are rightly informed, the reviewer is now an accredited minister. This says, "The *infallible assurance of faith* is founded upon the Divine truth of the promise of salvation, the *inward evidence* of those graces unto which these promises are made, the *testimony of the Spirit of adoption*, WITNESSING with *our spirit* that we are the children of God; which Spirit is the earnest of our inheritance, whereby we are SEALED unto the day of redemption." See chap. xviii, pp. 85, 86, of the Confession of Faith. Can words more strongly and explicitly assert the doctrine for which we contend, and for which Mr. Wesley is branded by the reviewer as a "mystic," propagating unintelligible nonsense, fit only for a cloister of gloomy nuns and monks!

And be it remembered that this clear and positive testimony, in favor of the WITNESS *of the Divine Spirit* with *our spirit*, is not the testimony of an individual merely, but of the entire body of Presbyterians who recognize that article in their Confession of Faith as the standard of their orthodoxy. The reviewer highly censures Mr. Wesley for speaking of the *infallible certainty* which a genuine believer has of the favor of God, and yet, in the above quotation, the Presbyterian Church speaks of "the INFALLIBLE *assurance of faith*," and says that this "is founded upon the truth of the promise of salvation," or, "the *inward* evidence of those graces unto which these promises are made, the *testimony of the Spirit of adoption*, WITNESSING with our spirit that we are the children of God;" thereby clearly distinguishing between the *graces*, or *fruits* of the Spirit, the Spirit himself, and the *witness* of the latter with our *own spirit*. Whether, therefore, Mr. Wesley was right or wrong in his views of this subject, he is fully borne out by a most respectable testimony,

and one too which the reviewer will not so readily controvert as he would have done, in all likelihood, if it had come from another source.

The next authority we shall quote, as confirmatory of this doctrine, is that of John Calvin himself, who, though he taught a sentiment on another topic to which we by no means subscribe, yet on the subject under consideration, is clear and strong in favor of the witness and operation of the Spirit upon the heart of the believer. In Book iii, chap. i. after having said that "so long as there is a *separation* between Christ and us, all that he suffered and performed for the salvation of mankind is useless and unavailing to us," and quoting several texts of Scripture showing the necessity of the Spirit's influence, he says, "The sum of all is this, that the Holy Spirit is the *bond* by which Christ efficaciously unites us to himself." In the third section of the same chapter, he has the following words: "He is called the *Spirit of adoption* because he WITNESSES to us the gratuitous benevolence of God, with which God the Father hath embraced us in his beloved and only begotten Son, that he might be a Father to us; and *animates* us to pray with confidence, and even dictates expressions, so that we may boldly cry, *Abba, Father.* For the same reason, he is said to be the *earnest* and *seal* of our inheritance; because, while we are pilgrims and strangers in the world, and as persons dead, he *infuses into us such life* from heaven, that we are CERTAIN of our salvation being secured by the Divine faithfulness and care."—"This union alone renders his advent in the character of a Saviour available to us."—"It is only by his SPIRIT that he UNITES himself with us; and by the grace and power of the same Spirit we are made his members; that he may keep us with himself, and we may mutually enjoy him."

In these passages Calvin maintains,

1. That it is the Holy Spirit which UNITES believers to Jesus Christ.

2. That he bears WITNESS to our *adoption* into the family of God.

3. That he ANIMATES us in prayer, and even *dictates expressions* in the performance of this duty.

4. That he brings a CERTAIN or *infallible* assurance of the favor of God to our souls.

And then in Book i, chap. vii, where he is showing the necessity of the Divine testimony to authenticate the Holy Scriptures to our hearts, Calvin has these words:—

"For as God alone is a sufficient witness of himself in his own word, so also the word will never gain credit in the hearts of men till it be confirmed by the INTERNAL *testimony of the Spirit.* It is necessary, therefore, that the same Spirit, who spoke by the mouths of the prophets, should *penetrate into our hearts*, to convince us that they faithfully delivered the oracles which were divinely intrusted to them."

This testimony is sufficiently explicit to show that John Calvin was as much a *mystic* upon this delicate point of Christian experience as was John Wesley, and that they both drew from the same well of salvation, when they called upon the people to come up to the high privilege to which they are exalted under the dispensation

of the Spirit, and to drink of the water of life that they might live for ever. We shall be sadly mistaken if some compunctious misgivings of mind are not wrought, by this same Spirit, in the reviewer, for having spoken so contemptuously of that witness of the Spirit, for which two such eminent men as John Wesley and John Calvin pleaded, as it is evident from the foregoing extracts from their writings they did. This fact also of their agreement upon such a vital point of Christian doctrine, gives us a sweet hope, that notwithstanding their differences on the high doctrine of predestination, they are nevertheless in perfect union now in that eternal Spirit, which cements the hearts of all the redeemed before the holy throne of God in heaven. For we consider it much more essential to our salvation that we should teach and experience this testimony of the Divine Spirit, than it is that we should perfectly agree on those other debatable points respecting eternal election and reprobation. This remark we hope will have its due effect upon the heart of our reviewer, who, in this instance, evinces a lamentable blindness to those deep things of God, which the Spirit alone searches out and communicates to the heart of the believer; for it is most expressly said by the Apostle Paul, "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his;" and it seems to us inexplicable how a man who has this Spirit *dwelling in his heart*, leading him "into all truth," and pouring the full tide of its consoling influence over his soul, can deliberately set himself in opposition to its *sealing* efficacy upon the believer's heart. We mean no disrespect by these remarks. They are made for the sole purpose of calling his attention, if the reviewer should deign to give these pages a serious perusal, to this all-important subject, as a matter of personal and religious experience; for, as Calvin very justly remarks, we cannot rightly perceive nor duly appreciate and understand the sacred pages themselves only as they are explained and applied to the heart by the "*internal testimony of the Divine Spirit.*"

Another witness to the interesting truth for which we contend, is the learned and pious Witsius, an able Dutch divine, of the Calvinistic school, who wrote his book on the Covenants toward the close of the seventeenth century. After discoursing largely, and, as we think, scripturally, upon the nature and Spirit of adoption, as the common privilege of all the children of God, showing that the grand promise of the Holy Spirit which Jesus Christ made to his disciples, was not intended to be the exclusive privilege of the apostles and primitive Christians, but is the birth-right of all believers in every age and nation, he proceeds in the following manner:—

"But let us now consider the other effects of the Spirit, which, according to the apostle, consist in this, that He *beareth witness with our spirits that we are the children of God.* Here we have *two witnesses* agreeing in *one testimony.*" How conformable is this to the doctrine of Mr. Wesley! Witsius goes on, "The one is a lower rank, *our spirit*; the other of the higher, the *Spirit of adoption*, who is the Spirit of the Son of God. By *our spirit* is understood the mind and conscience of every believer, whereby he may be conscious of what passes in his own heart. In this sense the apostle said, *What man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of man which is in him?* The testimony of this our spirit consists in an

exact representation of our state by certain marks, and a *full assurance of faith.*" Here is the *infallible assurance* to our spirit or conscience, by the *witnessing* influence of the Spirit of God, of which Mr. Wesley speaks—"which," Witsius continues, "is followed by a most quiet tranquillity, and a joy unspeakable"—these are the *fruits* or indirect evidences of our adoption, as spoken of by Mr. Wesley. He thence proceeds to describe those marks of our sonship which he calls *infallible*, such as exclude, wherever they are found, all deception. These are, 1. "Good dispositions." 2. "A holy conformity to our Father and elder Brother." 3. "A new life." 4. "A true and sincere love to God." 5. "A filial reverence and obedience." 6. "Unfeigned brotherly love." These sure marks of a true believer in Jesus Christ are what we denominate the fruits or effects which necessarily flow from the operation and witness of the Holy Spirit upon the heart. After having given these marks of a truly regenerated soul, of one adopted into the family of God, Witsius continues in the following pious strain, which certainly is descriptive of a heart impressed with the Spirit of the eternal God:—

"Hence it is that, while they are sometimes ravished on high by his Spirit, he surrounds them by the beams of his super-celestial light, gives them a view of his face, shining with the brightest love, kisses them with the kisses of his mouth," (would not the reviewer have sneered with holy contempt if this phraseology had been found in Mr. Wesley's, or any other Methodist's publication, notwithstanding its justification from Scripture example?) "admits them to the most endearing mutual intercourse of mystical love with himself, and, plentifully shedding abroad his love in their hearts, he gives them to drink of rivers of honey and butter"—"Then at length they entirely acquiesce, when, to the testimony of *their own spirit* is superadded that of the *Spirit of God*"—"That testimony is given principally in the following manner. First, the Spirit of God makes these holy habits, which, we have said, were the distinguishing marks of the children of God; and which at times are often involved in much darkness, and covered with much rubbish and filth, to shine with clearness in their souls, and, as it were, readily to present themselves to the contemplation of the mind when examining itself. And then it excites our spirit, otherwise languid, to the diligent observation of our mind, both transacted in and by it, enlightens the eye of the understanding with supernatural light, to prevent our being deceived with what is spurious rather than solid, or our overlooking those things, on the observation of which our consolation depends." Now let the reader mark what follows, and he will perceive the identical truth in relation to this deeply important subject, contended for by Mr. Wesley, and almost in the same language, as well as in the language of Calvin and the Confession of Faith. "There is," says Witsius, "moreover, a certain INTERNAL INSTINCT, which *no human language can explain*, IMMEDIATELY ASSURING God's beloved people of their adoption, no less than if, being received up to the third heavens, they had heard *audibly* from God's own mouth, as the apostle formerly heard in the holy mount, *a voice from the excellent glory.* Lastly, seeing no testimony is stronger than that which is proved by facts, the Spirit of God does not leave himself without *witness* in that respect; exciting generous

motions, and the sweetest raptures in believers, and delighting them with consolations so ravishing and ecstatical, and even exceeding all conceptions, that they cannot consider them in any other light, but as so many testimonies of their adoption. Nor is there any reason to apprehend that the children of God will, in this case, suffer themselves to be imposed upon, or admit for a *testimony of the Holy Spirit*, what is a lie and mere illusion of the deceiving spirit. For in this *voice of the Spirit of God*, there is so much *clearness*, so much *majesty*, and so much *efficacy* whereby it *penetrates* with an irresistible power, into the bottom and *inmost recesses of the heart*, that they who have been accustomed to that voice, can easily distinguish it from all others. The *world*, certainly, *cannot receive this Spirit, seeth him not, neither knoweth him;* but *Christ's sheep know the voice of their Shepherd.* And when it *sounds*, not so much in their *ears* as in their *hearts*, they joyfully exclaim, *This is the voice of my Beloved. Behold, he cometh.*" See Witsius on the Covenants, vol. ii. p. 203–212.

Can any words in human language more strongly and forcibly express the necessity and *certainty* of the *witness* and the *fruits* of the Holy Spirit, bearing this double testimony to the heart of a believer in Christ that he is a child of God? And will our reviewer say that Witsius was bewildered by the dense fogs of "mysticism?" That his mind was under the influence of a "nervous excitability," or carried away "with the torrent of wrong and tumultuous emotions?" But Witsius was no canting enthusiast. He was a Calvinistic writer of great acuteness of intellect, deeply read in the sacred Scriptures, and strongly imbued, as the above extracts abundantly show, with the Spirit of his Master. And although we greatly differ from him respecting his doctrine of irrespective decrees and unconditional election, yet it is no small confirmation of our faith in the doctrine now under consideration to find him so amply sustaining it against the lukewarm formalists of his day, and in words and arguments so exactly corresponding to those used by Wesley, Calvin, and others.

One of these others is the late President Edwards. In the account which he has left of his life and experience, are the following words, which are directly in point with regard to the witness of the Spirit. He says,—

"The first that I remember that I ever found any thing of that sort of INWARD sweet delight in God and Divine things, that I have lived much in since, was on reading these words, 1 Tim. i. 17: *Now unto the King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God, be honor and glory for ever and ever. Amen.* As I read these words, there came *into my soul*, and was as it were *diffused through it*, a sense of the glory of the Divine Being; a new sense, quite different from any thing I had ever experienced before."

It may be asked, How this "new sense of the Divine glory" came *into his soul* and became "*diffused through it*," otherwise than by the direct operation of the Holy Spirit? And he must have *known* it by some means, else he would not so confidently have recorded the fact. How could he have known it, unless he had some *inward witness* of the fact, to enable him to distinguish it from all illusions? Although he tells us that it did not immediately occur to "his mind,

there was any thing saving in all this," yet he afterward fully satisfied himself that it came from God, for he says it was the same 'sweet delight in God and Divine things that he had lived much in since." That this Divine afflatus came upon his mind *mediately*, that is, through the medium of a most sublime passage of Holy Scripture, forms no valid objection against the reality of the work then wrought, or the certainty with which this *diffusion*, as President Edwards calls it, was accompanied to his soul, that it was the witness of God's Spirit. Allowing therefore, that his experience of Divine things was scriptural and genuine, and of this we have no doubt, it must also be allowed that he then received a direct and sealing evidence of his adoption into the family of God. Nor will this critical reviewer, we are persuaded, unless he sacrifice a consciousness of truth to a desire to be consistent with himself throughout, class President Edwards, who is such a favorite author among the New-England divines, with the "mystic" writers of the eighteenth century. If, however, contrary to our expectation, he should be tempted to do this, and also, to get rid of their authority on this point, to cover up the compilers of the Confession of Faith, Calvin, and Witsius, in the rubbish of 'mysticism,' 'nervous excitement,' and 'morbid sensibility,' we may then attempt to fortify our doctrine by some more modern writers; for we can assure him that we shall not surrender, without a struggle, so vital a principle in Christian theology, interwoven as it is in the creeds and confessions of every Protestant denomination considered orthodox, and so consoling to the hearts and consciences of all true believers in Christ. This evidence of all true religion in the heart is too deeply radicated in the system of Christianity, to be rooted up by the feeble spade of human philosophy, and too strongly and widely ramified in the various systems of theology which have been spread out on the pages of orthodox Protestants, to be torn up by an arm so feebly supported by the props of Scripture proof as is that of our reviewer. He has not, indeed, deigned to give us a single text to sustain his theory, nor even to do away the force of those quoted in Mr. Wesley's sermon by a different exegesis, but contents himself by interposing his negation to the explanation which Mr. Wesley had given.

We can hardly resist the inclination to give our readers one more testimony in favor of this truth: it is found in the "Faith and Order" of the Churches of New-England," as recorded in *Mather's Magnalia*, vol. ii. pp. 168, 169. In chap. xvi, on "Good Works," it is declared that,—

"Their ability to do good works, is not at all in themselves, but wholly from the Spirit of Christ. And that they may be enabled thereunto, besides the graces they have already received, there is an *actual influence of the same Holy Spirit*, to work in them to will and to do of his own good pleasure."

In the xviiith chap., which treats of the "Assurance of Grace and Salvation," are the following words:—

"Although temporary believers and other unregenerate men may vainly deceive themselves with false hopes, and carnal presumptions of being in the favor of God, and state of salvation, which hope of theirs shall perish, yet such as truly believe in the Lord Jesus, and

love him in sincerity, endeavoring to walk in good conscience before him, may, in *this life*, be *certainly assured*, that they are in a state of grace, and may rejoice in hope of the glory of God, which hope shall never make them ashamed. This certainty is not a bare conjecture, and probable persuasion, grounded upon a fallible hope, but an *infallible assurance of faith*, founded on the blood and righteousness of Christ, revealed in the Gospel; and also upon the *inward evidences* of those graces, unto which promises are made, and on the IMMEDIATE WITNESS OF THE SPIRIT, *testifying* our adoption, and as a *fruit* thereof, leaving the heart more humble and holy."

Here is true Wesleyan Methodism, as held and taught in the Congregational Churches in New-England in 1680, the time that these articles were adopted. Here is the doctrine of the *immediate witness of the Spirit*, bringing to the heart of the believer an *infallible assurance* of faith, even the *inward evidence*, for which Wesley and the Methodists contend, followed by its *fruit*, a more *humble* and *holy heart*. By this our readers may see how far the reviewer has departed from the doctrines of his forefathers, the ancient puritans of New-England. And in the above extract the *ability* to do good works in ourselves is as flatly contradicted as the necessity and certainty of the Holy Spirit is asserted, plainly showing thereby that the modern Congregationalists have departed no less from their fathers in respect to "natural ability," than they have on the doctrine of the witness and influence of the Holy Spirit.

Believing that these testimonies are quite sufficient for our purpose, and that they cannot be set aside by any arts of sophistry whatever, we shall now proceed to examine some of the reviewer's positions, and bring them to the test of scriptural and logical deductions.

1. In the first place, there appears to us a misstatement, in one particular at least, of Mr. Wesley's views, or rather of what he attempted to do. The reviewer says that, "These sermons undertake to furnish an exact view of the *mode* of operation. The fault then consists in an attempt to transmute a theory into a doctrine; to reduce the explanation into his *standard*, and thus enforce belief in it as a leading article in Christian theology. It is the same fault as that spirit of theorizing, which, under various forms and from various motives, plunges into the deep things of God to seek THE HOW, THE MODE, where revelation has withheld it, and imposes its speculations upon the world as the only wisdom—the essential doctrine," p. 359.

What tinsel is here! How pretty to talk about 'transmuting a *theory* into a doctrine!' What is a 'theory' (θεωρια) but the exposition of the general principles of any science, and thus stands opposed to and distinguished from mere *hypothesis*? This latter is a gratuitous proposition, assumed by the speculative theorist without any rational evidence for its support, for the purpose of accounting for any phenomena, and therefore has no other testimony to its truth than the supposititious one that it affords a manner of explaining those phenomena. These *hypothetical* speculations, of which our reviewer gives an admirable specimen in his account of the Christian character, have introduced abundance of confusion into the philosophical, moral, and religious world, and should therefore be repudiated by every lover of truth and order. But a *theory* is

widely different; this is founded on inferences drawn from established principles, independently of all mere *hypothesis*—principles logically deduced from doctrines of established and admitted truth. We allow, indeed, that a man may amuse himself and his readers with mere barren speculations, and thus *theorise* himself into a notion, vain as it is untrue, that a man's religious character is formed by "a proper cultivation of human nature."

But was John Wesley such a speculative theorist? Did he bring in his theory of the witness of the Spirit, as a hypothesis to account for the *mode* of that Spirit's operation? No indeed! He found in the sacred Scriptures in numerous places, and that in the most unambiguous language, the fact asserted, that the Spirit of God bears witness to the spirit of every true believer that he is a child of God. This fact he attempted in the most modest manner to explain, not by adopting a hypothetical speculation to explain a moral phenomenon, but by clothing his ideas in plain and familiar language, expressive, as he believed, of the identical meaning of the inspired writers. His *theory*, therefore, was drawn from the *doctrine* of the Bible, as he understood it; and he brought the language of the Bible, not to support a previously formed theory, but to attest a matter of fact, which was contained in the text that furnished the foundation of his discourse.

But we have quoted this passage from the reviewer to show how much he has misunderstood, and therefore misrepresented, no doubt unintentionally, Mr. Wesley. The reviewer represents him as attempting to seek THE HOW, THE MODE, of the Spirit's operation upon the human soul. Now let us contrast this representation with what Mr. Wesley himself has said of his intention. In his sermon on this subject, he has these words, which, one would think, should have shielded him from any such objection as this which the reviewer has preferred:—

"The *manner* HOW the *Divine* testimony is manifested to the heart, I do not take upon me to explain. Such knowledge is too wonderful and excellent for me: I cannot attain unto it. The wind bloweth, and I know the sound thereof; but I cannot tell *how* it cometh, or whither it goeth. As no one knoweth the things of man, save the spirit of man which is in him; so the *manner* of the things of God knoweth no one, save the Spirit of God. But the *fact* we *know*; namely, that the Spirit of God does give to a believer such a testimony of his adoption, that *while it is present* to the soul, he can no more doubt the reality of his sonship, than he can doubt of the shining of the sun, while he stands in the full blaze of his beams;" vol. i. p. 89.

Is this the language of a vain speculatist, who, by some moral alchemy, is striving to "transmute a theory into a doctrine," in order to explain *the how* and *the mode*, by which his phenomenon can be verified? It is true that in this same sermon, under the first head, section 11, he very properly inquires *how* the Spirit of God bears witness to our spirits that we are his children; but this *how* relates not to the Spirit's *operation*, but to the marks by which the soul, on which he operates, may *perceive*, *know*, or be *conscious* of such operation,—the same as if a philosophical lecturer should attempt to explain to his pupil, who might be listening to a 'theory' of the

wind, *how* he might know that the wind does actually blow, while he professes his entire ignorance as to the *cause* or *manner* of the wind's motion.

Mr. Wesley, therefore, so far from attempting to explain *how* the Divine Spirit operates, contents himself with the simple fact, as it stands on record in the sacred writings, and then proceeds, not "to transmute a theory into a doctrine" of his own, or to convert an idle hypothesis into a spiritual alchemy, in order to explain this moral phenomenon upon the mind, but to support this fact by other parallel passages of similar phraseology and import, and finally to explain *how* the conscious believer may perceive and be satisfied that he himself is the happy recipient of this sacred deposit.

The reader may easily determine which depends most upon a philosophical theory, when he is informed that Mr. Wesley, under the first head of his discourse, brings no less than *ten* parallel texts, all from the New Testament, in support of the doctrine he was explaining, while the reviewer does not appeal to a solitary text to sustain himself, but, as before remarked, simply denies the interpretation of Wesley, and then brings his theory, built, as it is, upon the false assumption that no man can be the recipient of such a witness, as a substitute for the scriptural doctrine for which Wesley, Calvin, Witsius, Edwards, and the Confession of Faith had contended. How illy does it become such a writer to talk about "transmuting a theory into a doctrine," and of bringing this theory to explain a passage of sacred Scripture! Whereas the true state of the case is, Mr. Wesley found it unequivocally stated by the inspired writers, as an undeniable fact, that all truly converted souls have God's Spirit to witness with theirs that they are born of God. This fact, so plainly asserted in God's word, he brought to bear upon the sinner's conscience, as a matter, not of speculative belief, but of heart-felt experience—as a test of Christian character—as a privilege to which all true believers in Jesus Christ are exalted—and as a seal of their adoption into the family of the saints.*

2. In the second place let us notice our reviewer's "theory" of the Christian character, which he professes to place in contrast with that of Mr. Wesley. He says,—

"It is certain that every converted man may be assured of his conversion. Or, rather, regeneration, the change wrought, evidences itself,—it is a matter of consciousness; and to talk of its evidences, as something apart and distinct from its nature, is to use language without precision. Our exercises are the offspring, not of an undefinable *gracious ability*, but of our moral agency; we produce them voluntarily; of course they come under our notice, and we may have a distinct and accurate consciousness of our moral state," p. 356.

Now let it be remembered that this definition of the Christian character comes in immediately after the writer of it had declared that Mr. Wesley's "doctrine of impressions must be regarded as an unwarrantable fancy of mysticism." But why is it that Mr. Wesley's doctrine is a mere mystical fancy? Why? because it

* For a more complete refutation of the reviewer's theory, on this point, the reader is referred to the piece which follows this, by another hand.

taught that a believer may be conscious that he has God's Spirit. And yet this writer affirms that a Christian is conscious that he is such. Then it follows that he is conscious that his heart has been regenerated *without* the Spirit of God. But, says this writer, "every converted man may be *assured* of his conversion." May he indeed? What *assures* him? Not the Spirit of God. This is "an unwarrantable fancy of mysticism." He is therefore *assured* of it by something apart from, and entirely independent of, the Spirit of God: he must be *assured* that he is converted from a consciousness that the change has taken place without the presence and agency of the Divine Spirit; that is, we suppose, according to this writer's account, "from his own moral agency;" for he will not allow so much as even a "gracious ability" to assist in this great work of renovation. Is not this "self-conversionism?" And yet this writer condemns Mr. Wesley for "transmuting a theory into a doctrine!" What marvellous consistency is here! And what is more marvellous still, the reviewer condemns Mr. Wesley because he holds that the Christian may arrive, by the double testimony of God's Spirit and his own, to an *assurance* of faith, or of his acceptance in the sight of God; although he himself allows, in the passage we are examining, that the regenerate may "arrive to a *knowledge* of his state," may be "*assured* of his conversion" "from consciousness," while he remains *unconscious* of the Spirit of God either as a direct or an indirect witness! If this inconsistent theory be not "an unwarrantable fancy of mysticism," engendered in the thick fog of neologistic inanity, we know not by what name it ought to be distinguished.*

The reviewer says, "true feelings of religion spring not from direct efforts to produce them; they are the result of the proper cultivation of human nature." Here again the Spirit of God is excluded. *Religious* feeling is the result of the proper cultivation of human nature! And yet, says he, "to be religious we must have feeling, just as certainly as there must be undulations in the air." Now if a man has no consciousness of the presence and operation of the Divine Spirit, and yet has "religious feeling," such a feeling as excites him to action, must it not be mere "animal excitement," the "offspring of his own moral exercises?" And if they are not brought into action by God's Spirit, which they cannot be if he has it not, admitting he has those feelings, must he not make "direct efforts to produce them?" Or do they come on him involuntarily, like *St. Vitus' dance*, and set him in motion whether he will or no? Or does this theoretical writer suppose that the heart may be regenerated by the Spirit of God, and the subject of this work moved to action and *feeling* in a way that he remains entirely unconscious of the presence and agency of that Spirit? If he believes in such an incredible paradox, he may "stretch his faith's capacity" to any length he pleases, and believe that a man may be under the influence of the eternal Spirit, while moved to action by mere "nervous excitability." If this be not substituting "a theory" in the place of a

* We had written thus far when the strictures which follow this article were put into our hands, by a writer who seems to understand the subject, and to which therefore the reader is referred for a fuller exposure of the theoretical sophisms of this erratic reviewer upon this, and some other points we had intended to examine.

plain scriptural "doctrine," it is at least transmuting moral consciousness into the blind impulses of a disordered imagination.

After thus excluding the Spirit of God from the religion which he inculcates, who would have expected to hear him talk in the following strain?—

"Religion fills the soul with joy that is deep and sublime. It gives the character a chastened enthusiasm, a quenchless ardor, a sublime earnestness. It has its seat in the heart."

We might ask what it is that *fills the heart with joy?* Were we to answer in the language of Divine inspiration, we should say that it is the possession of that kingdom which consists of "*righteousness, peace*, and JOY in the HOLY GHOST,"—of that "LOVE *of God which is shed abroad in the* HEART by the HOLY GHOST," one of the fruits of which is JOY. But our philosophical reviewer excludes from his theory of religion all such sources of *joy* as "unwarrantable fancies of mysticism." According to him, it is "the proper cultivation of human nature," "the offspring of our voluntary exercises," which forms the religious character, and, of *course*, if the heart be "filled with joy," it must be a joy produced by direct human efforts. And this "quenchless ardor," this "sublime earnestness," whence do they arise? From "direct efforts of our own to produce them?" This would be wrong, notwithstanding our religious character is to be formed by an "improvement of human nature," by our *own voluntary exercises!* Do they flow from the testimony and sanctifying influences of the Divine Spirit? To assert this would be a proof that we are under the dictation of a *fanciful mysticism.* In such a dilemma as this to which the writer reduces us, we are compelled to adopt the mournful language of one of the earlier visiters to the sepulchre, "They have taken away my Lord, and I know not where they have laid him." Between this powerless religion of nature which the reviewer has set up, and that of the Bible which Mr. Wesley taught, and the critic rejects, our common Christianity has disappeared, and we know not where it can be found.

But the heart of the Christian is *filled with joy.* And does the Christian *know* it? How? By the Spirit which God has given to *dwell in his heart?* Not in the least. This is discarded as Wesley's *mysticism.* If therefore this joy be *known* at all, it must be simply by a consciousness that it arises from a *proper improvement of human nature*, and not from a consciousness of *acceptance in the Beloved*, by the Spirit which God hath given to those that believe on Jesus. Or does this advocate for this bald religion of nature suppose that the *heart may be filled with* JOY, and nevertheless be unconscious of it? But what possible benefits can result to him from an unknown, unconscious joy? How different was the religion of St. Paul, when he prayed that the Ephesian brethren might "be filled with all the fulness of God." What a *fanciful mystic* was this apostle! What "sublime earnestness and quenchless ardor" did he exhibit when he exhorted the Philippians to "rejoice in the LORD always," and told the Ephesians that they must be FILLED with the SPIRIT!" This was the height of Wesleyan mysticism! Like that, a "quenchless ardor," which all the waters of strife could not dampen.

Now we venture to affirm that, if our critic has given a true de-

lineation of the Christian's character, he can never be excited by any thing besides "animal passions," or the mere natural impulses of an unjaded imagination, or the blind emotions of a morbid sensibility; for he raises his voice against the internal operation of the Holy Spirit, as being in itself a hallucination of a disordered mind; and therefore, this Divine afflatus being excluded, whatever joy may be produced, whatever emotion excited, or whatever action performed, it can be nothing more than an impulse of the natural heart, or the movement of the moral and intellectual powers, acting under the influence of those motives which move the mind to action in this work, the same as in any merely physical or secular enterprise. Thus is the religion of Jesus Christ stripped of its spirituality, deprived of its characteristic and vital principle, and despoiled of that beauty in which, above all others, its distinguished excellence consists.

The whole amounts to this:—The Christian either *has* or *has not* the Spirit of Christ; if he *has*, then is the doctrine of Wesley true; if he *has it not*, then is he in his *natural state*, and of course has no other religion than what may be acquired "by a proper cultivation of human nature;" there is no medium: for if he has not the Spirit of Christ, he has no *grace*, it being only by this Spirit that grace is communicated to the soul, even that grace which bringeth salvation through faith in Jesus Christ. In this way has our reviewer struck a fatal blow to the whole and every part of that grand and distinguishing doctrine of *salvation by grace, through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ*, which forms one of the characteristic peculiarities of the Christian religion.

We had intended, as the subject is one of such vital importance, to pursue it somewhat farther, by showing the absolute necessity of having the witness and influence of the Holy Spirit, to produce that comfortable assurance of our acceptance in the Beloved, and those holy and devout exercises which alone sustain and distinguish the Christian during his pilgrimage. And even now, although this article has so lengthened out as to become, we fear, tiresome to the reader, we must be permitted to add some thoughts which seem to us naturally to grow out of the subject.

The whole amount of our reviewer's objections seems based upon the assumption that it is impossible to distinguish the workings of our own hearts from the operations of the Spirit of God. If this be so, then may we for ever despair of any satisfactory evidence that we have been "brought from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God." That we should be left in this most painful uncertainty on a subject in which our everlasting interests are involved, is not only abhorrent to our feelings, but also contrary to every view we can take of the attributes of God, of the economy of salvation, of either the promises of pardon, or the threatenings of punishment.

1. God has threatened us with everlasting punishment if we do not prepare to meet him. But would he do this without ever letting us know whether we are prepared or not? Would a wise and benevolent master do this with any of his servants? Would he threaten and absolutely inflict punishment upon a servant for not doing a duty, of the nature of which he was ignorant, or of so difficult and ambiguous a character, that he could not know whether it was done or left undone? This indeed would be a hard case. And

shall we attribute such a defect to the government of our heavenly Father? But we are assured in his word, that the only way for us to prepare to meet him is to be purified by the blood of Christ, *through the eternal Spirit*—that those who have not the *Spirit of Christ* are none of his—and that except we are *born of the Spirit*, we cannot enter the kingdom of heaven. Those, therefore, who *deny* that we may be conscious that we *have the Spirit of Christ*, even that "Spirit by which we may KNOW the things which are freely given us of God," do, in effect, deny the possibility of our being able ever to arrive to any comfortable assurance of our preparedness to see the face of God in peace. Thus the consolations of that *hope by which we are saved*, are taken from us by this denial of the testimony of God's Spirit.

2. Promises of pardon are made to the penitent believer. What comfort can such derive from these promises if they can have no satisfactory assurance that they are fulfilled? But this assurance is made to depend upon the *sealing* testimony of the Spirit of God. "After that ye believed, ye were SEALED with that Holy Spirit of promise." "Grieve not the Holy Spirit, whereby ye are SEALED unto the day of redemption." The promise of pardon is connected with the promise of this Spirit—"I will put my laws into their mind, and write them in their hearts"—"For I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities will I remember no more." How are these laws *written upon the heart*, but by the Spirit of the living God? And what is it that is there written, but a *knowledge* of that pardon which is promised as one of the privileges of the new and everlasting covenant? Take away, then, this Spirit from our religion, and we have no evidence left to assure our hearts of pardon. Thus does the spiritless theory invented by this reviewer, deprive the penitent believer of the only means of assurance furnished by the Scriptures, that his sins are pardoned, and his iniquities remembered no more.

3. The consolations of religion are all represented as flowing from the Holy Spirit. Hence he is called emphatically *The Comforter*. But what sort of comfort is that of which the heart is unconscious? If the belief that we have the Spirit of God is a delusion, then certainly no solid and lasting comfort can be derived from this Spirit. An unconscious joy and comfort is just the same as no joy and comfort at all. It inspires no more hope, gives no more satisfaction, than water would administer to a thirsty man, were it given to him in such a way as to deprive him of all sense of his having received it. The Spirit, therefore, even the Spirit of consolation, which is given, less or more, to every true believer, must be *felt* in the heart, must produce a *consciousness* of his own presence, in order to convey that comfort to the believer which he needs, and which it was designed especially to impart. So truly, then, does the religion of our reviewer take away this means of consolation, which the religion of the Bible promises and furnishes to the weary pilgrim through life. For although he contends that the believer has "his soul filled with joy," it is not a *joy in the Holy Ghost*—not a joy arising from a consciousness of the Divine favor through the witnessing influence of the eternal Spirit, but from some other source,—from what source, except it be from a "direct effort of our own to produce it,"

seems difficult to tell. If we have a joy at all, it must come either from the Spirit of God, from ourselves, or from the devil; but the reviewer will not allow that it comes from God's Spirit, such a belief being an "unwarrantable fancy of mysticism;" therefore, according to his theory, it arises either solely from our own hearts, or from the influence of the "evil one." Let him take his choice. The first is Mr. Wesley's source of joy—and we choose the same.

Now, is it not easy to perceive that all scriptural consolation is taken from the believer by the speculative notions of this critic? So far do persons wander upon the cheerless deserts of a barren philosophy, when they once forsake the plain path trodden by prophets and apostles, martyrs and reformers. Let the reader turn to our quotations from the sacred Scriptures, from Wesley, the Confession of Faith, Calvin, Witsius, and Edwards, and compare them with the speculations of this writer, whose hypothesis he has not attempted to support by one solitary text from the Bible.

4. To all this it may be objected, that we must go to the Bible for our religion—we must examine our hearts by the Bible. We allow, indeed, not that our religion is in the Bible, but that we must, nevertheless, examine our hearts by this infallible standard. Well, what says the Bible? It invites all the thirsty to come to the spiritual fountain, and drink of the water of life. It says, "He that drinketh of the water that I shall give, shall never thirst"—and "this spake he of the SPIRIT, which all who believe in him should receive." It says, not once or twice, not incidentally, nor mysteriously, but in several places, and that in a set and formal manner, in the most emphatic language, in the most unequivocal terms—terms that cannot well be misunderstood—that the *love of God is shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost*—that *if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his*—that those who have this Spirit bring forth its *fruits*, which are *love, peace, joy, faith, meekness, goodness, long-suffering, gentleness, temperance*—affirming that those who thus give evidence that they belong to Christ, have *crucified the flesh, with the affections and lusts*—and that *against such*, and only such,—*there is no law*—and, finally, that he that saith that he loveth God *and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar*. These are all Bible declarations.

Now the question is, where are we to look for this Spirit and its fruits? Are we to look into the Bible for them? Can any man be so foolish—we cannot use a more appropriate term—as to suppose that the love of God and the witness and fruits of the Spirit grow in the Bible—flourish amidst paper, and the impressions of types? This is too shallow to be admitted, even by a *fanciful mystic*. We are therefore to look *into our own hearts*, to examine our tempers, and to compare our daily conduct with those requirements, and with those descriptions of the Christian's character. Here, if any where, the Spirit of God must DWELL, and here its holy fruits must GROW and thrive, being watered continually by the river of God's grace. Our religion, therefore, is NOT IN *the Bible*, nor is the *Bible our religion;* but the Bible tells us what religion *is*, directs *where* and *how* to obtain it, *what* is its nature and properties, *fruits* and *evidences;* and for this religion, its fruits and evidences, we must look into our hearts, our affections, tempers, and conduct; if these be in corre-

spondence with what the Bible describes as true religion, then we have a right to conclude that we have it; but if otherwise, that we have it not.

To make this matter plain to every reader—for we wish to profit those who read—and to show the utter futility and nonsensical absurdity of the objection we are canvassing, let us suppose that a man perishing for want of water applies to a friend for direction to some fountain where he may slake his thirst. This friend puts a book into his hand, accompanied with a map of the way to the fountain, and lest he might mistake its meaning, he gives the famishing mendicant an easy and familiar explanation of all its parts, and leaves him with this simple admonition, 'Follow the directions laid down in this book and you shall *assuredly* find the flowing fountain of water, of which if you drink, you shall be refreshed and return rejoicing.' The poor man follows the direction, finds the running pool, drinks, and returns with joy upon his countenance, crying out, *I have found it, I have found it!* 'Hush!' says one reviewer, 'you are actuated by a *torrent of wrong and tumultuous passions*, which have bewildered your brain. Your water is in your book. See how correctly it has described the fountain of water, and the path that leads to it. Is not this enough? Rejoice in this discovery, and satisfy yourself by your own voluntary exercises, and do not display an unwarrantable fancy of mysticism, by persuading yourself that you have actually drunk of the flowing stream. Leave this delusion to those Methodistic mystics whose superstitious leader has bewildered them.'

No one, we suppose, will admire this monitory speech. And yet its absurdity is not more glaring than is that of those who tell us that we must look into the Bible for our religion, instead of examining ourselves, by its marks and directions, whether we be in the faith. The Bible describes the Christian's character and privilege. How shall he know whether that character belongs to him but by examining himself, and comparing the result of that examination with what the Bible ascribes as belonging to the Christian? He nowhere finds in the Bible his personal identity. He finds not his name therein recorded, nor finds himself personally addressed, assuring him that he has a personal interest in Jesus Christ. How then shall he know whether or not he has such an interest? Can he otherwise know it than by the inward voice of the Spirit? And if, when he thinks he has this Spirit, but has not such an assurance as excludes all doubt—which may often be the case when the testimony is not entirely clear—how is he to satisfy himself that it is no delusion, but by ascertaining that he bears the fruits, and that he 'walks by the same rule and minds the same thing.' Having assured himself by this simple process, that he has been born into the kingdom of God, he then feels himself entitled to the privileges of his children, and now 'rejoices in hope of the glory of God.' Mr. Wesley says, 'Whoever has the fruits of the Spirit, *love, peace, joy*, &c., inwardly feels them; whence they come, he learns from the Bible.'

Having sufficiently exposed the absurdity of this objection, we proceed to examine the pretensions of such as *hope* they have a title to the heavenly inheritance. What is the object of *hope?* It is always fixed on something *future*. We never hope either for the

past or present. It supposes also the *absence* of the thing for which we hope. What is the *foundation* of hope? If it be rational, it is founded upon some evidence that the thing is within our reach, or is attainable. Now the Christian's hope is fixed on heaven as the ultimate end of all his labors, his watching, of his faith and prayers; and upon the grace of God in Christ Jesus, to sustain and comfort him through every stage of his spiritual pilgrimage. But this hope is founded upon the assurance he now enjoys, from the testimony of God's Spirit and its fruits, of the favor of God; and upon the promises of his word, which he finds in the Bible, for protection, succor, and direction, while he is travelling through this vale of tears to another world. This hope he has, 'as an anchor to his soul, which entereth into that within the veil, whither Christ, the forerunner, hath for us entered.'

Now let us see how this hope grows up in the soul. In the first place, the sinner is convinced of his sinfulness. Hearing that Jesus Christ died to save sinners, and that he is able and willing to save all those who come unto God by him, and forming the determination that he will, by the grace of God, seek after him, he *hopes* to find pardon. He *seeks*—he *finds*. He now hopes, by the efficient aid of God's Spirit, which has brought him an evidence of his pardon or justification, to persevere, and therefore holds fast his *confidence steadfastly to the end*, believing that he shall finally receive the *recompense of reward*. It will be perceived that in all this process his hope is fixed on something future, and that it is founded upon the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, the evidence of which mercy he has, *first*, in the word of God, which is manifested to sinners in general, and *secondly*, in his own heart, because it has been manifested there by the direct operations and *sealing* influence of God's Spirit. Now he has a hope full of immortality, and of course, 'rejoices in hope of the glory of God.'

For a man to hope for heaven or eternal happiness, while he has no satisfactory evidence that he is a child of God, is to delude himself with false appearances; and to *hope* merely, that he is a Christian, without those internal and external evidences, we have before described, that he is such, is to build upon a false foundation; a true Gospel hope being founded upon an *inward consciousness* arising from the testimony of God's Spirit, that he is *now* accepted in the sight of God, through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ. The Christian, therefore, does not hope that he is in the favor of God; of this he has a most cheering and satisfactory evidence: an evidence communicated to his soul by the Spirit of adoption, and which is corroborated to him by the testimony of his own spirit, and by all those collateral evidences arising out of holy tempers and a holy life, called in Scripture, "keeping the commandments of God."

"Hope that is seen," says the apostle, "is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?" What a man hath *now* in his possession is not an object of his hope; but the true believer in Christ hath *now* in his possession the *love of God which passeth understanding*, a knowledge of his "salvation by the remission of sins;" and therefore, for these things he does not hope. But while he enjoys these unspeakable blessings, he has a well grounded hope of eternal life. Those therefore who, like our reviewer, deny to

the Christian the witness and fruits of the Divine Spirit, exclude from his heart every well grounded hope of future happiness, and throw him upon those "frames and feelings" which arise from a "fitful state of religious enjoyment" and which characterize those who are "unstable in all their ways." On the other hand, all those who "have this hope in them"—this hope which springs from a knowledge of their being in a state of favor with God, "purify themselves even as he is pure;" and, watching unto prayer, persevering therein with all thanksgiving, living daily in the exercise of that "faith which is of the operation of God," are *kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation.*

Allowing the truth of these remarks—and we think they cannot be successfully controverted—it is improper for a Christian who now enjoys the love of God in his heart, accompanied with that "peace of God which passeth all understanding," to say, *I hope I have these blessings.* Though a becoming modesty may have dictated the use of this phraseology at first, yet it will by no means bear a strict examination in the light of a true Christian experience, and in view of a scriptural and rational account of this subject. A penitent sinner, one who is earnestly groaning for redemption in the blood of Christ, may say, *I hope for pardon and peace.* Having been "justified by faith," and thereby having "peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ," he may say, *I hope by the mercy of God in Christ Jesus, to persevere to the end of my pilgrimage, and then to attain to everlasting life.* But a hope of heaven which excludes all consciousness of the Divine favor, "is founded upon the sand" of a delusive scheme of religion, fitted only for those mystical reveries which spring up in the brain and bewilder the understandings of those who "have not the Spirit."

6. Do any say that the thing is impossible? But "are not all things possible with God?" Wherein consists the impossibility? Can not that eternal Spirit which first made the spirit of man, communicate with it, and that, too, in a way and language that may be understood? But we know the thing is *not* impossible. We know that God did thus speak to patriarchs and prophets, to apostles and evangelists, and to all the primitive saints and martyrs. This is unquestionable. The possibility of the thing, therefore, must be yielded. The only question is, *Does* he thus communicate to the hearts of his believing people now, a knowledge of himself, of his pardoning love, by this Holy Spirit? We might answer this question in the affirmative, not only by appealing to the saints before the canon of Scripture was completed, but also by the experience of some of the most wise and holy among God's people in every period of the Church. Unless, therefore, these have all given a false testimony, or have been deluded by the glare of a false philosophy, the fact is undeniably proved by the uniform testimony of all the children of God, who have left their experience upon record.

But this strange objection, which limits the Holy One of Israel, and professes to fix bounds to his way of working, derives all its force from the supposition that God does not *now* deal with his children as he did in former times—as he did in the days of the Old and New Testaments. This last refuge to which the objector flees, takes for granted that God's dispensations have changed, that he

either requires less of his people now than formerly, or that he denies to them the same privileges,—either of which suppositions contains a manifest absurdity. In regard to plenary inspiration, for the foretelling of future events, or authoritatively issuing new commandments, precepts, or promises, or making new revelations, or for the working of miracles, in the common acceptation of that term, we know that the time has passed—the book is sealed—the whole will of God is already proclaimed in his written word. Yet, in respect to true religion, the love of God and man, it is immutable —the same yesterday, to day, and for ever. The manner in which it is to be sought, found, tested, and exemplified in practical life, never fluctuates, never varies to suit the times, circumstances, whims or fancies, nor even the philosophical reveries of any man.

If this be not so, it is totally useless to appeal to the Scriptures at all for the test of Christian character. If this test is not to be applied to us, it utterly fails of its object, and we might as well appeal to the Koran as to the Bible, with a view to "try the spirits whether they are of God." If the same doctrine, experience, moral and religious practice, are not to be believed, felt, and exemplified now, as in the primitive ages of Christianity, then we may burn our Bibles, and imitate the practice of our reviewer, that is, "transmute a theory of our own into a doctrine" of belief, and a test of Christian character, and talk smoothly about "human nature being a glorious harp, capable of yielding music as rich as that which gladdens paradise;" and then say, as he does, "that Christianity finds it out of order, and perverted to degrading services, and aims to tune and fit it for its appropriate use;" but at the same time affirm that this harp may be put in tune without even a touch of that eternal Spirit which first set it in motion—without even a single stroke upon its delicate chords by that Hand which makes the music of the spheres, and by his all pervading influence and guiding magnet keeps the heavens in order and preserves them in perennial beauty! Pray tell us, ye wise ones of the east, what beside this Divine Restorer of human nature can take this once "glorious harp" in hand, readjust its numerous chords, and reattune them to their primitive music? Can all this be done by any thing short of the breath of the Almighty? Until Jesus "breathes upon" it, and says, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," it will still make those discordant sounds which indicate that it is yet "out of order, and perverted to those degrading services" which render it unfit to swell the chorus of paradise.

7. We have dwelt the longer on this subject, not because our "favorite author," the Rev. John Wesley, has been assailed, or because it is *his* doctrine which has been controverted; but more especially because we consider this among the most important doctrines of Jesus Christ, the master Teacher of us all. Take away the Holy Spirit from his Gospel, and what have you left? You have, indeed, "the letter which killeth," but the "Spirit which giveth life," is fled, and with it all that is lovely and energetic in the experimental part of his religion. The mere belief in his eternal Divinity, in his atonement, and in the prescriptive parts of his Gospel, will profit us nothing; we shall still be as "a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal," unless our belief be accompanied with that burning *charity*, which *hopeth* and *endureth* all things, and which "never

faileth." But this charity, this Divine love, is not of terrestrial origin, is not acquired by a "proper improvement of human nature," but it is a supernatural gift, is "shed abroad in the heart by the Holy Ghost," and by this means alone is it acquired. The doctrines of the Gospel, the word of God, the preaching of the Cross, the ordinances of the Church, and the performance of external duties, all, all, are cold and powerless if they be not accompanied by the Holy Spirit. It is this quickening agent which gives life and animation to all Christian duties, whether public or private. Take this away from Christianity, and you have a lifeless skeleton. Infuse this into it and it becomes a "living soul." Christianity imbodied in the head, the heart, the soul and affections of a man, becomes a living, moving monument of the Divine wisdom, power, and love, presenting the outward lineaments of a perfect Christian, and at the same time breathing the inward emotions, and exhibiting the visible actions, of a faithful and laborious servant of the most high God. But this monument, unless animated by the "Spirit of the living creatures," is but a "whited sepulchre." Let this eternal Spirit enter it, and it rises above the world, soars aloft in the holy atmosphere which surrounds it, borne on the wing of the Almighty, counting all earthly things "loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Jesus Christ."

This doctrine, therefore, of the witness and fruits, the sanctifying and comforting influences of the Holy Spirit, is of too vital importance, too closely interwoven into the entire web of Christianity, to be sacrificed upon the altar of a human theory, or of a speculative philosophy. We feel indeed as if we were contending for the "pearl of great price"—for the faith that is "more precious than gold"—for the *very heart and soul*, yea, the *life blood* of the Christian religion: for the blood is not more essential to the life and action of the physical system, than the eternal Spirit is to the health and vigorous action of the moral powers in all religious matters. As the heart of man must cease to beat whenever the blood stops its circulation through the veins and arteries, even so does the professor of religion cease to live and move in obedience to God's will, in all spiritual things, when destitute of the Spirit of the living God. But while this "Spirit of life" is present in the heart, regulating its pulsations, giving free circulation to all its thoughts, emotions, and affections, the Christian moves forward, making a delightful progress in "the race set before him," continually "looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of his faith."

Before we conclude, we must be permitted to give our readers the benefit of a translation of the scrap of Latin with which the reviewer concludes his lucubration, to convince him that we have not been wholly unmindful of his advice in "meditating a little upon the aphorism of the great English philosopher,"—namely, *Bacon*, the father of that inductive reasoning which has its foundation in facts clearly ascertained either by our own experience and observation, by the acknowledged laws which the Creator hath established as immutable, or by the unquestionable testimony of credible witnesses —a mode of reasoning this, we beg leave to remind the reviewer, which Wesley himself so successfully adopted in the sermons before us—for what does it all amount to but an evident demonstration of

that truth of God which the unerring Spirit *seals* upon the *conscience* of every true believer in Jesus Christ—and therefore may be *tested* just as evidently, by actual experiment, as any other truth of which we are conscious?

The following is the passage alluded to, and which the reviewer quoted for our especial benefit:—

"The images and false notions which now occupy the human intellect, and closely adhere to it, not only so enthral the minds of men as to render the approach of truth difficult, but even when access is obtained, they will again arise and be a source of difficulty in the very commencement of the sciences, unless men, being forewarned, fortify themselves, as much as may be, against them."*

And what, indeed, can remove those "false notions" which are engendered in the minds of the unregenerate, but that eternal Spirit of truth which "shines into our hearts, to give us the knowledge of the glory of God, shining in the face of Jesus Christ?" What renders the approaches of this Spirit of truth more difficult than that false philosophy which teaches that a man may become religious by the "proper cultivation of human nature," independently of the Divine Spirit? So closely do these images and false notions of religion "adhere" to many persons, that they will fly directly in the face of the plainest declarations of Scripture, falsify their own standards of faith, contradict their most eminent theological writers, and contravene the laws of the "Spirit of life in Christ Jesus," rather than relinquish them. Of the tenacity with which these floating images are held, in defiance of Scripture testimony and Christian experience, we have a lamentable instance before us, in the theory of our reviewer—a writer whose talents for investigation, had he adopted the inductive method of his author last quoted, by building his theory upon the established principles of the Gospel, would have enabled him to come to the sound conclusion, so often authorized in the sacred Scriptures, that "he that believeth on the Son of God hath the witness in himself," and that "a good tree (only) will bring forth good fruit."

Thanking him, therefore, for directing our attention to an aphorism of such weight, and so necessary to be heeded in all our investigations of truth, we will remind him of another, no less important to be observed for the stability of our principles and the comfort of our hearts;—"To the law and the testimony; if they speak not according to these words, it is because there is no light in them;" a Divine aphorism this, to which our reviewer seems to have paid too little attention.

But it is time to bring this long article to a close. The importance of the subject must be our apology for its length. Our only hope of its being useful is founded upon the belief that he who "maketh the light to shine out of darkness," can make even this imperfect attempt to rescue what we consider a vital doctrine of the Christian Church from the hands of its assailants, a means of enlightening the mind of the reader.

* See the original quotation in a note to the strictures which follow this article.

☞ The following strictures, referred to in the note on p. 263, were submitted to the writer of this article, after he had proceeded that far in the discussion of this subject. As they handle some topics not so particularly examined in the foregoing remarks, they are recommended to the serious consideration of the reader, provided the editors shall deem them of sufficient importance to insert them. They will at least serve to show that two different writers, who had no personal intercourse together, in reference to the subject, while they think much alike as to the truth and religious tendency of the reviewer's objections to Mr. Wesley's doctrine, may take somewhat different methods to expose his mistakes and to establish the truth. Indeed, the particular tenet, contended for in these sheets, cannot be too strongly fortified by Scripture testimony and logical deductions, because it forms, in our estimation, the very quintescence of the Gospel of Jesus Christ.

Never, therefore, did the pen of Wesley touch upon a more vital subject than this. It is, indeed, this truth which illuminates the whole horizon of Gospel doctrine. Like the sun in the firmament, which diffuses his beams on all the planets of the solar system, it sends forth its light and heat to the most distant parts of the moral and intellectual world. We are extremely jealous, therefore, of every one who would attempt to intercept its rays by the clouds of error and the dust of human speculations, or to eclipse its brighter glories by the eccentricities of earthly passions and carnal reasonings. Hence we hail with delight every auxiliary aid to keep the spiritual horizon clear even from every spot, that might, in any measure, intercept the rays of this luminous truth of Divine revelation. For "as the lightning shineth from one end of the heavens unto the other," so does the Spirit of God illuminate every page of inspiration, irradiate every one of the doctrines of God our Saviour, and make manifest the hidden things of darkness, to the consciences of the ungodly, as well as cheer and animate the heart of every true believer, making his "path to shine brighter and brighter unto the perfect day."

Messrs. Editors,—In the last number of the New-Haven Christian Spectator, is contained a brief article upon the doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit, as taught by the venerable founder of Methodism. The article, of course, (almost,) is hostile to the doctrine; and as the objections urged by the writer are, in some respects, plausible, and well adapted to lay hold of popular impressions, while the doctrine impugned is a highly important one, I have thought the article in question worthy of notice.

The following strictures, if you concur with me in supposing the article of the Christian Spectator worthy of notice, are at your service. Yours respectfully, W.

In several respects the article of the Christian Spectator is matter of gratulation. Taken in connection with other portions of the same publication, it affords proof that Methodist writings are deemed worthy of perusal and critical examination. And even if in the

examination we did not discover that freedom from bias which we would desire, still we are glad that our brethren of other Churches at length do us the justice no longer to study our history in the narratives of those who mostly did not know, and when they knew, did not appreciate us; nor our doctrines in the representations of those who studied only to caricature them. Wesley, and Clarke, and Watson, are read. We may therefore expect that their light will be more widely diffused to the no small benefit of others. With our progress in this respect, we are so well satisfied, as to feel no wish, much less *expectation*, that our brethren should believe in the "infallibility" of those illustrious men, any more than they do in "that of the pope."

In the article alluded to, there is an effort (and we trust an honest one) to render honor to whom honor is due, in paying to Mr. Wesley the respect due to his unparalleled labors for the salvation of men. We will not delay to notice, particularly, the sinister cast which is given to the remarks of the writer on this head, by his styling Mr. Wesley a mystic—"one who is destitute of that essential requisite to Christian experience which the apostle calls a *sound mind*,"—by speaking of the *sane* as well as *insane* expression of his character, &c. This language must go for what it is worth. The followers of Mr. Wesley have not learned to display any such superfluous humility as would be shown in an effort to defend him from the charge of insanity or mysticism, either generally or in any particular case.—Neither we ourselves, nor Methodists generally, have ever affirmed either that Mr. Wesley never *did*, or that he never *could* mistake. Yet, we have no hesitancy to believe that the Christian Church, in all her generations, has not presented to the world a man in whom, more than in him, piety was elevated by intellectual greatness, or intelligence sanctified by piety.

However, there is quite an unpleasant vein of self-confidence pervading the article on which we are remarking. Not of confidence in the writer's opinion, nor in the strength of his arguments;—but confidence in himself. Did the writer fancy that Methodists alone are exposed to bias, so that they *only* need instruction from the aphorism of Bacon, quoted below?* If we, in receiving a doctrine, may be warped by prejudice, may not he in judging it?

An ingenious examiner, we fancy, would find it more easy to show that Presbyterian writers had given difficult access to certain truths coming from the lips of Methodists, and rough treatment after they were admitted, than the contrary.†

Let us recur, however, to the proper subject of the article. The Spectator proposes for examination Mr. Wesley's doctrine of the Witness of the Spirit. Its effort is, 1. To present the doctrine. 2. To propose objections; though statement and objection are very much intermingled.

* "Idola et notiones falsæ quæ intellectum humanum jam occuparent, atque in eo alte hœrent, non solum mentes hominum ita obsident sit veritati aditus difficilis pateat; sed etiam dato aditu et concesso, illa surous in issa instantatione scientiarum occunent et molesta erunt, nisi homines prœmoniti, adversus eas se, quantum fiesi poteat, numiant."

† It is said, upon good authority, that a sermon on Perfection (and strongly in favor of it) has lately been preached in a Presbyterian pulpit, not very far from New-York.

Mr. Wesley maintained it as a doctrine of Scripture that the children of God know themselves to be such by Divine assurance of the fact. The terms which designate the doctrine,—witness of the Spirit—summarily present to us the communicating Agent, and all that Mr. Wesley undertook to affirm of the mode of communication. The Spirit of God is the agent; the spirit of man receives the communication; and for the "mode," (if that term have any meaning in this connection,) it is in the manner of one who has the means of knowing a fact conveying information of it to another who has not the means. It is testimony. The doctrine of Mr. Wesley is founded upon the following passage:—"The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirits that we are the children of God," Rom. viii, 16.

The Spectator is right, therefore, in saying that Mr. Wesley regarded this communication as a revelation. If revelation be a supernatural Divine communication of truth—and if the knowledge of the spiritual estate of God's people be by direct communication from the Divine Spirit—then certainly this knowledge is by revelation. But when the writer goes on to say that according to Mr. Wesley, the Holy Ghost communicates with the soul by sensible approaches or impressions, the language would seem to need some qualification to be true. Does the writer mean by sensible approaches simply that the mind distinctly perceives the truth communicated—as distinctly as it perceives the sensations caused by the presence of outward things to the senses?—And is this all he *does* mean? If so, we will not delay upon it. Yet, it must be remarked, that the discussion here is respecting the fact, and (in a restricted sense) the *mode* of communication from *Spirit* to *spirit*,—from the Spirit of God to the soul of man. Hence, though Mr. Wesley uses the word *impression*, we are not to imagine an impulse analogous to that which is made upon the brain in sensation; nor when he speaks of the *voice* of God, are we to fancy *audible sounds*. These are only terms derived from sensible things, and applied to spiritual to give steadiness, it may be, but not reality to our conceptions. The language of Mr. Wesley does not even imply that the soul is *sensible* of the presence of the Divine Spirit, except by the communication. I think that here the writer before us misconstrued the language of the sermons, for so much mistake seems apparent in what he says. The communication reveals at once its author; but the soul of man seems to be endued with no intuitive or direct perception of other spirits.

The *fact* of the communication, Mr. Wesley affirms upon what he supposes to be scriptural authority. The *mode* even of that fact, he does not attempt to explain, unless a denial of the necessity of explanation be itself explanation. He says it cannot be explained; but the individual to whom the communication is made is assured it is from God.

The following quotations from the sermons, present this point in the clearest possible light:—

"By the testimony of the Spirit, I mean, an inward impression on the soul, whereby the Spirit of God immediately and directly witnesses to my spirit, that I am a child of God."

"Meantime, let it be observed, I do not mean hereby that the Spirit of God testifies this *by any outward voice;* no, nor always by

an *inward voice*, although he may do this sometimes. Neither do I suppose he always applies to the heart (though he often may) one or more texts of Scripture. But, he so works upon the soul, by his immediate influence, and by a strong, though inexplicable, operation, that the stormy wind and troubled waves subside, and there is a sweet calm; the heart resting in the arms of Jesus, and the sinner being clearly satisfied that God is reconciled—that all his iniquities are forgiven, and his sins covered."

If, then, Mr. Wesley attempts no explanation of this fact, much less does he attempt an explanation of the mode of regeneration. How the writer in the Spectator could confound (as he does) regeneration with the means by which the regenerate know themselves to be such, is sufficiently inconceivable; but that he should mistake Mr. Wesley's remarks for an attempt to explain the "modus" of regeneration, when it is not even an attempt to explain the "modus" of the witness itself, is past solution. Did he criticise Mr. Wesley without having read him?

The method in which Mr. Wesley's Scripture proofs are disposed of, is peculiar. The passage on which the doctrine is founded, is Rom. viii, 16. *The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit that that we are the children of God.*

Whatever farther investigation may be affirmed to show, it must be admitted that the obvious sense of the passage—that which would strike an intelligent reader of the Bible, unbiassed by theory, attending to the general sense of words—is, that the Holy Spirit communicates with the souls of believers, bearing testimony that they are recognized by God as members of his family. How, then, is this obvious sense of the passage set aside?

First, says the Spectator, the term spirit, it is well known, is used in this chapter in a somewhat indeterminate sense. But is it? And if it be, in some places, what then? Whatever may be the occasional sense of the term, in the majority of instances, and those in connection with the passage under consideration, it unquestionably means the third person of the blessed Trinity. See verses 9, 11, 13, and 14. And if it be used in this sense in so many passages, the fair presumption is, that this is its sense in those passages in which another meaning cannot be proved. Let it be observed, too, that the passages referred to, inform us that the Spirit of God dwells in God's children, see ver. 11,—that such are led by the Divine Spirit, ver. 14. By the Spirit of God dwelling in God's children, the apostle clearly means, making a manifestation of himself—a *friendly* manifestation; for, in any other sense, he dwells every where. Let it be observed farther, that the Spirit of God, the Spirit of Christ,* and Christ, are the same person, see verses 9, 10, and 11. Let the order of the ideas be next considered. The apostle having stated that the Spirit of God, which is the Spirit of God's Son, dwells in believers, in the sense explained, and that such are led by him, proceeds in the 15th verse to state, that believers have received the Spirit of adoption, by which they cry, Abba, Father. But the Spirit of adoption is the Spirit of Christ, which is the Eternal Spirit, as is proved by Gal. iv, 6, "And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the

* Some persons understand by this expression in verse 9, the temper of Christ. The context proves them mistaken.

Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father." Next comes our text, "The Spirit itself beareth witness," &c. Could any one who had no previous opinion think, in reading this verse, of any other spirit than that same of which the apostle had been previously speaking? I am sure not.

The Spectator next makes the extraordinary remark, that "in the 16th verse the apostle merely states a fact; while Mr. Wesley unfolds and defends his theory, as that fact." Now, pray, what is the fact stated "in the 16th verse?" And what is the theory which Mr. Wesley unfolds and defends as that fact? Is not the *fact* that the Spirit beareth witness? And is not the *theory* the very same? Mr. Wesley's doctrine, dignified in the Spectator with the name of a theory, is neither more nor less than a paraphrastic rendering into English of that simple statement of fact, contained in the 16th verse. Properly speaking, Mr. Wesley advances no theory. Yet, upon the supposition of a theory, the Spectator founds several learned and pious lamentations upon the deplorable influence of theorizing upon the Church of God. While we concur in these lamentations, so far as they are brought to bear upon attempts actually made to reduce revealed truth into apparent consistency with human speculations, we cannot consent either that the doctrines of Scripture, or the principles necessarily and inseparably connected with them, shall be driven from the world, under the name of theories. Notwithstanding the learning and research of our Presbyterian brethren, we apprehend their subtle method of severing facts from theories is but lately learned. Their metaphysical edge had tried itself often upon the effort to prove that God's foreordination of *all* things does not include *some* things—that the *inevitableness* of damnation to the reprobate, does not prove that they may not be saved, *if they will*—ere it became keen enough to sever the simple scriptural "statement of fact," that the Spirit beareth witness, from Mr. Wesley's "theory," that the Holy Ghost beareth testimony. This is neologistic tact. Does a New-Divinity man wish to deny a doctrine? He pronounces it a theory. The Bible contains nothing but facts, one would think; and, for doctrines they are to be ranked among philosophic theories. They may understand, however, that when the matter of fact (as *they* term it) is a Divine explanation of a *mode*, it is not to be got rid of by calling it a theory. We have in Scripture the fact, that some men are the children of God. Being such, they need to know it. *How*, then, shall they know it? What is the *mode?* The "simple statement of fact in the 16th verse" is a Divine *theory* touching the *mode:* "The Spirit itself beareth witness," &c.

If, then, Rom. viii, 16, bear upon its front an unequivocal declaration of the fact or doctrine of a Divine testimony in the hearts of believers, we may consider whether there be not another passage of Scripture, which, while it repeats the *simple statement of fact*, gives also some insight into the mode.

We follow Mr. Wesley in referring to Gal. iv, 6, "And because ye are sons, God hath sent forth the Spirit of his Son into your hearts, crying, Abba, Father."

Here is the same cry which is spoken of Rom. viii, 15. Only, that whereas in Romans, the cry is uttered by the believer, here it is

uttered by the Spirit. Manifestly by the believer, at the impulse of the Spirit—by the Spirit, through the believer. This makes no difference in the fact; but sheds some light on the mode.

Mr. Wesley has remarked, (as already quoted,) that the Spirit does not always communicate its testimony by a voice, either inward or outward. We should infer as much from this passage. This is the theory, verified by experience. The penitent suddenly believes in Christ. And suddenly all is changed. From cries of anguish, from sense of guilt, from fear of wrath, from imploring pardon, he feels no guilt, he dreads no wrath, he implores not pardon; but, under the overpowering influence of his heart, he cries aloud, Abba, Father. This cry is accompanied by the sweeping away of all (for the time) that contradicts the cry. The various sensations described, the pangs of remorse, the view of God as a stern judge, these are gone. Christ is precious, and he wonders that he did not trust in him; God is lovely, and he wonders that he had not loved him before; his heart is filled with child-like simplicity, with confiding affection; there is an irresistible persuasion, which if doubted will yet return, that God is reconciled. And, as the assurance beats down all demurring, he cries, Abba, Father. This is the Spirit of adoption, by which *he* cries; it is the Spirit of Christ *itself crying*. In many cases, doubtless, (perhaps in all at the commencement of religious experience, or rather at that stage of it when they enter into the light and liberty of God's children,) a simple state of mind, like the child's conviction of his own identity. Ask him (the child) if he is conscious of his own identity,—he does not comprehend you. Perhaps if you persist in explaining terms, and asking proofs you will make him doubt at last, whether he be the same—the *very* same—he was yesterday. Nevertheless, he acts, (not thinks, nor feels)—he acts that he is the same. So with the babe in Christ. He acts out, with his very heart, in his inmost soul, that God is his Father.

We have now finished what may properly be called the statement of the doctrine. From this, I think it will appear, that the writer in the Spectator has not gained as accurate a notion of what Mr. Wesley meant by the doctrine in question, as might be gathered from the sermons of that venerated man. We have also considered, in some degree, the scriptural language in reference to the subject.

In connection with the direct witness of the Divine Spirit, Mr. Wesley taught the necessity of a resort to the testimony of conscience—to an examination of our tempers and conduct. This testimony he calls a test of the former.

In referring us to conscience, Mr. Wesley so evidently has the support of Scripture, that no argument is needful. Nor does the Spectator question the propriety of such a reference; but, only its consistency with the admission of the more authoritative and infallible testimony of the Divine Spirit. It is to be considered, however, in the first place, What is a test? If I mistake not, its object is to detect, not soundness, but unsoundness. Proof, as well as testimony, is of two kinds,—negative and positive. In other words, before receiving a doctrine, we may inquire, whether its falsity cannot be shown from other doctrines. If it can, this is proof of its falsity; but, if it cannot, it is *negative* proof of its truth. So with testfmony.

If the assertion be that a certain person was in a certain place, we may, without asking whether he *was* seen *there*, inquire if he were *not* seen *elsewhere*. If he were not, this is negative proof, that he was where he was affirmed to be. So to vary the language, negative evidence is that which refutes evidence leading to a contrary conclusion. Negative proof is that refuting an assertion which implies something contrary to the one which is intended to be proved.

Whether Mr. Wesley formally states this as the relation sustained by conscience, to the assertion made by one, respecting himself, that he is a child of God, I do not remember. That this is his view, I think is shown by his use of the word *test*. When we determine the truth of any assertion, by inquiring into the existence of certain circumstances, which *would* show themselves if the assertion were true, this is a test. If a man be a child of God, he will love him. Loving God is, therefore, a test of his filiation.

Beside, a test measures degrees. By direct testimony we may know whether an individual was present in a certain place, at a certain time. But if he were seen elsewhere, just before, and elsewhere again, just after, he must have been present at the place specified but a short time. I do not vouch for the precise accuracy of the illustration, but the truth of what is stated can easily be seen. That a man is adopted into God's family, proves him born again, or regenerate: but, it is no measure of the degree of his love, faith, hope, joy, &c. This measure can only be found in his feelings and conduct.

The secondary testimony of conscience may, therefore, be of great use, even to him who has the witness of God's Spirit. 1. In preparing him to give a ready reception to the Divine testimony, by refuting the doubting cavils of his own heart, as well as the subtle insinuations of the devil. 2. By furnishing him with a measure of his advancement.

We believe each of these witnesses has its place; and that the presence of one, *in its province*, will by no means excuse the absence of the other from *its province*.

Other illustrations, beside those already given, readily present themselves. Does not he who has faith know it; and by the best possible means, viz. consciousness?* Why, then, do the Scriptures refer us to outward works as an evidence of our faith? Doubtless the Spectator and Mr. Wesley would answer, that it is for some such purpose as this: 1. That faith may not degenerate into sentimentalism: 2. That faith may have a suitable measure.

So of love. Does not the man who loves God know it? Why is he then taught to test his love to God, by his love to the brethren?

The Scriptures do not classify proofs, saying, this is primary, that is secondary. They tell us what are proofs, and expect us to believe them, whether we comprehend them or not. But when an objection is advanced against proofs, which is real, while those proofs are supposed to hold a certain relation, we may very pro-

* I do not here proceed upon that strange conceit, that faith is a "self-evident" principle. When a sacred writer says, "He that believeth hath the witness in himself," I suppose him to mean, that a lively faith is accompanied by a Divine testimony.

perly consider them as holding some different relation, in which they may maintain their consistency. Proceeding upon this principle, we suppose that in appealing to conscience for a knowledge of our state, the question is not, How shall he who has the witness of the Spirit know it? he knows it by itself: but, How shall he who fancies he has it, when he has it not,—how shall *he* know that his fancy *is* fancy? Evidently, by conscience.

We say that we are assured of the existence of those things which are revealed to us by sight. We need no other testimony. Shall we hence infer that there is no need of a consultation of the senses? Shall a man in the jaundice affirm that all things are yellow, and refuse to be convinced because sight furnishes testimony of the highest possible kind?

The case to which the Spectator refers makes nothing for his argument. The case referred to is introduced by the writer, in illustration of a strange remark, that in those cases in which the fruits of the Holy Spirit and a holy life present themselves, the power of the test to detect delusion is gone. I suppose the writer means about this:—An individual has what Mr. Wesley styles the witness of the Spirit. He has also the test,—a good conscience. Now, complains the Spectator, in this case, the test cannot detect any delusion. He speaks truly. Conscience here detects no delusion. And for the best of reasons,—there *is* none.

This writer is deceived by his own prepossessions. He assumes there is delusion, and then complains that it cannot be detected.

The case is this:—A certain female, (subject to nervous irregularity,) was seized with conviction, and brought to cry, with a feeling heart, "What must I do to be saved?" In this state she continued for ten days. At the end of which, as she was lying down, revolving anxiously her situation, the room where she was, was suddenly filled with light, and a voice came to her, assuring her, that her sins were forgiven; and immediately filled with a rapturous conviction of her acceptance with God, she rushed forth, to inform others what great things the Lord had done for her.

Now, the Spectator supposes this to have been *mere* delusion, and then complains that the test was incapable of detecting it; for, all the fruits of the Spirit followed. In the language of the writer himself, "until her death she was one of the most devotedly pious members of the Church where she lived." And now, because where there *was* no delusion, (none to affect the argument,) the test shows none, therefore the test is nothing worth. The fault of the writer lies in assuming the point in dispute, that there was delusion; for of that there is no proof. Nay, the proof is the other way.

When an individual professes to know something which we have not the means of knowing, and which we therefore disbelieve, but which yet proves to be fact, the natural conclusion is, that that other individual has some means of knowing the fact, not accessible to us.

This principle will oblige us to admit that the person in question was, by some means, furnished with the knowledge of her adoption. For, 1. She was adopted, as the Spectator admits. 2. She was adopted *at that* time; for then she began to walk in newness of

life. 3. *At that time* she came to the knowledge of her adoption. She must therefore have had some means of knowing.

Let us now turn to another part of the article.

It is made matter of objection that Mr. Wesley should consider this Divine evidence of our adoption a necessary preparation to the exercise of love to God. "This impression precedes holiness in the sinner's heart." In support of his view on this point, Mr. Wesley quotes John; We love Him, because He first loved us.

Mr. Wesley's argument stands thus. He is refuting the opinion of those who refer the Christian for the evidence of his state to the fruits of the Spirit only. Their assertion is, We may know ourselves children of God, by our loving him. Mr. Wesley replies, We love him only by knowing we are his children.

In other words, we are not to refer primarily to the fruits of the Spirit, in order to evince an adoption; because these fruits presuppose not only the fact, but our *knowledge* of the fact that we are adopted.

At this opinion, as stated by Mr. Wesley, the Spectator is amazed. "What!" say they, "cannot love God—cannot know—cannot believe the love of God, until visited by inspiration!" However, the latter part of the exclamation is superfluous. Mr. Wesley's opinion is that we cannot *love God* (with a filial love) until we know that God, for Christ's sake, hath pardoned our sins. The term *inspiration* is equivocal and may convey a false idea. As to believing the love of God, in one sense we may, without being born again.

One remark may be worth making now. That is, that neither of this passage, nor of the two very prominent passages already quoted, the one from Romans the other from Galatians, does the Spectator offer any explanation. The position of the writer is that of an objector, who pulls down without building up; who refutes without proving. Neither does he advance any contradictory passage. His objections are merely metaphysical, or theoretic. This does not comport so well as might be wished with his own remarks already noticed. However, let us proceed.

Our remarks multiply, and we must needs be brief. It is not questioned but that one may comprehend the fact that God loved us, and that Christ died for us, without being born again. But can we exercise the love of children,—filial love,—till we recognize our parent? For it is of this filial love the apostle speaks; and this is correlative to God's paternal love. With this remark, we leave the topic, hoping that religious writers will bring religious opinions to the test of Scripture, and not to that of their own prepossessions, as is done by the writer before us.

If Mr. Wesley's system included much of what is called the *taste* scheme, those who think this a reproach should see that the "tastes" were different from those of the sacred writers, when they tell us to "*taste* and see that the Lord is good;" and speak of *tasting* of the heavenly gift, of the good word, and of the powers of the world to come.

We now come to the formal objections presented by the Spectator. We are sorry there should be any appearance of special pleading in these objections. Yet, I am greatly mistaken, if the

same metaphysical acumen which, "Can a hair divide, 'twixt north and north west side," have not magnified these objections from one into three.

1. Says the writer, "This doctrine must be regarded as an unwarranted fancy of mysticism."

In maintaining this position the critic runs into most absurd confusion, as will be seen upon comparing his statements. For, 1. "There are evidences of regeneration, and every converted person may be assured of his conversion." And yet, 2. "Regeneration evidences itself—to talk of its evidences, as something apart from its nature, is to use language without precision." "If regeneration takes place in our hearts, we are capable of perceiving it, just as we perceive any other change of character." But, 3. "Our exercises are the offspring, not of an undefinable 'gracious ability,' but of our moral agency; we produce them voluntarily; of course they come under our notice, and we may have a distinct and accurate consciousness of our moral state." But, 4. "In arriving at a knowledge of his state, it is of the first consequence for him (the regenerate person) to know, that by exciting his feelings and analyzing his impulses, he will not only retard his progress, but blind and delude himself." And yet, alas! 5. "His great inquiry should be, Have I a Christian temper? Have I ceased to do evil, and learned to do well?"

Before noticing the utter variance between these sentences and truth, as well as their utter variance the one with the other, we may make a remark or two respecting their congruity with the creed which the author of them professes to believe.

According to that creed, repentance and faith are fruits, and so evidences of regeneration. But, here it is represented that we are directly sensible of our regeneration. Are the elect, then, "conscious" of their regeneration before they repent and believe? Are they absolutely "assured" of it? The writer may well look to this; it is a new—new divinity. To return,—These broad assertions are utterly at variance, *First*, with truth and sound philosophy.

It is asserted that we may perceive that great change, called regeneration, just as we perceive any other change in our character.

Now it is a doctrine of intellectual philosophy,—and one fully sustained,—that the mind *itself* is not a subject of direct comtemplation. This the writer will find clearly laid down by Mr. Upham, a philosopher of his own.

But if the mind itself cannot, neither can any change in its state, quality, condition, (or whatever term is to be used,) be *directly* contemplated. We know the mind by its operations—the heart by its affections. We know a change in the things themselves, by change in these.

How does the Spectator suppose that a man is aware of any change in his character? Is it by direct inspection of the soul? Surely not. Should an avaricious man become benevolent, would he know it in any other way, than by considering his feelings at the sight, on the one hand, of money, or of a prospect of gain, and on the other, of distress and want?

We do not therefore directly perceive these changes in our moral condition. The soul is not contemplated as a whole, so that we

can pronounce it good or evil, as we pronounce a mountain high or low—a house black or white.

It is not necessary to delay upon the neologistic science couched in the allusion to "gracious ability"—or to our "voluntary exercises." Only let it be noted that those who are for putting down every doctrine that makes against them, by pronouncing it a theory, do not hesitate for a moment, to build whole systems of divinity, and to stake the salvation of all with whom they deal, upon the basis of metaphysical speculation. Of this there is enough visible in the subject of our remarks. The obvious sense of Rom. viii, 16 is, that the Divine Spirit bears witness with the spirit of believers. What but metaphysics can find any other interpretation?

Secondly, These assertions fight with one another. The sum of them is this. There are evidences of regeneration. These consist of our *voluntary* exercises—we produce them voluntarily. And yet it is of the first consequence for believers to know that by exciting their feelings, &c., they will blind and delude themselves. Yet, again, he is to solve the question respecting his spiritual state, by inquiring, Have I a Christian temper? Nay, it is not by a reference to his temper only, but to his acts also. Have I ceased to do evil and learned to do well?

If metaphysics can fabricate confusion worse confounded than this, why then our brethren of the Spectator, it is hoped, will secure a monopoly of the article.

1. The believer is directed, in seeking a knowledge of his case, to simple consciousness—he may contemplate the moral condition of his soul directly. In this stage of the inquiry, should one ask him, Have you the evidence of regeneration in the tempers of the heart? He would answer that he had a shorter way of coming at the truth —he had witnessed the change in his moral state, as it took place, and could see it yet. Nay, if thoroughly imbued, he would go on to note the delusiveness of any attempt to excite one's feelings, and analyze impulses, and doubtless impress upon us the necessity of resorting to a direct inspection of the soul. But then, 2. The writer, as though he had forgotten, (or did not understand,) the import of his own expressions, does himself refer us to the state of our tempers for evidence of regeneration. "Have I a Christian temper?" "What are the exercises which I voluntarily produce?" In these expressions he must refer to tempers displayed in action—and voluntary exercises are those which flow from deliberate choice. The test then lies here; and yet this is that which his language has set aside.

We propose to the gentleman a dilemma. He may either admit the needlessness of this second test, in connection with the evidence of direct consciousness, or else admit the compatibility of resorting to conscience,* as a test in connection with the witness of the Spirit. Not that we admit the incompatibility in the one case to be the same as in the other. By no means. But he who withstands us, for introducing the testimony of conscience, in subordination to the

* The careful reader will doubtless observe that this term *conscience*, is not used in its usual restricted sense, throughout our remarks; but rather we use it to signify the knowledge we have of our feelings and affections by consciousness, as well as what we know of our outward conduct.

witness of the Spirit, should not combine things, which *really are*, as incongruous as *he thinks they* are.

But, 3. In the writer's system, we have not only to add to direct consciousness, an inferential process from active tempers, but must go farther. For yet it is asked, Have I ceased to do evil and learned to do well?

Let this suffice on that point. We grow both weary and wearisome.

The second objection of the Spectator is more like the former than the second to the first commandment. In truth, it is not like it; it is the same in a new array of words.

"The doctrine of these sermons is the same in principle with every extravagance of the wildest and most ardent form of mysticism."

The writer seems to think that because we admit an immediate testimony of the Divine Spirit to the souls of believers, therefore, whenever an individual professes to have received such a communication, we must believe him. In this he strangely forgets we have a test. By their fruits we shall know them. "No matter," it is said, "how preposterous, how amazing, &c., the enthusiast's account of his visions and voices, he is intrenched, and no expostulation can exorcise the insanity," &c.

The case of an individual giving an account of his visions and voices, is either that of the female before spoken of, in which, though the writer supposed delusion, yet he admitted he could prove none, by the case itself; or, it is a case in which facts contradict the account. In the former, the denial of the Divine testimony is a mere begging of the question. The examiner *assumes* delusion and then most preposterously complains there is no proof of it—in other words, that the person is deluded into truth. In the latter case, the delusion can be shown, and that is sufficient.

But how sadly this logic confounds prophets and apostles! They received the truth, by direct inspiration. Therefore, thinks the writer, no matter how preposterous the notion which an enthusiast may broach, he is intrenched beyond the reach of expostulation.

The third objection connects itself so closely with current views of the religious experience of Methodists that it deserves larger consideration than can be now given it.

"It gives an undue proportion to feeling in Christian character."

"Every philosophical observer, who examines with the Scriptures before him, fails not to perceive that whatever contributes to promote fitfulness in religion, promotes declension and insensibility."

It is against confounding the Spirit's influence with mere sensation, that we wish most carefully to guard. In reference to this, we have two points to make good. 1. That the testimony spoken of is entirely distinct from the feeling of him who receives it. 2. That the system of the reviewer is chargeable with a tendency to promote fitfulness much more than that which he attacks.

For the first:—It has often enough been taken for granted, that the testimony of the Spirit lies in certain feelings of gayety and animation, which many experience in times of devotion. Perhaps Methodists themselves have made the mistake as often as any.

But the feeling is not the testimony. It is the effect of it. A man,

oppressed with guilt and fear, appears at the throne of grace. There pleading the merits of Christ, he receives the assurance of forgiveness. This assurance is not joy; but a sinful man cannot receive it without being made joyful; and hence the feeling has often been confounded with its cause—the testimony. But that they are distinct will be manifest from this, that let him continue until the contrast of the passage from guilt to pardon is done away, and the extreme animation which he has, will subside into a tranquil serenity—a *sober* certainty of waking bliss.

True, others observing that this testimony is productive of joy, and that this joy is the manifestation of it, put on the joy without the testimony; as men often wear crape and sigh without being sorrowful. But their hearts confound them while they do it.

Feelings vary, but the testimony *need* not. In the midst of health, and friends, and prosperity of every kind, it speaks, but without flattery; upon the bed of sickness, in the hour of persecution, amid the loss of all things, it still speaks, and as before it did not flatter, so now it is not ashamed. The Lord knoweth them that are his, and recognizes them.

If the temperament of the man who receives it be gay and ardent, he will speak. If otherwise, perhaps he will not. If his physical state be such that he is susceptible of excitement, it will pour itself forth; otherwise not.

Let us propose a case, and examine the two systems upon it. An individual whom, but a moment ago, we saw groaning, weeping, confessing his sins and imploring pardon, suddenly, in the twinkling of an eye, dries up his tears, bewails no more (though he does not forget) his sins, but in fulness of joy gives glory to God, testifying to others how great things the Lord has done for him. I select, of course, an extreme case, the object being to discern the principle of it.

Suppose this person questioned. Upon our system, he answers, The Spirit itself beareth witness with my spirit, that I am a child of God. Now every one must perceive that this witness of which he speaks, is *not* a feeling of love, or joy; but it is the *cause* of these feelings. It is of course prior to them.

But let this individual have been informed that from his tempers, he must infer his state. Will he not set himself to work up his feelings—to subdue his remorse—to stimulate his love—to arouse emotion? I think this would be the natural result. Beside this, how full of calculation, of balancing of tempers, of casuistry and speculation, would he be!

This leads me to notice another phenomenon. Those who proceed upon the system of the writer, seem to show less feeling and fitfulness than those who proceed upon ours. Why? Because they are so occupied with the balancing of tempers spoken of, that they have no time for the display. But whether others will agree with me or not, I have no hesitancy to say, there is more fitfulness among persons of this class, than of the other.

Beside, times of excitement and again of freedom from it, prove one thing, i. e. sincerity. The feeling must be real. For, if factitious at one time, it could as well be created at another. It is true, that others, looking upon these persons, imagine that now the

excitement is gone, the religion is gone also. Perhaps the persons themselves, through lack of information, have the same view, which itself operates to destroy their religion. But it is not a matter of course, that now the excitement is gone, the religion must be gone also.

Who then is it, that judges by emotion and feeling? Which doctrine is calculated to promote fitfulness in religion? Who will awake feeling? He who depends upon feeling for an evidence of his acceptance, or he who does not?

Much more might be said; but these remarks are, even now, too much protracted.

Some one, perhaps, is ready to ask, Can he who has the witness of the Spirit, ever be in any doubt?

It is not affirmed, that *every* believer *always* has this Divine testimony. Nor is it always equally clear. The apostle who wrote under a plenary inspiration, was yet in one case led to say, *I think* I have the Spirit of God. How was the old prophet, mentioned 1 Kings xiii, deceived?

Ought not this doctrine to be oftener preached, and better understood?

THE PRESENT AGE.

Review of Harris' Prize Essay on Covetousness. By the Rev. ABEL STEVENS, *of the Bennet-street Church, Boston.*

MAMMON, or Covetousness the Sin of the Christian Church. By Rev. JOHN HARRIS, author of the "Great Teacher." Boston: Gould, Kendal & Lincoln. 1836.

THE current popular literature of the religious press is exceedingly prolific. At least it sustains well its ratio to the other departments of the literature of the age. Nor does it graduate lower on the scale of talent. If there is less of that robust thought and moral stamina which distinguish the earlier religious writers of the English language, there is at least, a delicacy of taste and a keenness of penetration, in later works, that render them better adapted to the peculiarities of the times. And indeed it is questionable, whether there is less of intellectual depth, of acumen, in the religious writings of the present day, than at an earlier period. The literary mannerisms of the day—the studied attention to embellish diction, may have led to the impression that such is the case. But if we are not much mistaken, a studious reader of the current religious writings, will form a very different estimate of their relative value. If the early English writers on Christianity dipped their pens in light, and wrote with simplicity and clearness for the head—it may perhaps be said that these sons have dipped theirs in fire, which both illuminates and burns; and has the double advantage of appealing alike to the understanding and the heart. The old colossal architecture of the Pharaohs may have passed away from practical use, and remains only in the pyramidal monuments it has left. But the less bold yet more beautiful, and sufficiently enduring models of Grecian art have taken its place.

Indeed the chief trait that can detract from the estimate of the present age, in the mind of one versed in its true character, is its prevailing self-distrust, and disposition to admit a disparaging comparison with former periods. It has come to be the cant lamentation of the times, that the good old stability of the days of the fathers has disappeared; and it is the imaginary apprehension of many, that a moral earthquake—an earthquake of wind—has fomented beneath the foundations of the whole social organization of the times—convulsing every thing into agitation, and threatening to confound all things in promiscuous ruin. These sensitive apprehenders of ideal dangers, would, like the South Americans, construct all the social fabrics of the age on a scale of diminutiveness, which shall admit of the least destruction in the event of an explosion of the concealed elements of ruin. But these sentiments are unworthy of the age which they would disparage, and the minds that entertain them are not specimens of the standard intellect of such an age; they are too far in its rear to form an adequate estimate of its real character; they are stinted by the limits of a comprehension too contracted to take in the colossal dimensions of its measures; they have never fully breathed in the spirit of emancipation and expansion with which it has quickened the world of thought. It is a magnificent period in which we live. One compared with which the venerated age which was its predecessor, was but a preliminary movement of time. An age of transition *from*, indeed, the strong primary formations, in the geology of the moral world, but *to* the higher strata which afford fertility, beauty, and the sustenance of life to its surface. It is an age which, if we may judge from significant indications, is itself preliminary to some grand epoch in human progress. One in which the accumulated energies of preceding times are condensed, as if for some momentous achievement, and the friends of man, instead of repining with morbid apprehensions for its erratic tendencies, should throw themselves, with grateful ardor, on its exigencies and turn them to good account.

We have asserted that the literature of the present age, though more brilliant is not less substantial than that of preceding periods; that it excels it in adding brilliancy to solidity. The age is eminently practical, but it is the tendency of practical habits to produce thoroughness and lead to new applications of truth. And has not the present age developed this tendency to a remarkable extent? What department of science has not received accessions and extended applications from it? The practical arts have been carried forward with a rapidity which one half of the preceding centuries combined did not equal; but the practical enterprise of the times has communicated its spirit to the intellectual and moral world. Every science has had its master minds within the present age; worthies, who, when the lapse of time shall attach to their names the venerableness of years, will stand in honorable comparison with their predecessors. Many of the natural sciences date their birth from the present age. The natural history of animated nature, in all its departments, botany, geology, mineralogy, and chemistry, in its present scientific form, are chiefly indebted to these reputedly superficial times, and Cuvier has just descended to his grave. Physical astronomy, especially, through the labors of the French,

has made important advances. The mixed mathematics have likewise received their share of the general progress of things; and with the name of La Place is associated a rivalry with Newton, which posterity will yet be called upon to decide, and the sod is still fresh on his grave. The philosophy of mind, least congenial of all departments of science with an age of superficiality, has assumed its greatest glory from our times. The illustrious professors of Edinburgh were our cotemporaries; and across the British channel Cousin still lectures with transcendent abilities, which, unless the superficiality of the age has made a profane mistake, have rendered him a successful competitor with Locke. Political economy, one of the most important of all sciences, is a product of our days, and the death of Say is still as recent in our memories as an event of yesterday. Legislation has made advances unequalled in the political history of the world; and Jeremy Bentham, and Sir James Mackintosh died but a short time since, at a period when a constellation of intellects was extinguished which shone as resplendently as that of any other modern age. The scholarship of this age is not superficial. Profounder students, better thinkers, never lived than are to be found at the present moment in Europe, not only among the plodding and versatile minds of Germany, but even in la belle France. France, the very basis of whose very nationality has been supposed to be vivacity and superficiality, has produced the ablest mathematicians, and the most successful naturalists of modern times, and furnishes a demonstration, on a national scale, of the assertion we have made, that the supposed superficiality of the times is but the brilliancy which circles like a halo round the solid intellect of the age. The splendor of the sun is no argument against its solidity and magnitude, but invests it with new grandeur to our senses. And has not moral knowledge participated in the general progress of science? Are not some of the ablest works of Biblical criticism of recent date? When was philology, especially in its application to Scriptural exegesis, in a maturer state than it is at present, particularly in the universities of western Europe? Ethical science has been undergoing important revisions. The Bridgewater treatises will be in future years proud monuments of the present times in natural theology. The publications of the age which are of a more practical and popular form, partake of the same common excellency. The writings of Hannah More will ever stand among the first productions of the female intellect. Robert Hall's writings are the most perfect models of style and elevated thought extant in our language. John Foster's unassuming essays will secure, by their powerful originality, a lasting popularity. The practical works of John Angel James will always be valuable. The theological writings of Richard Watson will be permanent standards. The small publications of Philip, of "Maberly chapel," are of a superior character. His Manly Piety, in its Spirit, Principles, &c., &c., are gems in the literature of the Church. The writings of Chalmers will be the religious entertainment of men of intellect as long as religion and intellect are respected. The unostentatious author of the "Natural History of Enthusiasm," and of "Saturday Evening," deserves to stand among the first, if he is not the very first, of the moral writers of the age. His genius is of the

highest order, and corresponds better, in its vigorous, argumentative, and original powers in the discussion of moral subjects, with Butler's than that of any other writer extant; while a modern and classical style (somewhat elaborate indeed) gives him, in this respect, a superiority over Butler. His writings afford an interesting example of a philosophical mind of an eminent order, baptized with the very unction of the Christian spirit, and wielding its mighty powers in the defence of true religion. The author whose name stands at the head of this article, comes last, but he is not the least, among the ornaments of our religious literature. He has been favorably known to the reading community by a former work, "The Great Teacher," and will be still more highly appreciated for the present effusion of his pen.

The religious world has participated the same spirit which is vivifying with new life every other department of the interests of man. A spirit of renovation has gone through the Church, and the incubus of moral stupidity, which had repressed its energies for ages, has been thrown off. Methodism, which the more liberal opinion of another generation will acknowledge to have been a paramount agent of the times, has exerted its chief activity in our day. The whole circle of the Bible, Tract, Missionary and Temperance enterprises, originated with the generation now passing off the stage. And these great moral movements of the times, are yet in their incipient stages. They have indeed already kindled up beacon lights in the moral world, which send forth streams of radiance from its different outer positions until gleam begins to blend with gleam, and span its darkness with the streaks of dawning daylight. But they are only the first rays, the cheering aurora of the coming jubilee, the millenial epoch of the world.

One of the most important elements which has given activity to the present age, especially in its moral operations, is the *principle of Christian benevolence.* It is manifest that this is to be the dominant impulse of all the future movements and destinies of Christianity in the world. It is indeed the very genius of Christianity itself. It has always been more or less energetic in the whole of its history; but it has assumed, in the present age, a more practical embodiment. It is no longer an incidental matter, but is growing into an importance which will soon equal it to the financial systems of civil states. It is getting to be a great system of moral diplomacy in the religious world—the immense ground-work of all its interests and enterprises. We have not introduced to the attention of the reader, the eloquent and masterly work named at the head of this article, with the design of examining the critical character of it, but merely to make a passing reference to it, in order to recommend it to the Christian reader. We wish to treat on the corollary of the author's subject—not *covetousness* but *benevolence.* The work is a *prize essay.* A premium of 100 guineas was offered by John T. Conquest, Esq., M. D., F. L. S., for the best essay on the sin of covetousness. The Hon. and Rev. Baptiste W. Noel, and Rev. Dr. Pye Smith, were appointed the arbiters between the different competitors. The present essay was selected from among 143, which were submitted for examination. This fact will speak much for its character. The plan of the work is admirable. In the first part,

the author shows that *selfishness* is the antagonist of the whole economy of God's universe—a "frustration of the Divine plan"—that all sin is selfishness—that the Gospel is a grand system of benevolence designed to counteract this ruinous passion which has thrown the moral system of the world into rupture—and that selfishness has insinuated itself into the Church, and has been *the only successful impediment to its universal progress.* The second part is devoted to the proof of the fact that covetousness is the principal form of selfishness—"in its nature, forms, prevalence, disguises, tests, evils, doom, and pleas." The third part explains and enforces Christian liberality with an ardor, and an appeal, especially to the higher motives of evangelical Christianity, which no heart fervent with affection for the cross of Christ can resist. The style of the work is chastely simple, abounding in lucid figures and classical allusions, and bearing the marks of a perfect finish. We hesitate not to pronounce it, in our humble opinion, one of the most remarkable productions of the age.

We have pronounced with emphasis the assertion that *benevolence is to be the dominant impulse of all the future movements and destinies of Christianity.* We use the word, of course, in its pecuniary sense. It is manifest that there is no other principle on which the plans of Christian enterprise can be based. Religion is a voluntary matter, and never can be made compulsory, otherwise than by the compelling force of moral suasion, without losing its adaptation to man's moral constitution, and thus retard its own success. Even the state of public opinion, that would once tolerate the compulsory support of its domestic institutions, is fast passing away from the more enlightened communities of Christendom; and the Church at home, as well as in its projects of foreign extension, must soon rest entirely on the patronage of voluntary benevolence, in all the places where it has an enlightened prevalency. This is a happy indication. It does not imply a growing indifference to its high interests, but a growing appreciation of its own self-supporting energy, and the spread of more correct views respecting the means of ts success. A religion which possessed inherent energy enough to work its early progress unassisted, through the crowded hosts of its first enemies,—that confounded the philosophy, overthrew the paganism, and cast down to the dust the thrones, and revolutionized the whole civil, social, and religious order that were contemporary with its infancy, and were venerable with centuries, when it put forth its first efforts,—such a system of truth, in an age like this, when it sits enthroned amid the liberty, the civilization, and the learning of the world, needs only to be let alone by civil powers, to show itself immortal and resistless. It is beautifully remarked by the author before us, that "It is clear that the entire economy of salvation, is constructed on the principle of restoring to the world the lost spirit of love; this is its boast and its glory. Its advent was an era in the universe. It was bringing to trial the relative strength of love and hatred: the darling principle of heaven and the great principle of all revolt and sin. It was confronting selfishness in its own native region with a system of benevolence, prepared as its avowed antagonist, by the hand of God itself. So that unless we would impugn the skill and power of its author, we must suppose

that it was studiously adapted for the lofty encounter. With this conviction, therefore, we would have been justified in saying, had we been placed in a situation to say it, "*Nothing* but the treachery of its friends can defeat it; if they attempt a compromise with the spirit of selfishness, there is every thing to fear; but let the heavenly system be worked fairly, and there is every thing to be expected. The triumph is certain."

And when in the hands of the apostles and their followers, the "heavenly system" was "worked fairly" did it not "triumph?" "When first put into operation did it discover any want of adaptation to its professed object? The recollection that God is its author, forbids the thought. It is *the wisdom of God*, and *the power of God*. But besides this, as if to anticipate the question, and suggest the only reply,—as if, in all ages, to agitate an inquiry into the *apparent* efficacy of the Gospel, and to flash conviction into the face of the Church, as often as the question is raised, *when first the Gospel commenced its career it triumphed in every place.* No form of selfishness could stand before it. It went forth from conquering to conquer. 'And all that believed were together; had all things common; and sold their possessions and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need.' * * * * * They felt the dignity and glory of their position, that they were constituted trustees for the world; executors of a Saviour, who had bequeathed happiness to man; guardians of the most sacred rights in the universe. In the execution of their task, death confronted them at every step; persecution, armed, brought out all its apparatus of terror and torture, and placed itself full in their path; but none of these things moved them; they scarcely saw them; they went on prosecuting their lofty work of making the world happy, for they were actuated by a love stronger than death. The world was taken by surprise—never before had it beheld such men—every thing gave way before them—city after city, and province after province capitulated—yet the whole secret of their power was *love*. Diversified as they were in mind, country, condition, age—one interest prevailed; one subject of emulation swallowed up every other—which should do most for the enlargement of the reign of love. A fire had been kindled in the earth which consumed the selfishness of men wherever it went."*

And would not the primeval triumphs of the truth be enacted over again before the world, if we could rouse the Church to a similar spirit of self-sacrifice, and embody its countless resources in enterprises of Christian love? Aye, could we not calculate upon a scene of moral triumph, even more transcendent? Is not the harvest riper now than it was in their day? Our facilities are a thousand fold more than theirs were. The strong ranks of the enemy which they had to meet, undaunted by any previous defeat, still recoil under the shock of their onset, and have fallen back from the contest; a little more energy would compel the world to capitulate. Every door is open. The summons "Come over and help us," coming from the north, the south, the east, and the west, reverberates through the world. The spirit of the age is in motion, carrying every thing before it, and opening up a high way over the earth for

* Pages 19, 20, 21.

the Church. The Church itself is rousing up, indeed, but it has not yet formed the true idea of what it must do before it can acquire the glory of subduing the world. It has its sentinels stationed on the outposts of the moral world; small detachments are moving here and there, to frontier contests, but, it must yet despatch its regiments of missionaries, and send forth its cargoes of Bibles, before it can witness very tangible results. All its energies must be consolidated in the effort, the trump of assembling must echo among its strong holds, an increased thrill of life and zeal must pervade its hosts, every lover of the cross must gird on the panoply of war, until there be produced a simultaneous rush to the scene of spiritual conflict, then may we expect that the work shall be done up, and the victory shout, "Alleluia, the Lord God omnipotent reigneth," shall roll over the world. It cannot be doubted that there are at present sufficient resources in the Christian Church, to complete the spread of Christianity, if they were but in active use. Does not, then, the responsibility of the present existence of paganism in the earth, lay at the door of the Church? And where is the individual member that can say he has acquitted himself from his integral share of the stupendous account?

But not only are the great movements of Christianity dependent upon the principle of benevolence, the same great moral element of the present age is destined to affect, materially, many of the social interests of the times.

The institutions of *education*, especially in our own country, are assuming more and more, a dependence upon voluntary support. Indeed it seems to be the tendency, in all places where Christianity has produced an advanced state of public improvement, to distinguish, as much as possible, between the political and secular interests of society, and those which relate particularly to its intellectual and moral well being, and to confide the latter to the fostering care of religion, and base them on the same principle of voluntary support. This circumstance does not arise from any management of the leading patrons of the Church: it is the spontaneous tendency of the public mind, when under high religious influence, and arises from the confidence which public opinion, when thus enlightened, reposes in the superior power of religion to sustain these interests.

The relief of poverty among the lower classes has become an interesting point of legislative deliberation in modern states, and forms an important problem in political economy. As society advances, the improvements of the mechanic arts reduce the employments of the poor. Christians anticipate a period of moral and social advancement, when all the distresses that now afflict humanity, will be measurably, if not entirely, remedied. But on what principle can the hope be founded, save that we are now contending for—the existence of an extended practical benevolence. The inequalities of human condition are inevitable under any form of society whatever. The violence of popular revolution might, indeed, level the distinctions of society; but it could be but momentary; and the causes of inequality would, sooner or later, obtain again the ascendant. While ever casualties are incident to human life, while ever it is possible for one man to enjoy better health or possess better capabilities than another, so long an unequal distribution of wealth must be insepa-

rable from any form of social organization. We would even say that, though God originated not the necessity of such a state of society, yet, in the present condition of things, it has become a part of the economy of his providence; and that all the afflictions of human life are graciously converted into means of moral discipline for us; and one most important object in this arrangement of Providence is, that improvement of our nature which is to be derived from the cultivation of benevolent habits—not only the disciplinary effects of suffering on its victim, but the effect of those habits of benevolence which his sufferings give occasion to on the part of the benefactor that relieves them. It is admitted that the nature of our present life is entirely probationary; that all its relations, and duties, and circumstances, are designed to be disciplinary of our moral nature, and to fit us for a higher sphere of being. If this is the object, —the ultimate object of all life,—even in its most insignificant duties, of how much importance in this moral discipline must be the noblest of all affections that can distinguish human nature.

These are some of the practical applications of the principle of benevolence, the principle which this magnificent age (as we have chosen to call it) has rendered the lever by which the machinery of the moral world is to be moved. But there are other views of the subject not less interesting. It is not only in its application to the moral exigencies of the times that this affection commends itself to our regard, but its salutary influence on our nature, already intimated, invests it with additional importance. While it is to *act* as the great instrument of the future achievements of the Church, and introduce its universal triumph, it is likewise to *react* and prepare it for the final conquest. We are convinced that the benevolence of the times has not been sufficiently appreciated in this respect.

Its influence is important on our *natural sympathies.* Dr. Paley remarks, (for he has thought the subject worthy of notice in a scientific treatise on moral philosophy,) that "they who rank pity among the original impulses of our nature, rightly contend that when it prompts to the relief of human misery it indicates the Divine intention and our duty. Indeed, the same conclusion is deducible from the existence of the passion, whatever account be given of its origin. Whether it be an instinct or a habit, it is, in fact, a property of our nature, appointed by God; and the final cause for which it was appointed was, to afford to the miserable, in the compassion of their fellow-creatures, a remedy for those inequalities and distresses, which God foresaw that many must be exposed to under every general law for the distribution of property." This sound and philosophical view of the subject applies equally to the more important case where our sympathies prompt to the melioration of the moral distresses of those who dwell in the "habitations of cruelty," and whose spiritual necessities admit of no comparison with the merely physical privations of the poor. In referring the claims of benevolence to the "original impulses" of our nature, we do but place them upon the same basis on which the Creator has established the most important duties of life. It cannot have escaped the notice of the most casual observer of human nature, that the very first relative duties of man are primarily founded in the instincts and sympathies of his constitution. In what do his domestic relations originate?

What binds together the hearts of his family circle, and dictates the duties that pertain to that relation and harmonizes them with a concern which the minutest theoretical views of domestic life, framed into statute rules, never could produce? What is it that guides him in his social intercourses, that sanctifies the confidence of friendship, melts the ice of selfishness from around the heart, and sheds forth its sympathies in streams of love to others? What leads to the love of country, the passion upon which the interests of states depend? Legislatures may define for us our duties to the state, but which makes the best citizens, statute books and prison cells, or the influence of heart-felt patriotism? The instincts of the heart are paramount law here. Scripture and human laws may prescribe some general precepts respecting these duties, but it is manifest that God has seen fit to give them the securer protection of laws written on the mind, laws whose precepts are woven into the very texture of the heart. And how powerless, how chilling, would be all prescribed laws, regulating these relations, without the still stronger dictates of the heart. Social life would be reduced to a mere mechanical process, men would be converted into unfeeling automata, and the very fountain head of all earthly felicity would be stagnated and frozen into a mass of ice.

If, then, those duties which make up at once the chief relations and the chief happiness of human life, duties without which society would be a blank, and man a brute, are committed to the instinctive impulses of our nature, what inference must we draw respecting the obligation of benevolence, if that duty is equally founded in the same natural sympathies? And does not he who resists these impulses, when they respect the wants of the poor or the pagan, commit a transgression against the first laws of his nature, as much as if he should dry up the affections of his heart toward the helpless child in whose veins flows his own blood? He may not commit so great a sin, but does he not commit as real a one? Theft is not so extreme a crime as murder, but it is as really a sin, and the existence of murder in the world does not nullify the criminality of stealing. Is not, in other words, the practice of benevolence *a duty?* and may we not add the farther inquiry, whether we can ever presume on that state of moral and social elevation which we delight to contemplate as the coming jubilee of the Church and the world, until it is felt to be nothing less than an absolute duty? He that can turn the shivering orphan or the emaciated widow from his door, —the man that can pass the tottering beggar in the streets with a look of contempt for his rags,—rags that may be as honorable to him as the scars of a hero,—he that can resist the claims of those benevolent combinations which offer their services to relieve him of all the drudgery of his *duty*,—that man is erasing from the statute book of the heart a mandate which the finger of God has recorded there as truly as it inscribed the precepts of the awful decalogue. When shall the period, propitious for the Church and the world, arrive when the charities of the age shall be transferred from the frail support upon which they now rest, the mere enthusiasm of feeling, to the securer basis of a wide-spread and deeply-stamped sense of duty.

But, again, the fact we have illustrated, viz., that compassion for

the miserable, whether physically or morally such, has a common origin with the social affections and some of the best susceptibilities of our moral nature, proves that there is an important relation between them, and that any violence to those sympathies which God has endowed in our constitution, must extend its deteriorating effects to our whole social and moral nature. So true is this, in fact, that any man whose position in life renders him accessible to the common appeals of benevolence, if he habitually resist them, becomes marked by the perversion produced by such a habit. The reader does not know of a single individual, a member of a Christian Church, who declines an interest in its great charities, or if he gives, does it with constrained reluctance, who is not a living example of the position we have assumed.

It is in the universal principle of *sympathy* that all the duties which belong to our social nature are founded. However varied these duties may be, they are all modifications of the selfsame principle. When it is confined to the limits of those who are connected with us by the immediate ties of blood, we call it *domestic love.* When it extends its compass so as to take in those who are connected with us by neighborhood or the intercourses of society, we call it *social affection.* When it fixes our esteem upon, and reposes particular confidence in, an individual, we call it *friendship.* When called into exercise by national pride or national jealousy, we call it *patriotism.* When excited by the miseries of the poor, we call it *charity;* and when, unshackled by any local limitation, it becomes a sentiment of common interest for all men, we call it *philanthropy.* It is evident, therefore, that the cultivation of habits of benevolence is but the cultivation of the best, the most amiable affections of which we are susceptible.

Not only are some of the best affections of our social nature dependent upon the same principle to which we refer the claims of benevolence, but what is still more important, our moral susceptibilities grow out of that principle. Our moral improvement has more connection with the heart than it has with the understanding. A man may be a philosophical speculator in the theory of morals, and yet live in the practical neglect of all the knowledge of duty he possesses; while the individual whose untutored mind never traced out a single logical process on the doctrines of morality, may posses in his heart, and exemplify in his life, all its excellences.

The cultivation of our sympathies is, therefore, all important for the improvement of our moral nature. And we do not assert too much when we say that he who can wither up these sympathies in his bosom is seriously impairing his sense of the obligations of morality, and the solemnities of religion. If he can stifle the voice that speaks from within the sanctuary of his breast, he may soon be able to deafen his ears to that which speaks from heaven. If those benignant tendencies which bind him in common fellowship with his race, and which should make their sorrows his sorrows, and their joys his joys, are extinguished from his heart, so may be those higher tendencies which, ascending to other worlds, aspire to the fellowship of holier beings. What vice is there, under heaven or out of hell, that has so petrifying, so searing an influence on human nature as that to which we allude—the *sin of covetousness?* The

Scriptures assert it to be the *root of all evil.* "Gold," says the classical tragedian,

> "——Gold is the worst of ills;
> It taints the heart and turns the virtuous soul
> To basest deeds—artificer of fraud
> Supreme, and source of every wickedness."

Is the sentiment in Sophocles, "source of every wickedness," a plagiarism from the Scriptures, "root of all evil," interpolated by some monk, zealous for the truth, or is Scripture so true to nature, and nature so obvious, in this respect, to the most casual observation, that even a heathen poet could hit the truth with the exactness of inspiration? Covetousness is a vampire that sucks the blood out of the very heart. A man once smitten with it is struck with a moral paralysis, all his better sensibilities are nerveless ever afterward. He becomes a statue of ice, every thing he touches decays and dies, he sheds a death-chill on the atmosphere, wherever he goes. Selfishness, like a cold-blooded reptile, coils around his withered heart and feeds upon it. The miser! what is he? A body without a soul, galvanized into life only by the love of money. A unit among the millions of his race, and yet, dreary and solitary, without a sympathy to bind him to them. A drop in the rolling ocean, and yet frozen so hard that it cannot mix with the mass of waters. A man unhumanized. The image of God stamped on the brow of a dæmon! Humanity fallen to the dust, like an angel fallen from heaven!

But change the hideous picture, and contemplate its contrast. Reverse these repulsive traits, and you have the character of the philanthropist. There is no vampire drinking up the life blood of his heart, but its sympathies gush in a living stream like the current of the mountain spring, refreshing and gladdening every thing in its course, until it loses itself in the ocean of human sympathy that whelms the world. No moral paralysis deadens his sensibilities, but all are in lively tune and melodious concord, like the chords of an instrument, responding a tone of music to every touch. He is no statue of ice, chilling the atmosphere and breathing frost wherever he goes, but the ardor of a warm heart glows in every feature, irradiates his eye, kindles in his thoughts, and burns in his words. No cold-blooded reptile entwines his heart and consumes its sympathies, but it is the pure sanctuary of all holy affections, noble purposes, and high designs—sympathies pure and expanded like those that blend in fellowship the spirits of heaven, reside there. He is no body without a soul, but a soul that knows no limitations from bones and muscles,—no unit among the millions of his race, without congenial sympathy,—no drop in the ocean without affinity for the surrounding mass,—but his sympathies enlarge to a kind of infinity, —for such a man is godlike in this respect,—he resembles the Deity in a kind of omnipresence of sympathy, that makes the wide world his home, and every man his brother! It is a sober opinion that such a man—the Christian philanthropist—with a heart sanctified to God and devoted to the good of his fellow creatures, is the highest excellence to be found in our desolate world,—a living personification of the Christianity of the New Testament. It is refreshing

to the heart of a good man to meet with such a one, for he reflects the image of his Saviour.

And let it not be supposed that where the object assisted is a simple and unostentatious one, or the assistance rendered is from necessity limited, that these salutary effects will not follow, and the design of the assistance be not effected. The remarks of our Saviour on the widow's mite take out of the mouth of the miser such a pretext for his illiberality. Simplicity is an element both of beauty and sublimity, and modesty is a characteristic of true greatness. It is the weakness of our nature to be affected more by the casual and striking indications of things than by a sober estimate of their real importance. Our thoughts are stirred within us at the sight of the storm moving in the array of "clouds and darkness," with its lightnings and thunders, and obscuring the very sun in the firmament; but we seldom stop to think that those clouds, that move like dark battalions armed with the thunders of the storm, are but vapour which has arisen from the mountain rill, or been carried up on the breath of a sunny day, from the tranquil surface of the lake. We rarely reflect that all this meteoric tumult results simply in sprinkling drops which sustain the tender herb of the field and refresh the bloom of the loveliest flowers. The ocean is an object that strikes our attention, covering three-fourths of the surface of the world, filled with myriads of monsters, and lifting its ridges of liquid mountains to the clouds. But the ocean is but the vapour of the atmosphere condensed. And *vice versa*, we are apt to estimate of little value, things of humble appearance. But the twinkling stars that wave like expiring tapers among the shades of night are centres of planetary systems. A single grain of wheat could, in the course of years, cover the world with harvest, and supply all the millions of future generations with their bread, and, if it could have soil enough, would accumulate to a mass larger than all the worlds of heaven combined. There is much importance in little things.

Benevolence presents in beautiful exemplification the spirit of Christianity. Considered as an habitual virtue and a practical duty, it is peculiar to the Christian religion. The susceptibility is, no doubt, original in our constitution, and is but another form, as we have shown, of the same principle of sympathy which gives to human nature its social character; but, like all the other moral qualities of our nature that have survived the fall, though it may manifest itself under the form of the natural affections, it seldom, if ever, rises to the greatness of a disinterested and universal principle, except when expanded and sanctified by Christianity. We do not contend that the person who is not personally pious is incapable of true benevolence, but that even his benevolence is the result of at least that indirect influence which Christian institutions and Christian society sway over his natural sympathies. Paganism never produced an exhibition of it. Even in its most polished epochs, when it gave refinement to taste and perfection to art, when it assembled at its shrine all the glories of genius and the charms of literature, and decorated every scene of life with its classical embellishments, it never gave birth to a single institution of benevolence, much less incorporated it into its code as a practical duty. It gave triumphs to its heroes and commemorated the deeds of its great men. It glorified ambition,

gave splendor to power, and lavished dignities on the offices of political life; but it never could discover in the unostentatious pretensions of benevolence that true greatness which renders it the boast of the Christian Church, and in the magnificent enterprises it is now prosecuting, the glory of the Christian world, and the sublime instrument of the regeneration of our race.

Nor has philosophical skepticism manifested more congeniality with this noble virtue. The entirely negative character of infidelity,—its disposition to annihilate every thing, while it creates nothing,—to divest truth of all life and substance, and to reduce the virtues themselves to mere abstractions,—renders it the last soil for the charities of the human heart; a soil in which the rankest vices may luxuriate, but where the virtues droop and die, rather than beautify it with their loveliness. How pre-eminently does the Christian religion shine in the light of this single virtue! Independently of its great doctrinal truths, of the lofty motives it presents to the mind, and the vast range of moral contemplation and spiritual hope it opens before it, stretching even to the length and breadth of eternity, independently of these, or more properly, when we see it clothing these grander attributes in the meekness and simplicity of charity, and wending its way through the putrid alleys of the great city, into the filthy cellar or the shivering garret, and bending an angel of tenderness over the bed of loathsome disease, taking the orphan to its bosom, and pouring its consolations into the heart of the widow, how striking, when thus considered, is its contrast with that idolatry which exhausted its splendors on conquerors and statesmen, or that infidelity whose only virtue is that it delivers man from suffering by petrifying his sensibilities!

STRICTURES ON PROF. UPHAM'S PHILOSOPHICAL WORKS.

Elements of Mental Philosophy, by THOS. C. UPHAM, 2 *vols.* 8*vo. Boston,* 1833.—*A Treatise, Philosophical and Practical, on the Will, by the same,* 1 *vol.* 8*vo. Portland,* 1834.

BY REV. W. M'K. BANGS, A. M.

MENTAL philosophy, properly speaking, is the only universal science. It is at once parent and offspring. While a knowledge of its elementary principles seems absolutely essential to any successful effort of investigation, profound and wide spread investigation in the various departments of human knowledge is necessary to a full development of all its principles.

Owing, however, to various causes, it has been the last of the sciences to develope itself. The mind is seen only in its operations. Of course, before these can be observed, some other field of observation must have been provided. The attention must have been aroused to some internal object; and the powers have busied themselves upon it. By this means, the mind itself, as an object of contemplation, is necessarily thrown into the back ground. It is not an easy task at once to be intent upon an internal object and to watch the mind's operation. Beside, the power of abstraction—of dealing with pure intellection,—is the last to develope itself, both

in the individual and in the mass. Finally, the mind is too near to itself to be readily contemplated. We must look off, in order to look with ease. Hence but few extended observations have been made by an individual upon himself exclusively. The most useful and comprehensive are those in which rigid self scrutiny comes in to the aid of observation upon others.

While mental philosophy holds a common relation to all the sciences, there are certain important scientific arts which derive from it, in its full development, all their accuracy and value. Logic and education rest not upon the superficial knowledge of mind which will suffice for a starting point in the study of physics. They derive nearly all their principles from the science before us. Philology—the science and art of interpretation and expression,—is a shoot from this great stock,—a pillar supporting and supported in the great temple of sober metaphysics. Yet these are the great weapons of the ministry. Were the question propounded, to what science beside the Divine science, should an ambassador of Christ direct his most resolute efforts, we might answer, with all the energy of Demosthenes, *the science of mind.*

The age has not failed to appreciate it. As distinguished from the scholastic metaphysics, its importance is now understood, and the elementary knowledge of it is rendered as universal by means of colleges and academies, as that of the dead languages. In proportion, however, to the dependence placed upon it, must be the care with which its principles are developed. Nay, it is more true here than elsewhere, that it is better to say nothing than what is not correct. Intellectual philosophy is only description. The mental philosopher does not construct and invent; he sits and watches. The effect which he may expect to produce, is—not to re-create the mind,—but, to assist us in the management of it, such as it is. By describing it falsely he may lead us to obstruct its regular operation; while, by not describing it at all, he only compels us to leave it to itself; in which case, though it may at times go astray, or not reach its utmost elevation, it is contrary to all our notions of the goodness and wisdom of God to suppose it will go astray fatally. I am speaking now of the intellectual nature of man, apart from the moral. It may be objected to what is said, that the mind does go astray, and that fatally. But this is owing to moral derangement. Under the operation of a bad heart, man interferes with the operation of his own intellect,—an evil which it is not in the power of intellectual philosophy to remedy. But to suppose that the mind, when untrammelled by a will, either corrupt or misinformed, can go far astray in the field for which God designed it, is to reject all confidence in the Divine benignity. For this reason, it seems better to leave the mind undescribed, than to describe it badly.

The system of intellectual philosophy before us, may be said to be in very good repute. It is somewhat extensively used in our schools of learning, and seems to be almost the only American authority on the subject. It is the only work which professes to go over the entire field, and to give a clear and systematic view of the doctrines which have been established by full and careful examination. This seems to be the province of a work occupying the place of the present,—not to furnish disquisition on the topics com-

ing within the limits of the science,—but to present clearly such principles as have been established, and their demonstration. This, *in general*, is all that can properly be set before the mind of a learner. It is indeed true, that, in the present state of the science, it may be impossible to keep entirely clear of disputed points. But, where such topics are introduced, a distinction should be made. The pupil should know that such and such are debatable points; while others have attained the stability and clearness of scientific deductions. In treating of the will, it would have been more to the purpose to have given us a short account of the variant opinions of metaphysicians, than to have laid down the creed as resting upon the same foundations with the other doctrines of the book, with no note of difference; a creed, too, to be afterward greatly modified, if not cancelled, by its own author.

Professor Upham's work is, in most respects, highly deserving of its position. It is, perhaps, as *lucid* in its expositions, and as *simple* in its order, as a work on intellectual philosophy could be made. These qualities are highly important. No work devoid of them, however meritorious in other respects, would deserve the rank of a text book. The judgment with which the author has combined the views of the profound thinkers in this department of science,—the distinctness and simplicity with which he has arranged and expressed them,—are beyond praise.

Honest scrutiny, however, will do the work no injustice. There seem to me to be defects in it,—defects in important doctrine, and defects in particular passages. Especially, there is a great chain of topics running through the work which deserve investigation, both on account of their intrinsic importance, and of the author's manner of treating them. These, after some preliminary remarks, will occupy our attention exclusively.

We will not delay long upon mere peculiarities which do not affect any great point. There is a prolixity in some passages of which one would gladly be rid. There is also what seems to be an affectation of eloquence, which is quite misplaced. I do not mean of argumentative eloquence,—the eloquence of profound and comprehensive thought; this cannot be misplaced; but the eloquence of imagery.

Mr. Upham, however, does not generally err in this respect. It is referred to more for the sake of holding up an important principle than for the purpose of censure.

One great obstacle to a successful inquiry into the mental phenomena arises from the images of material things, almost inseparably connected with the language we are obliged to use. According to Mr. Stewart, an author quoted by Mr. Upham with great respect, the perfection of philosophical or rather of metaphysical language, lies in its suggesting no pictures of the kind referred to. Of course, we cannot at present reach an absolute perfection in this respect; yet we can approximate to it. There are not wanting men who aspire to the character of intellectual philosophers, and yet seem constantly reaching at some sparkling gem of fancy,—striving to present pictures to the eye, and musical sounds to the ear. Such men seem to consider mind a thing visible and audible. But from them no discovery can originate. The use of such forms of

expression indicates a mind resting upon opinions already laid down—upon analogies discovered. Almost every metaphor has some tendency to mislead—to divert the mind from straight forward investigation, by casual associations. There is an analogy of relation between mental and material things, upon which it is possible to base figurative expressions without misleading. But there is no great need of metaphors at all. Let the eloquence be that of exact discrimination and of precise expression,—that of one who loves truth,—can discern and forcibly declare it. With this the lovers of truth will be satisfied.

There appear to me to be some things objectionable in the account of the primary laws of belief. Is there not too much of an attempt to establish them by reasoning? Does not Mr. Upham seem to grant, that if we could not establish, we might reject them? That they are incapable of *real* confirmation is plain. The statements of the author forbid the supposition that he intended this; yet he has very nearly attempted it.

The principal use which can be made of these primary laws of belief is twofold:—1. To serve the purpose of description. They are parts of the mind. The description may serve the purpose of a test. One may determine by it, for himself, whether his mental processes are running wild or not. He can do the same by its aid for others. 2. By an accurate knowledge of them we are able to detect prejudices; for however firmly these may be wrought into the texture of the mind, they will be found at last to be lacking in the great characteristics of these primary laws. In order that they may serve this end, two things are necessary, neither of which does one find, to the extent desirable, in the work before us. These are, 1. The demonstration, from facts of the mental phenomena, that such and such are primary laws of belief. 2. The characteristics of a primary law of belief, clearly laid down, so as to distinguish it on the one hand from a self-evident truth, or on the other from a deeply-rooted prejudice.

There is one error which the study of mental philosophy has some tendency to produce, against which it may be worth while for an individual to be on his guard.

It has been already noted that mental philosophy is mere description. The philosopher describes taste as sensibility to the beautiful and the deformed:—informing us what objects gratify and what disgust it. Now, it is important that the description be so made, that the reader will not mistake *it* for his taste, and judge by it instead of his sensibility. Philosophers tell us that consciousness is a source of knowledge,—an infallible guide to truth of a certain kind. The danger is, that students will believe what consciousness testifies, not because it is true, but because philosophers regard consciousness as a source of knowledge. In other words, the philosopher tests consciousness; whereas, consciousness ought to test the philosopher. We are apt to depend upon the philosophy to sanction our nature; whereas, nature should be looked to to sanction the philosophy.

Perhaps the work under notice has not done all that was necessary to prevent this bad effect.

Let us now see whether there be not one of these laws which Mr. Upham has misunderstood. I refer to that which he entitles

belief in the uniformity of the laws of nature. I think this law is misstated, though I will not delay to correct the statement. It is sufficient for the present purpose that Mr. Upham has misunderstood, and therefore misapplied it.

A law is a rule of procedure. This is the basis of the idea, in all its modifications.

Physical laws—the laws of nature—are the rules by which natural events *are* governed. Moral laws are the rules by which rational, accountable beings *ought to govern themselves.* Human law specifies that which, by the determination of a competent authority, must be considered the *proper* rule of procedure, by those subject to the authority.

The subject here is physical law: using that term—*physical*—in its widest sense, as including whatever is subject to an unvarying and fore-appointed consecution. The laws of belief are not human laws; they are not moral: and, if beside these, there be any but physical, I am not aware of it.

Perhaps this is as proper a place as any to observe that the word *physical*, when applied to cause, is not synonymous with bodily. The laws by which one idea suggests another, or of association, are physical, though mental. Neither is it necessarily *opposed* to *voluntary.* So far as the will is subject to law, that law is physical, although the result of it be a voluntary operation. But of this hereafter.

Law is not to be defined a "mode of expression"—"denoting an order of sequence," &c. (See Wayland's Moral Science.) It is an ideality, or pure mental conception. It implies, therefore, always, a mind conceiving, as well as a will governing; and in two of its forms, viz., moral and human, will governed; governed, however, by rewards and punishments, or by itself, in conformity to law. Whether the primary law of belief, above referred to, (of the uniformity of the laws of nature,) as expressed by Mr. Upham, throws any discredit upon the miracles of Christianity, needs not to be now considered. I do not intend to examine, in detail, our author's mode of presenting these, although I doubt whether any of them be *very* well described by him. The manner in which the one under consideration is appealed to, in the Essay on the Will, seems to render a brief remark or two reasonable. First of all, then, it appears to me not exactly proper to say that the law in question is of the *uniformity* of the laws of nature. I would rather say, it is the universal conviction that nature *is* governed by law,—not at random. It is difficult to determine how law can exist and not be uniform. I am inclined to think that we may seek in his faulty phraseology for the ground of the mistakes which Mr. Upham has made in his applications of this law.

The reader will please note the phraseology employed. The conviction is not, that nature *must be*, but that, she *is* governed by law. The Supreme might have done otherwise; and that, in particular cases, things have been governed by a rule, not inherent in their own nature, we have ample testimony. This conviction, in my view, is not a primary law of belief at all. It is a conclusion forced upon all minds, by *observation* of the fact, *that it is so.* It is, therefore, a conclusion, subject, in particular cases, to observation

and testimony, which is not the case with what is *properly* called a law of belief.

That this conviction, such as it is, has been misunderstood, and, therefore, misapplied, by Mr. Upham, I think will appear from the following remarks:—

Law is a rule of procedure, and is to be distinguished from the *result* of the process. Thus, it is a great law that the earth shall revolve around the sun, and around its own axis. This is the rule. The *result* is that we have summer and winter,—day and night. Mr. Upham's mistake lies in affirming the uniformity of the result, and not of the law. Now, the result may or may not be uniform. When the law operates *under the same circumstances*, this will be the case; otherwise, it will not.

The pertinency of the remark will be shown by a simple instance. If we infer the sun's rising from his having risen heretofore, by the aid of this law of belief, manifestly we must infer that he will rise at the same time, and in the same relative position as before. It is surprising that this mistake should occur in the same section in which it is rebuked. The case of the man who inferred that it would snow at Rome at the same season at which it had snowed repeatedly before, is precisely that of the man who infers the sun's rising to-morrow from his having risen to-day. This leads me to notice the fundamental error of both; which is the more important, as it seems to be a current error among the philosophic of the day.—See *Int. Phil.*, vol. i, p. 45.

It lies essentially in mistaking results for laws. Mr. Upham supposes the mistake lay in the individual's inferring from too small a number of facts. In a measure it did. Under certain circumstances, we have nothing on which to base an inference, but a multitude of results, or rather the same result, *often repeated*. But, in most cases of this kind, does not the error lie in inferring from the fact past, to the result future, *directly?* The process should be from the fact known, to infer the *law;* and, from the law, the result to come. The law, once seen, is a law, until superseded. And had the law been that it should snow, the man would have been justified in inferring, not only from its having snowed thrice, but, even from a single fall of snow. For a law, we need to see it once only, and it standeth sure for ever.*

Another instance of the misapplication of this law is in vol. i, p. 128. I *think* that is an erroneous application. Let us examine it. The argument of the author, in that case, seems to run thus:—

I am naturally inclined to speak the truth.—But I am a man.—By the law of belief before us, all men have the same inclinations: therefore, all men have this inclination. But the intermediate proposition, here, is identical; for before it can be affirmed that any being is a man, *in all respects*, it must be ascertained that he has this inclination. The proper argument in the case is, by analogy,

* The reader will not now understand me to deny the *correctness* of the conclusion, that the sun will rise; nor the correctness of the usual mode of reaching it: but, that Mr. Upham has not stated that process *precisely* as it is. The method of arriving at this conclusion, already noted, though true, is not possible to an *Indian?* For the amusement of those who are pleased with such questions, it is desired to know, how the Indian may correctly derive this inference? This inquiry will evidently present some modification of the views already expressed.

thus:—I am a man, and have a certain inclination. Another has the general characteristics of manhood; therefore, by analogy, he has this, viz., a certain inclination.

Let us pass now to other topics.

The remarks on the immateriality of the soul are conclusive, but not perfect. The power of negative arguments does not seem to be understood. We know what *is*, by its evidence. But, how do we know what is *not*? I answer, in various ways; but, particularly in this:—There is, 1. No evidence that the thing *is*. 2. There is the certainty that if the thing were, there *would be* evidence of it. Therefore it *is not*.

Upon this basis I would construct a negative argument for the immateriality of the soul. That doctrine is a negation—a denial of materiality.

Is the soul material? I answer, No! Because, 1. There is no evidence that it is. 2. If it were, there would be evidence. I take this to be as conclusive an argument as possible: at least, it goes the length of throwing the *onus probandi* where it should be,—upon the materialist.

* We come now to a series of important topics, on which, particularly in reference to the author's manner of treating them, it is proposed to make some remarks. These will be included under the following heads:—1. Mental activity and passivity. 2. Definitions and simple terms. 3. Freedom in general;—of the will in particular.

Neither in the remarks now to be made, nor in those made already, is it forgotten that the critic himself is as liable to criticism as his author. The writer proposes his opinions freely, vouching only for his care in elaborating them, and for the honesty of his purpose in making them known; but by no means expecting them to be implicitly received by those who read. It is not forgotten, that the reviewed may turn reviewer; and that Professor Upham's practised eye may detect of real mistakes in the strictures more and greater than the writer of the strictures *seems to himself* to have detected in the philosophy and its accompanying essay.

Of the points above specified, in order.

1. Of mental passivity and activity.

Without delaying now to determine how far the mental operations are the mere offspring of physical causes, (in the sense of physical

* Strictures might, without difficulty, be passed upon various parts of the principal work under notice. One point only, beside those above mentioned, I wish to bring to view, as it may afford some entertainment to those who are fond of solving such problems. It is a great question:—How does the mind first obtain the notion of externality? In the Int. Phil. it is considered, that this notion is received through the sense of touch.—See vol. i, p. 244. Whether that opinion be correct or not, the proof of it is not attempted. Now, if it be correct, how can it be shown to be so? Whoever will undertake it, will find the following points to be made out. 1. The true sense of external and internal, in relation to this subject, must be clearly discriminated. This is no small matter. I am apprehensive most persons would go astray here. 2. The proof must be adduced that this notion cannot be furnished by any other sense than touch, nor by any combination of the senses. 3. It must be shown that *touch* furnishes the intimation that its own organ is external; for not other bodies only, but each one's own body: nay, the very finger which touches is *external* in the present case. It strikes me that this last point has escaped observation.

already noted,) and how far not, it is sufficient to observe that, in certain respects, there are important differences between them. While, in one case, the mind receives the action of external agents, in others it acts upon them. It acts upon them too, not passively, as the sledge hammer upon the iron placed under it, but by an impulse of its own. While truly moved by other things, it truly moves itself. It is this which distinguishes the mind from a piece of mechanism; which, in truth, constitutes man a "living soul."

But Mr. Upham has come as near as possible to making the mind entirely passive. By what method he eluded the proper sense of this term *passive*, in contradistinction from *active*, it is difficult to determine. He has, however, done so very effectually.

Commenting upon the opinion of Butler and Stewart, that habit strengthens the active determinations of our nature, but not the *passive*, he derives this word from the Latin, *patior*, to suffer; and accordingly understands those philosophers to refer to that part of our constitution by which we endure pain. It were as reasonable to consider *passive* verbs as expressive of pain only. Is it not notorious, that in some cases we receive the action of external objects, in which cases we are passive; while in others the mind *acts upon*, in which cases it is active?—See vol. i, p. 173. The same mistake is made in reference to *passion*, which is considered a form of suffering. But does not the word etymologically point out the fact, that in a case of excited sensibility the affection is so strong as to make the man passive rather than active in its indulgence;—a victim, not a master?

The mental state, which led to these mistakes, probably led to oversight of the proper distinction between *emotions* and *desires*. The author, in separating these, chooses to consider emotion as transitory, and desire permanent. But the distinction fails in too many cases, or rather, no such distinction exists. *Desire* is active, *emotion* is passive.

These, indeed, are minor points. It is more important that the whole book is constructed in total neglect of the active property of the mind. Perhaps, we may say, it is put together with an evident intention to make the mind appear as mechanical as possible.

Evidence of this is seen in the parts relating to association, abstraction, attention, and imagination.

1. Association, (see vol. i, p. 477.) The power of the mind over its trains of association, seems to me considerably different from what it is represented to be by Mr. Upham. We have far greater liberty than simply to dwell upon an idea, and then follow just such trains of thought from it as present themselves. We can, to a great extent, specify what law of association shall operate; whether that of contiguity, of contrast, or of cause and effect.

2. Abstraction, (vol. i, p. 341.) We see the theory of passivity still more clearly in the remarks on abstraction. The process, as there delineated, is merely one wheel moving another by cogs and crevices. A complex idea, says our author, is before the mind; a desire to examine some particular part of it springs up, *consequently* all the other parts fall off, and we have the process of abstraction.

It is not necessary to dispute about the desire. But how could it escape the writer, that in the desire of the mind (supposing it to

exist) it is implied that that particular part which the mind desires to examine *is already abstracted?*

The simple process seems to be this:—The mind, in contemplating a complex object, makes sometimes a part, sometimes a quality, the subject of its contemplation. It has, therefore, a power of contemplating parts separately from other parts,—and qualities apart from the subjects in which they inhere. This power is abstraction. This power the mind can exercise with no other restriction than that which is common to all the faculties, viz., that there be a proper object, a proper opportunity, and a suitable physical condition. The brain being the mind's organ, the third particular is an indispensable prerequisite to the mental action.

It may be granted, that *some* form of desire precedes the mental action, though not *that* form which Mr. Upham supposes. Neither does the desire, such as it is, operate upon the abstracting or other faculty, mechanically; but by previously influencing the will.

3. Attention, (vol. i, p. 361.) This power, too, is set free from the dominion of the will, and moves only as it is moved. Under this head there is an instance of the fault now noticed, too striking to be passed. The author is answering the question, Can the mind attend to more than one object at once? This question he resolves into two others, viz., 1. Can the mind attend at once to several things to which it can attend separately? 2. Can the mind, *by one and the same sense*, attend at once to several things, to which it can attend by that sense separately? The former question is answered in the affirmative; and, for an instance, we are shown that we can attend at once to the beautiful color and odorous smell of a rose. But the second question is answered in the negative; we cannot attend to two sounds or two smells at once.

Now, I remark, in the first place, that whatever answer is given to the one question must be given to the other. For, if because sensations of different objects are at the same instant received by several senses, I must be supposed to attend to all these objects; then, because I can receive sensations of sound, by the *same* sense, from several sounding bodies, I must also be considered as attending to these at the same instant. But the latter, *i. e.*, the negative answer, is correct:—the former, therefore, is incorrect. How, then, is Mr. Upham led into this mistake? I answer, by his theory of passivity. Attention, with him, is not the voluntary direction of the mind to an object; but simply the presence of the sensation, combined, perhaps, with desire, but still lacking the element of self-direction. The whole section is an instance of the almost total want of *that* discrimination, which should, by all means, characterize an intellectual philosopher.

4. Reasoning and imagination, (vol. ii, pp. 24, 25, 92.) Reasoning, which certainly, if any, implies the voluntary power, is in the same independent state with the powers above mentioned. Imagination also. In the remarks on this latter, the power of the will is virtually nullified. "Whatever a person wills, or professes to will to imagine, he has already imagined; and, consequently, there can be no such thing as strictly voluntary imaginings." Accordingly, it is represented as a contradiction in terms, to speak of willing to imagine a *brazen sea*. But, I think it is not so. I can, by abstrac-

tion, separate the notion of a liquid expanse from that of water. I can also form a notion of molten brass; and, lastly, by an effort of "voluntary imagining," combine the two, or conceive a "brazen sea."

I know this by my having done it just now. I am sure I formed no idea of a brazen sea until this present writing, when I did it because I wished to see if it could be done.

Let one read the chapter on imagination; particularly that on imaginations attended with desire, and that on the formation of Milton's garden of Eden, and he will have passivity enough.

The author, somewhere in this part of his work, represents the view which a reasoner has of the parts of his argument, as the work of imagination! We will proceed now to the second topic proposed for consideration.

II. Definitions and simple terms.

The consideration of these is rendered important by their connection with remarks to be made in reference to the will and its freedom. The subject is treated by the author at p. 180, vol. i, and p. 271, vol. ii, of the Intellectual Philosophy, and in various incidental remarks, scattered through the two works.

The good old rule of definition, which has come to us from the schoolmen, is—by genus and difference. With this rule Mr. Upham finds fault. But the futility of the objection may establish the rule. It is not objected by him that the principle of the rule is bad, but that a certain definition, formed upon that model, and quoted by him, is not very intelligible. This is about as reasonable as to say that men should not raise walls by the plummet, because, in spite of the plummet, a blockhead can easily make an inclining wall.

That rule seems to me the best possible for *cases to which it is applicable*. It is simple, and withal serves the great purpose of binding our ideas, and keeping the relations of things ever before us.

Terms are divisible into two classes,—simple and complex. The latter may be resolved into the former; or, rather, it may be shown to what simple terms the complex one is equivalent. It is a question, how a simple term may be defined? or, rather, how the idea of it may be conveyed to a mind which has it not? To a mind which has it not, there is no possibility of conveying it *by words*; and, as this is the main object of definition, we may say, a simple term is *indefinable*. But, is it necessary to reject the aid of words altogether, and say, that for the sense of such a term every one must depend upon his own mind? I think not. Mr. Upham carries this view of the case to an extreme. When he meets with a simple term, he tells us it is simple, and then leaves us to ourselves. In order to perceive how far it is possible for us to circumscribe simple terms, let us select an instance.—Let it be *sweetness*. It is not necessary to suppose that, in every case, where an individual does not know the meaning of a simple term, he has not the idea corresponding. A Frenchman has the ideas of many simple English terms, which he cannot understand. But, for the present, let us suppose that the individual has no notion of sweetness. Are words, in that case, useless? It is granted that one cannot, by words, convey to him the notion. But, are words, therefore, to no purpose?

Cannot one so circumscribe the idea, that when it *does* enter his mind, he shall know it to be the idea of sweetness? Let us try our modes of defining. Mr. Upham tells him, sweetness is a simple term, and, therefore, indefinable. A schoolman, sweetness is the name of a certain sensation received by the palate of a person in good health, upon the presence of certain objects, &c. Now, he has no more idea of sweetness than he had before; but, 1. He knows what it is not. It is not a sight,—it is not a sound. 2. When he tastes sugar he will be able to say, the sensation I now have is of *sweetness*. This may serve the purpose of illustration. The word, I know, is used in other simple significations and includes more than I have mentioned.

But if this man have the idea and not the word, I may resort to a synonym. Let him be an old Roman come to new life. Hearing people talk of sweetness, he wishes to know what it is. Find out by experience, says one. *Dulcedo*, says another, and is understood.

True, there is a limit beyond which these operations cannot go. In the former case, there is always a part of the idea which *must* come by experience or not at all. Beside, there are many simple terms, for the explaining of which, words serve but little purpose. I am not disputing the strict indefinableness of simple terms. But they seem to me to be not so lawless as the author imagines.

One can hardly tell the difference, in the Intellectual Philosophy, between instincts, propensities, and desires. In the Essay, it is plainly conceded, in reference to the simple term (so called) *freedom*, that if an individual profess to have the idea of it, we must concede his claim,—we have no means of putting him to the test. And if he farther pretend to be conscious* of not being free, that also must be conceded. He is not free.

The importance of this topic will appear still more fully hereafter.

Words may be of use, it appears, in explaining simple terms to the following extent:—1. Synonymous words may be used, and very profitably; not to convey an idea, but to reveal it. Beside, these words are tests, the one of the other. If I know two words to be synonymous, and yet perceive that I do not use them interchangeably, I may be sure I have not the precise idea denoted by them both. 2. We may state the circumstances under which the idea will present itself as above; so that, when the person addressed has the idea, he will be able to name it.

Should an individual affirm an idea to be simple when it is complex, how is he to be refuted? Perhaps it would devolve upon the individual affirming it to be complex to prove his assertion; as, if it be simple, the argumentative proof will, perhaps, be impossible. *Freedom* Mr. Upham affirms to be a simple term. (See Essay on the Will, p. 226.) I affirm it to be complex. I prove it to be such by resolving it into its elements. Thus, power is a simple term; *so* simple, as to defy the *power* of *words* to explain it. The only

* I do not know whether I shall be accounted insane or not, but I cannot avoid propounding the query, How does consciousness teach men that they are free? My consciousness does not teach me either that I am or am not. It appears to me, the matter does not come under the cognizance of consciousness at all.

method of explaining such words as these is, to present the verbal connections in which they occur, or to point them out as their ideas present themselves in nature. But the idea of *power in opposition to power*, is complex, equivalent to the former, in a certain relation. It may be disputed whether the idea of power negatived, as in the phrase *no power*, be simple or complex. However, all these are included in the idea of freedom.

For, 1. Freedom is a word denoting things in a certain relation. It does not denote an object simply, but the *state* of an object, in reference to other objects. 2. Power is the thing related. Manifestly, nothing can be free which has not power. But, 3. That to which the power is related is also power; for power only can be opposed to freedom. And, 4. The relation is negative, for the thing related is free, *i. e.*, not obstructed by the other power.

This, then, is freedom:—absence of opposing power. Mr. Upham, I suppose, would call this a synonym. But, how absurd to talk of a sentence as synonymous with a word! See Essay, p. 228. Does Mr. Upham really expect that a definition will convey some other idea than that of the word defined?

Freedom is the state of a power when unopposed by any other power. To vary the expression, though not the idea, any thing is free when its action is its own.

As the subject of freedom is an important one, apart from the definableness of terms, it may not be idleness to consider it a little farther. It may be considered, 1. In reference to the subjects to which it is attributed. 2. The subjects of it may be considered in reference to their freedom. These points will be touched, though not very systematically, in the paragraphs immediately following.

1. According to our view, freedom is power, in a certain relation. Properly, it can be affirmed only of a power. If, therefore, any thing be said to have power by accommodation, it will be said to have freedom in an accommodated sense. Hence, material things, having the one, in the one sense, must have the other, in the same. This action is their own, not that they originate it, but that they only of material things are adapted to perform it. The piston of a steam engine is free when it is not prevented from doing what it was designed to do. If it be chained above, or obstructed below, it is not free. Here, although the action is as much that of the engineer, or of the steam, yet it is also its own, in distinction from the rudder or bowsprit; as these, no matter how adjusted, could not perform it. Any thing is free, in this sense, when it is not obstructed in the action for which it is adapted. The human eye is free when it moves within its prescribed sphere, at the bidding of the will. It is *not* free when it cannot take in every direction lying in front of the individual; it *is* free, though totally unable to reveal what is behind the face. 2. Now, it is important to notice that, the mental faculties have this *physical* freedom. Imagination is free; not that it governs itself, but that it is not obstructed in the action for which it was made. But, if the brain be diseased it cannot act; it is not free. One step more:—The will itself has this physical freedom. The volition follows a certain motive, and while nothing prevents the consecution, the freedom is perfect. That there *are* volitions, bound to certain antecedents, is too plain to be denied.

But, some one may object, and say, this is mental and voluntary freedom. I know it is mental and voluntary; but, it is also physical. It has been already explained, that mental and physical are not necessarily opposed. Wherever effects invariably follow certain antecedents there is *physical law.*

3. The great consideration connected with this topic is, that while material things may be divested of their freedom, by one another, mind cannot, except by itself, or by the body connected with it.

The mind cannot act except freely. You say, a man may be compelled to think of certain things, or not. But how is he compelled? Either he directs his mind, by an effort of will, or he does not. If he does not, the mind acts by its own power; in which case it is free. The objection will, doubtless, arise, that the mental is, in such case, prescribed by the external circumstances. This leads me to notice an important consideration, which may settle the question. The mind is not appointed to act, in certain ways, absolutely without reference to occasions; but, to act *so* and *so*, under *such* and *such* circumstances. It is not like the piston of a steam engine, which, unless it be fitted to a cylinder, is no piston. In this case, the circumstances are definite. But, mind is still mind, no matter what the circumstances. It operates freely, whenever it acts, by its own laws; though the precise operation be different, according to circumstances.

Now, as compulsion can only vary the external circumstances, the mind still acting in its own way, there is no *outward* power which can destroy the mind's liberty.

But if, in the case supposed, the individual guide his mind by volition, then he is influenced by some motive; and, to be influenced by a motive without consent, is impossible. I grant that the volition may have followed physically. Still, it is volition; and volition is choice.

It is manifest from this that will cannot but be free.

4. This, however, is *physical* freedom, and implies neither virtue nor vice.

Let us now consider man as a unit, or as *one* being, composed of body and spirit. It is plain, 1. That he, as a man, is not free, unless all the parts are so. Though the intellectual powers and the will be free, (as they must be,) yet he is not free, if his body be confined. 2. That, though he, as a whole, be free, and the parts unobstructed by extrinsic influence, the parts may be not at liberty among themselves. The passions may domineer over the will; the will over the conscience.

5. But all this freedom is without a moral quality. Let us then consider *moral* freedom.

Any thing is free when its action is its own. It is *morally* free when its action is *so* its own that it is responsible, *i. e.*, liable to rewards and punishments, on the account of it: in other words, it is free in this sense when it *originates*, and *so far* as it originates, its own action.

This is a new element, entirely beyond the former. That creates no responsibility; this does. This cannot subsist without that; that may subsist without this.

6. From this point seem to radiate all the various theories re-

specting human accountability. The reader, it is hoped, will indulge a little latitude.

Dr. Adam Clarke affirms that the will is an essentially free principle, and that to apply to it the epithet *free*, is absurd. Freedom constitutes it voluntary. The Christian Spectator repeats the remark, giving it a hearty concurrence.

Is there any difference between them? Much every way. As the subject is well adapted for illustration we will dwell upon it.

7. It has already been noticed that, *physically*, the will cannot but be free. A consideration of the character of voluntary operations suffices to evince this. Dr. Clarke, the Christian Spectator, and myself, would probably all use the same illustrations here. I have just finished the above sentence; I might have left it unfinished; or, have never begun it. Thus I am free. Nay, I cannot be otherwise. One might have taken my hand and made the marks, but he could not have compelled *me* to write it. More yet. He might have threatened me with death, and so have *induced* me to will it. But the act would have been voluntary still. I chose to do it, sooner than die. Thus, I am *essentially* free. There cannot be will without freedom.

.8. Dr. Clarke's mistake, as I deem it, lies in this,—that failing to distinguish *moral* from *physical* freedom, he has affirmed that of the will generally which belongs to it, only in *one* respect. Did Dr. Clarke forget that, according to Scripture, men are *naturally* free only to evil? There is no dispute but that I can, or not, omit this present writing; but, can I or not omit it *morally?* That is, though I am free, as a *rational* being, am I also free as a *moral?* It is manifest, I may be, or I may not.

9. But, are the metaphysicians of the Spectator right? Or, rather, granting them mistaken, is their mistake the same with that of Dr. Clarke? I think not. He confounded that freedom which is inseparable from rationality, with that which is inseparable from moral character; affirming both (or both in one) to be *essential*, while one only is so.

But *they* affirm moral freedom to *consist* in physical. They would say, man is physically free—physically, as before explained—and, so, morally. In other words, you may cease writing or not, if you please; *therefore*, you may, or may not, be punished for it. I answer, not so. I may, or may not, write. Therefore, I must abide the natural consequences. But, before I can be brought to judgment and punished, it must be seen that the act was so mine, that *I* am responsible. If it appear that, though I willed it, yet, my *willing* followed as an effect from some exterior cause, I am irresponsible.

Here our doctrine may be summed up.

1. There is a freedom of the will which is inseparable from intelligence (not to say *rationality*, with which some might cavil.) Brutes have it as truly as men. In this respect, the will is an *essentially* free principle.

2. Moral freedom implies the other, though the other does not imply it. Moral freedom is *incidental*, not *essential*. The devils have it not, and yet are rational. Doubtless they deliberate, *choose*, and *resolve*. Thus they are free, but to no good.

3. Physical freedom involves no responsibility, unless the moral have been lost by abuse.

4. Men are not, by nature, morally free. The death of Christ and coming of the Spirit are the basis of man's moral freedom.

III. Of the will.

The will and the action of the other powers are so intimately connected that it is not possible to form a correct view of the one without the other. The remarks under the first head all refer to the mind's power of self-regulation, which is but another name for the voluntary power. We might, therefore, so far as accuracy is concerned, have classed them together. But, for certain reasons, we have not chosen to do so.

The caption of our article will show that Professor Upham has discussed this branch of mental philosophy in two separate works; the one being the system of Intellectual Philosophy, already noticed; the other a separate treatise, of about one-third the dimensions of the former.

I was aware of the existence of both treatises when I commenced writing; but, supposing the latter work rather a confirmation than otherwise of the doctrines of the former, I did not read it until my thoughts were arranged. Upon taking it up, however, in connection with the topic now under consideration, in order to a fuller view of the author's doctrine and mode of illustration, I find a very great divergency of the one from the other. In the latter, not only farther illustrations are adduced, but Professor Upham on the *Will*, refutes Professor Upham on the *Desires*.

As the case is, I will only briefly point out the different positions of the two works, and then remark upon some statements of the latter.

In the former work, there are but two classes of mental states; viz., intellectual and sentient. The sentient are again divided into emotions and desires. Under the genus *desires* is included *volition*, as a species. Volition, therefore, is a modified desire. In the latter work all this is laid aside, and the mental states are threefold:—intellectual, sentient, and voluntary. A large part, also, is occupied in showing the difference between volitions and desires; the latter being considered as without sentience. The author distinctly informs us, that no satisfactory progress can be made in delineating the will, until it is established as a fundamental principle, that desires and volitions are essentially different. See Essay, p. 85.

In the former work it is plainly asserted, "the will is always in accordance with the strongest motive;" "in other words, the will always is, as the greatest apparent good." To this doctrine the definition of liberty is accommodated. See vol. ii, p. 379.

The futility of the assertion might be made apparent from the remarks of the writer himself; but, as he has informed us, in the Treatise on the Will, that the proposition, that the will is governed by the strongest motive, is, in many cases, identical, we need not delay upon it.

Whether the latter publication was intended to neutralize the former, so far as this subject is concerned, one can hardly determine. Certainly, I did not concur with all the positions of the one: with those of the other, in most respects, I did. The differences between

the two, as already pointed out, are certainly material. If it was *not* so intended, it would be well for some one else to intend it; if it *were*, the necessity of remodelling the former publication into consistency with the latter, and with truth, still remains, both as concerns the doctrine of the will and the other points specified. Whether the course actually pursued by our author, in thus laying before the public contradictory conclusions, without any note of difference, be as ingenuous as one that might have been pursued, must be left to every one's judgment. An author is not always bound to make formal retraction when favored with increasing light. Retraction, however, may at times be the nobler policy.

It is not necessary to characterize the Essay as indicating great judgment and industry. These qualities always show themselves in the productions of this author.

With it, as a whole, I find but one fault, though that be a material one. I am not able to sum up the doctrine, and determine precisely the truths evolved, and how much they include.

The following paragraphs contain remarks on one particular and prominent part of the work.

The author is giving us an analysis of the basis on which rests the fabric of our voluntary operations. So far as the argument is concerned, there are three great propositions:—1. The will is subject to law. 2. The will is free. 3. The will has power.

With the former only are we concerned at present. First of all, it is to be ascertained in what sense of *law* the will is subject.

Mr. Upham, himself, nowhere defines the word law, unless when he calls it, in the Philosophy, "a designation of the circumstances, under which the mental action presents itself." Whether this definition be correct or not, it does not serve our purpose. Under which of the three kinds of law is that here spoken of to be included? It is not moral; it is human; it is physical. Mr. Upham evidently means the rules by which volitions *are* governed, and governed by a *power extrinsic to the willing principle*. I am not tenacious of the word *physical*. I use it as the best I have. The idea alone is essential. That includes two things. *An actual and efficient causation from an extrinsic source.*

The reader will please notice the precise sense of that word, *extrinsic*. It does not mean external to the mind, but to the will. Though it be a motive, and motive be defined *a mental conception*, or mode of conceiving, still it is external to the will. It is not doubted but that will governs the mental action; but, in governing, is the will itself governed?

The entire current of the argument and illustration evinces this to be the kind of law here spoken of.

Instead of saying, the will is subject to law, I would say, the will has a certain sphere, within which alone it can act; and there are certain circumstances, which must be present, in order that it may act. It is under restriction. But the term is not worthy of contention. To a certain extent, will is subject to law. This seems indisputable. The objection made to the Essay will be distinctly seen in a few remarks.

(1.) The first argument, in maintaining the position mentioned, is

from analogy. We meet with law everywhere; therefore, we may expect it here. See Essay, p. 109.

Such an argument is not demonstrative. It is plain that, unless responsibility be denied, we must at last come to a point at which the argument halts; at which we are released from the domination of physical law.

We find *some* law everywhere; but, it is not of course a *physical* law.

This argument is variously modified in the Essay. It is said, if there be a God, he must govern. If he governs, it must be by law. This is granted. But, must it be by such law as the argument contends for? May it not be moral law? Do not legislators govern? They certainly do. Yet not by physical laws.

Will Mr. Upham say, that man, so far as subject to moral law *only*, is free from control? I think not. If not, then the necessity of control does not argue the necessity of physical law.

Mr. Upham confounds supervision with constraint. The objection to this argument is, that it pushes subjection to law into *fatalism*.

(2.) The primary law of causality is brought in to support the same conclusion. "Every change must have a cause." Essay, p. 121.

That causality is affirmed of volitions, in the same sense as of other things, is made plain by the illustrations.

The operations of the will, by this showing, follow certain external influences, as motion follows impulse. External—the reader will observe—not to mind, necessarily, but to the will.

It is true, Mr. Upham remarks, at the conclusion, that he does not specify the precise nature of the cause. "We use the term cause, here," he observes, "as we have done in all that has been said in its broadest sense, as meaning, according to the nature of the subject spoken of, either the mere antecedent occasion, or the antecedent combined with power;"—"as expressing either the effective cause which truly *makes* the sequence, or the preparative cause, which is merely a *condition* of the existence of such sequence." The reader is requested to turn to this singular passage, at p. 133.

Observe here, 1. That while the word *cause* will bear *two* significations, *widely different* from each other, we are not informed in which of the two it is used. In the language of the author, he "does not specify the precise nature of the cause." This is mystification. It has the *appearance* of a disposition to resort to either sense, as the case may require. I do not mean, even by implication, that that was intended. But an enemy might suspect it.

2. If, in the argument, the term cause is not used in the same sense as in other cases, particularly in that great doctrine which constitutes a law of belief, of what avail is it to the conclusion?

The belief in the causation of voluntary states arises from the notion of "God's omniscience and superintendence." See p. 132.

Here, omniscience is used to include foreknowledge proper, and superintendence, in Mr. Upham's view, is constraining influence. See above, and Essay, pp. 117, 148, 149.

But, if the causes do not compel the results, how do they sustain these attributes?

I think, again, that the author carries out subjection to law until it becomes fatalism.

(3.) The argument from the Divine prescience presents the same objectionable feature in several aspects. See p. 160.

In this passage Mr. Upham presents himself as a believer in the "Eternal Now." With God, there are no relations of past, present, and future.

Instead of God's foreknowledge furnishing the basis of this doctrine, this furnishes the basis of the foreknowledge. See foot of p. 162. Foreknowledge there is attributed to God in an improper sense. And yet, strange to tell! from foreknowledge, as if proper, is argued subjection to law. I hope the reader perceives the delusion. I believe it is not peculiar to Mr. Upham.

His argument appears to stand thus:—God knows all things; future as well as present. He, therefore, *fore*knows volitions yet to arise. But, he can *fore*know volitions only as they are the effects of present causes, by running his mind down the chain of sequences to the ultimate result. Essay, p. 166.

Therefore, volition must be subject to law. A stranger medley could not be produced. Manifestly, if men define the *foreknowledge* to be improperly so called, in condescension to human capacity, they should argue from it as such; in which case, there can be no foundation for the inference of the Essay.

I mention this in order to arrest the conclusion following from it. For, if subjection to law be inferred from foreknowledge, then it must be inferred without limit. The foreknowledge being of every volition, and of every form and degree of it, every form and degree must be the effect of a Divinely appointed law. The will, in that case, is mechanical—it is governed by physical laws, like the ascent and descent of vapors. Behind such an argument as this, fatalism is securely sheltered, though unseen.

The occurrence of these arguments indicates that the author is scarcely prepared to follow the doctrines which he himself has laid down to their fair conclusion.

Other arguments, in support of the proposition, that the will is subject to law, are less objectionable.

(4.) The will's subjection to law having been proved, it becomes a question, how this subjection may be reconciled with its admitted freedom? See p. 244. The difficulty of reconciling them is virtually admitted. I know it is affirmed that the contradiction is only *apparent;* but this is affirmed, not because their compatibility is apparent, but, because each is supposed to be proved true. This is the method by which foreordination of *all* things is reconciled with freedom of *some* things.

The reader is requested to notice the connection between the subject of defining simple terms, particularly *freedom*, and that before us. By his mode of treating these terms, and by considering *freedom* as simple, he renders any attempt to show the compatibility of law and freedom impossible. For, in order to show this compatibility, freedom must be defined, or, at least, in some way circumscribed.

It is true, when we reach the fact, that the will is free, we reach

an *ultimate* fact. Nevertheless, we do not reach one which is contrary to others of the same class.

A few remarks on this topic may not be out of place.

An illustration presents itself from a kindred subject, which, as it is important in itself, is also calculated to throw light upon the present inquiry.

The immutability of God is a grand doctrine of Scripture; a postulate in argument with all enlightened men. Should I affirm that God repents, some critic might call me to account with the assertion, that God is immutable—eternally, essentially immutable. I answer, *because* he is immutable, *therefore* he is, in a sense, mutable. The louder you cry up his immutability, the louder do you cry up his mutability, in the sense designed. That there is change of some kind, in the Divine Being, is certain; for, an inspired prophet exclaims, "Though thou wast *angry* with me, yet thine anger is turned away." He himself declares that, with the froward he will show himself froward; with the pure, pure. He thus looks variously upon saint and sinner; and, if so, he looks upon the same man, when holy, differently from what he does when sinful. Immutability of character implies mutability of active manifestation.

Hence, if you affirm God to be immutable in his regard for individuals, you make him mutable in character. For, as individuals vary, God can only remain the same in his *character* by varying in his *conduct toward them.*

By this case our subject may be somewhat cleared up. Perhaps, using the strong terms of Professor Upham,—*subjection* to *law*—there is a difficulty. But, if we say the will is restricted to a certain sphere, and its action impossible, except under certain circumstances, there seems to be less difficulty.

It has been noticed that power is necessary to freedom. But there can be no power except as a thing acts within a definite limit, and under certain circumstances. God only is an unrestricted agent. In this sense, limitation is necessary to freedom.

Suppose, for a moment, the will to be unrestricted in its sphere, and unbounded as to circumstances, we would soon have a verification of the illustration which has been brought forward; viz., of the ass dying between two bundles of hay, for lack of ability to determine which presented the strongest motive to devour it.

Let us now sum up on the matter of the present topic.

The author is giving an analysis of the will. In doing so, he presents us with three great points,—1. The will is subject to law. 2. The will is free. 3. The will has power.

On the two last points he presents what may be considered a fair view of the case. The will has freedom, and that which is necessary to it; viz., power. But, he not only gives no definition of freedom, he attempts in noway to circumscribe the notion of it. He goes the length of admitting, that we have no means of testing an individual's sense of it. This is altogether too indefinite. In accordance with these views, one *should* be a believer in actual freedom; he *might* be a fatalist. When arguing, however, for the will's subjection to law, a doctrine easily established within proper limits, he establishes too much. So much as to destroy the very freedom for which he afterwards contends.

Thus, though there is a fence put up between fatalism and the assertion of human freedom, it is so gauze-like—so aerial—that nothing is easier than, by adroit evolution, to be upon both sides of it.

CONCLUSION.

It is now time to bring these strictures to a close.

An undervaluation of Professor Upham, I hope has not been suspected in the course of the foregoing remarks. My purpose has been to dwell upon some points in which I thought the earlier of the two works, at least, requires emendation.

That the metaphysics is tinged with a certain theology, seems plain. Yet, I do not suspect the author of a concealed aim. Not in the least. But, it is worth while to have an eye upon these matters; and, if it be not possible to have a prop without an inclination, let there be a prop upon the other side of the house which shall lean the other way. In other words, if bias there must be, let one bias counteract another.

The earlier view of the will, propounded by Mr. Upham, is substantially the metaphysics of Calvinism, both old and new.

However, the above strictures are not based upon any theological views:—they have been made entirely irrespective of theology.

The learning and activity of our Presbyterian brethren have enabled them to engross to themselves almost all the departments of elementary instruction. Not only have they the learned men, but almost all the books, involving principles cognate to those of theology, come from Calvinistic hands.

I do not object. Our Presbyterian brethren are right. Howbeit, while in malice we are children, in understanding let us be men. Cannot some one of our accomplished men supply the desideratum of an American authority on the subject of Intellectual Philosophy? The work under notice is defective. Lucid and simple, it lacks discrimination and compass of thought.

Among human sciences, Intellectual Philosophy is the *grand* science. There is a man among us equal to it; equal to it in mental discipline, in knowledge, and, for aught I know, in adventitious circumstances. Will he find himself out and address himself to the task?

THE HIBERNIAN SOCIETY.

From the report of this society made in May last, it appears that it has, during the thirty years of its existence, given education to SIX HUNDRED THOUSAND CHILDREN, many of whom have since grown up to manhood, and by their conduct proved that the charity consecrated to this benevolent institution had not been misapplied. The number of day, Sunday, and adult schools, was, at the time of making the report, 1,962; and the number of scholars, 115,323. There had been an increase of seventeen schools, and eight hundred and thirty-seven pupils. In the day schools there were 77,762 scholars, of whom 29,600 were Roman Catholics. The principal complaint,

as indicated by the report, was the want of sufficient funds efficiently to carry on the operations of the society. The receipts of the last year amounted to £10,412. 9*s*. 10½*d*.; which was £1,375. 1*s*. 9*d*. above those of the preceding year.

REVIVAL OF THE WORK OF GOD.

ILLUSTRATION, ETC.

WITHIN a few months past we have received from our correspondents several communications calling our attention to the subject of revivals, of discipline, and of other matters, which they deem to have a bearing upon the state of religion in the Church. One of these directs our mind particularly to the prayer of the prophet, "O Lord, revive thy work," and desires an illustration of its meaning. All these we should have replied to in the *Advocate and Journal*, had it been suitable and convenient; but it would necessarily have involved much repetition to have stated and answered them separately; and some of them especially would have required a more extended concatenation of propositions and illustrations than would be suitable for the columns of a weekly periodical. Our own views and feelings in regard to the subject generally could be more conveniently expressed in something like a formal essay on the main point, conducted in a way to include the more subordinate ones. This we have done in the following discourse, which we wish our correspondents to consider as embracing that notice of their several communications which they may have expected in another form. It was intended to pay this merited attention to the communications of our friends at an earlier period; but circumstances have prevented. We make no claim for the discourse other than that it exhibits our views and feelings on the subject of the state of religion in the Church, and the true grounds on which we are encouraged to hope and labor for revival.

Habakkuk iii, 2. O Lord, revive thy work.

In order properly to understand the import of this prayer, we must inquire into the nature and application of the terms of which it is composed.

1. What do we understand by the phrase, "thy work," as it is used in the text? This is our first inquiry. The term "work" is used to signify both the act of an agent by which something is produced, and the thing produced by such act. Thus God is said to work. "I will work, and who shall let it."—"I will work a work in your days, which ye will not believe, though it be told you."—"My Father worketh hitherto, and I work."

In this active form, the phrase, "work of God," conveys an idea

of that operative and powerful agency by which he is acknowledged to interpose in the affairs of man in this world.

But the term is also used when reference is had to the object of an action, or the thing produced or affected by it. Thus the Decalogue written by the finger of Jehovah is, in the language of Scripture, denominated the "work of God." So also are the earth, the heavens, and the wondrous things brought about by his providential care and judgments in the wise administration of his government among men. "O Lord, how manifold are thy works! in wisdom hast thou made them all!"—"The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handy work." Hence, to create is the work of God; and that which he creates is his work. So also it is his work to give life; and the life he gives is his work.

The same remarks apply to the dispensations of his providence. Judgment is his strange work; yet in vindication of his righteous law he sometimes executes it, in a way to show his wrath, and to make his power known. Thus he did in the destruction of the old world by the flood, the overthrow of the Egyptians in the Red Sea, the desolation of the cities of the plain by fire, and the long threatened retribution which he brought upon his own people the Jews, for their disobedience and rebellion. In all these summary visitations, he seemed to say, "Do not I the Lord do all these things?" But the effect produced by these dispensations has been, in each case, denominated the work of God.

The great and glorious work of redemption is also ascribed to him in the most direct and glowing terms:—"Sing, O heavens, for the Lord hath done it; shout, ye lower parts of the earth; break forth into singing, ye mountains, O forest, and every tree therein, for the Lord hath redeemed Jacob, and glorified himself in Israel." "Sing unto the Lord, for he hath done marvellous things;—declare his marvellous works among all nations." In view of his goings forth to execute the deep and mysterious counsels of his wisdom and grace, the redeemed before his throne sing, "Great and marvellous are thy works, Lord God Almighty; just and true are thy ways, thou King of saints."

The same direct and operative agency is acknowledged in the awakening and salvation of sinners:—"It is God that worketh in you both to will and to do, of his good pleasure." In order to our salvation, our minds must be illuminated, our consciences awakened, and our souls pardoned, renewed, and cleansed. "All these worketh that one and the same Spirit."—"For it is the same God that worketh all and in all." They therefore who are thus prepared as the children of God for the communion of saints, and are "raised up together to sit together in heavenly places," are said to be "created anew in Christ Jesus, unto good works;" and the Church, so constituted by the Divine agency and influence, is appropriately denominated "a new creation." By the spirit of his grace he worketh in us to prepare us as lively stones for a place in the spiritual temple, and the temple constituted of such lively stones is "the work of God." This distinction it is important to observe in illustrating the subject under consideration.

By the "work of God," as used in the text, many understand the influences of the Spirit in the awakening and conversion of sinners;

and with them a revival of religion, or of the work of God, which they use synonymously, is the prevalence of awakenings and conversions among the people. Thus, when they pray in the language of the text, "O Lord, revive thy work," they pray *solely* for the awakening and conversion of sinners. Few probably embrace any other object in their desires or thoughts, or suppose their petition is to be answered in any other way. This, therefore, is really *their* prayer, when they use these terms; for "God looketh at the heart;" and they cannot be supposed to pray for what enters not into the thoughts of their hearts. But was it the prayer of the prophet? was there no other object which interested his feelings, and called forth the holiest aspirations of his soul in the use of these expressions of ardent supplication? It is believed there was. By the expression, "thy work," the prophet undoubtedly meant the CHURCH OF GOD.

This was the object upon which his feelings were fixed with intense desire; and he therefore earnestly prayed for its deliverance and prosperity. He viewed it in a languishing state; he saw it encircled by enemies and evils, which gave him anxious concern for its safety; and for it primarily and principally he invoked the healthful spirit of quickening grace. The prayer, it is true, as we shall have occasion to show, includes the influences of the Divine Spirit in all their operations; for these invariably accompany a revival of the Church. These are indeed parts of the general work of revival. But that these influences are not primarily intended, in the use of the term "thy work," in the prayer of the prophet, is evident from this, that they are implied in the operation of that agency by which God revives his work; and if by the term "work" the prophet meant the influences of the Divine Spirit in their various operations, and these only, the import of the prayer was, O Lord, revive thy revival,—an unintelligible and absurd solecism. It is believed, therefore, that by the term "work," as used by the prophet in this prayer, is intended the Church of God upon earth. In this light I shall consider it in the following remarks.

2. The term *revival* signifies a "return, recall, or recovery to life from death, or apparent death;" which is, according to its radical import, "to live again." *To revive*, when used intransitively, means to "recover life," to "recuscitate," or to "rise from the dead."—"To this end Christ both died, rose, and revived." When used in a way to imply an action and an object, it means "to bring again to life," "to reanimate," or "to restore to strength and vigor from a state of deep languor and depression." In this sense it is used in the prayer of the prophet. God is humbly and ardently implored to restore the wasted energies of the Church, and to give it new life and vigor.

I. That we may profitably use this prayer, let us first contemplate the Church as the work of God, and therefore an object of the affectionate regards of all who love and fear him.

1. By the Church of God I understand that institution in which are recognised the forms of religious worship, such as he acknowledges and approves. To this institution it is essential that there be external form, and the principle of life. In both these respects we understand it to be the work of God. By external form is meant that organization of a system of service and worship by which

God is publicly acknowledged and revered in the ordinances which he has ordained. In such an institution pure religion has a habitation among men; and through it the Gospel of the grace of God is communicated to a fallen world. God himself has honored it by giving it the sanction of his own name, and by promising it his peculiar care and protection. By the principle of life is understood the direct witness of the Spirit, enjoyed by such as worship God in spirit and in truth.

2. It will be observed, the term Church is used here in its most general sense, to signify the instituted worship of God, such as he has been pleased to acknowledge and accept in all ages and under all dispensations. Such was the worship of Abel, who through faith offered an acceptable sacrifice unto God, and "obtained witness that he was righteous." The antediluvian saints had their altars, their sacrifices, and their worship. Thus Enoch walked with God, and Noah was a preacher of righteousness to the corrupt age in which he lived.

To the institution of his Church God gave a more definite and fixed character in his covenant with Abraham, and in the tabernacle and the temple which were formed and raised by his express command, we discover enlarged privileges for sacrificial offerings and public oblations under the old dispensation, and a symbolic representation of acceptable worship under the new. These were constructed according to the pattern he gave. With them he identified his name and his honor. Here we find the oracle, the ark of the covenant, and the mercy seat, all lively representations of better things to come. Here, too, was manifested the sensible presence of the Deity, in the pillar of cloud and of fire, and in the glory which filled the temple. All these representations were fulfilled in the Christian Church, whose privileges were extended to embrace the Gentiles, and rendered more spiritual and simple, to suit the dispensation. The carnal ordinances of the Jews having subsided, and the Holy Ghost being given in its full measure to qualify the ministry for their labors, and to edify believers in their communion, the work was consummated for all succeeding ages. Such as it was then it is now, and ever will be. We may be allowed to add here, that whatever external changes and modifications the Church has undergone from the beginning, to suit it to the different dispensations, in its essential elements it is identical. In no instance has one Church been displaced for the institution of another. It was founded in the promise of a Messiah; and under all the forms and variations of its external aspect, the true worship of the one living and true God, through Christ the Redeemer and Mediator, has been the object. And wherever, at any time, among the ancients in days past, or in any community of devout worshippers at the present, such worship has been or now is practised, there is the Church; and the Most High deigns to own and acknowledge such worshippers as his people—his Church.

3. This institution we say, then, is the work of God. Such the Scriptures represent it to be in all the figures and forms of expression employed by the sacred writers. In the use of the lively images of inspiration it is denominated the city of God, the house of God, the sanctuary, and the temple of God, God's heritage, his vineyard,

his building, Israel, Jacob, and the body of Christ. In all these respects God claims it as his own work. "Have I not created thee, O Jacob," said he, "and formed thee, O Israel?"—"This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise."—"Thus saith the Lord, the Holy One of Israel, and his Maker," &c.—"Thy Maker is thy husband, the Lord of Hosts is his name"—"Ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building;"—"are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone; in whom all the building, fitly framed together, groweth into a holy temple in the Lord; in whom ye also are builded together for a habitation of God, through the Spirit."—"For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body; so also is Christ:—Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular."—"We are his workmanship, created in Christ Jesus unto good works."

4. That the institution of the Church is the work of God, we have this farther testimony, that in all its features, it bears marks of being the production of superhuman agency. God's work is distinguished from the works of art in at least these three respects:—it shows infinite goodness in the design, infinite wisdom in the mysterious connection and harmony of its parts, and infinite power in the execution of it. All these we see in the simplest forms of nature. In the grass which clothes the field, the goodness, wisdom, and power of God are displayed in a way which no human art can imitate. Man may paint a landscape, but he cannot cause a spear of grass to grow. He may, by duly observing the operations of nature, discover the uniform succession of events; but, the mysterious ligament which binds causes and effects together lies deeply and necessarily concealed from his view. He can never know it, and therefore, never be able to imitate the works of God. These are some of the strong marks which characterize the Divine agency in material existence. And is it too much to say, that where the same marks are discoverable in things of a spiritual nature, the same decision should be formed respecting them? Goodness, wisdom, and power, such as no purely human being ever possessed, appear in the establishment of the Church, and the economy of salvation as revealed in the Gospel. In confirmation of this, we have the testimony of infidels themselves. The first and most formidable objection they urge against the Gospel is, that it is incomprehensible, and full of mysteries; while, at the same time, they acknowledge that if it be a truth it is a momentous one, involving the deepest interests of man. And what is paradoxical in all this is, that they withal pronounce upon it as a human invention, by stigmatizing it with the epithets of "priestcraft," and "imposture."

5. Let us examine then a little more minutely these evidences of the Divinity of its institution.

The FOUNDATION of the Church is of God:—"Behold, I lay in Zion for a foundation a stone."—"The stone which the builders rejected the same is become the head of the corner."—"This is the Lord's doings, and it is marvellous in our eyes."—"For other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus the Lord."—"Neither is there salvation in any other, for there is none other name given under heaven among men whereby we must

be saved."—"To him all the prophets gave witness;" and in him all the saints repose their trust. As the object of their faith, he is "God manifested in the flesh." He is, in the language of inspiration, their "light and their salvation." And without him they have no hope. That Christ is the acknowledged foundation of the Church, is equally evident from the spirit and conduct of all descriptions of its enemies. In his character and claims is contained the secret antagonist principle against which their malignity is united. "The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take counsel together, against the Lord and against his anointed."—"For of a truth against thy holy child Jesus, whom thou hast anointed, both Herod and Pontius Pilate, with the Gentiles, and the people of Israel, were gathered together." Such has been the spirit of opposition to the true Church of God from the beginning. Christ, its foundation, has been the object of the deadly hate of all its enemies, as he has been the object of the supreme trust of all its friends. As the foundation of the Church, he is the mighty God—God manifested in the flesh, who by the sacrificial offering of himself, purchased it with his own blood. What is there in this economy of redemption which bears marks of human device? To the Jews, the preaching of the cross was a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks it was foolishness. To infidels of all descriptions it has ever been the one or the other. "Their rock is not our rock, our enemies themselves being judges." The Church is not founded then "in the wisdom of men, but in the wisdom of God, in a mystery, even the hidden wisdom" of God.—"For eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him." Through Christ and him crucified we enjoy all spiritual blessings. And without this foundation there is no Church.

6. Again, let us view the agency and instrumentality employed in the institution and edification of the Church. Are there marks of human invention here? "Holy men spake as they were moved by the Holy Ghost."—"God also bearing them witness, both with signs and wonders, and with divers miracles, and gifts of the Holy Ghost, according to his own will." These powers men could not impart, nor yet that of predicting future events. They were of God. The instruments employed were in themselves feeble and fallible. Would worldly policy have dictated to the choice of unlearned and ignorant men to build up an institution of such magnitude in the earth? And could such have succeeded? But God chose the weak of this world to confound the mighty, that his power might be manifest in the work. Moreover, what is there in the ordinances and economy of the Church, which human reason would suggest to secure respect for the institution, and give it perpetuity? They can have such an effect only in consideration of their being instituted by him who harmonizes all his works in infinite wisdom.

7. But we have yet another view to take of this subject. It is a consideration of the power of the Gospel, and the direct influences of the Spirit, by which sinners are awakened and converted, and saints edified together. In nothing does the work of Christ appear more interesting, so far as the establishment of his kingdom upon earth is concerned, than in the provision he made for the preaching of the Gospel, and its efficacy in reforming guilty man. The first

ministers of the Gospel were themselves partakers of its spirit. "The love of Christ constraineth us," was the rational account they gave of the strong impulse of feeling which carried them forward in their labors, "through evil as well as through good report." They preached "the Gospel with the Holy Ghost sent down from heaven." It was "not in word only, but in power and in much assurance." The profligate were reformed, and whole communities, brought under its influence, were changed from all that was vile and degrading to all that was lovely and of good report. This evident effect, which was everywhere witnessed, was triumphantly urged as testimony of its Divine efficacy. "I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ," said the Apostle Paul, "for it is the power of God unto salvation to every one that believeth." The same preaching of the cross which was "to the Jews a stumbling-block, and to the Greeks foolishness," to those who believed became "the power of God, and the wisdom of God." Here the friends of the Gospel may take a triumphant stand. Little of human skill as skeptics are willing to award to the ministers of Christ, they must acknowledge that an influence attends the Gospel which the sublimest eloquence cannot produce. Respecting religious excitements, pretending philosophers take it upon themselves to speculate, and pronounce many an unphilosophical and foolish judgment. But we ask them to produce a similar excitement, —one which will show the same state of feeling, and result in the same consequences. They may call it moving of the passions; so be it. Let them so move the passions, and carry forward the subjects of their exciting efforts to the enjoyment of those strong consolations and manly hopes which will enable them to brave the storms of persecution, and rejoice in death. Here we rest the issue, and challenge the trial. "The God that answereth by fire, let him be God." The evidences of the power of religion on the heart, and the direct influences of the Spirit in producing it, will ever stand as incontrovertible testimony that this work is of God, and not of man. This is "the Spirit which giveth life." Hence the apostle says, "You hath he quickened, who were dead in trespasses and in sins."—"He that believeth, though he were dead, yet shall he live." The Church is built of "lively stones," and therefore, to use another figure, the members of Christ's body are living members. "If any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." It is this mysterious principle of spiritual life which gives animation and energy to the Church.

8. This thought carries us back to first principles, namely, that the Church has its foundation in the Messiah, according to the promise. He is the source of life to the living members of his body. This life they enjoy through faith. "The just shall live by faith." This truth is illustrated by the Saviour himself in various figures and forms of expression. "I am the vine," said he, "and ye are the branches; as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself, except it abide in the vine; no more can ye, except ye abide in me."—"If a man abide not in me, he is cast forth as a branch, and is withered." St. Paul applies this to the Jewish Church, showing thereby, that that Church was not an independent institution, but only a branch, of which Christ is the root, according to the terms of the Abrahamic covenant; and that it enjoyed life only while it continued in union

with him by faith; but was rejected when it became separated by unbelief. "If the root be holy, so are the branches; and if some of the branches be broken off, and thou, being a wild olive tree, wert grafted in among them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive tree, boast not against the branches; but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee;—because of unbelief they (the Jews) were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high minded, but fear; for if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee." How awful are these declarations! they show the work of God in the constitution of the Church as embracing the mysterious union of the principle of life with the external organization, by which the branches are made to live, and flourish, and bear fruit, and that too by faith in *Christ.* In every view of it, how interesting does the Church appear as *God's own work?*

II. The Church is an object of interest to the pious heart, in consideration of the value which God himself has set upon it.

1. It is represented in the Scriptures as distinct and separate from all other institutions, to manifest the glory of God among men. Its friends and its enemies, or, in other words, its true spiritual members, and those who are not, form the two great opposing parties in the world. No distinctions of moral character and feeling are more strongly marked than those by which these great parties are discriminated. "He that is not with me," said the Saviour, "is against me."—"If ye were of the world the world would love its own; but because I have chosen you out of the world, therefore the world hateth you."—"Ye shall be hated of all men for my name's sake." Such too was the testimony of the prophets. From the days of wicked Cain, unregenerate men have shown their deep and deadly hostility against the scriptural worship of the true God. Hence idolatry and will-worship have been substituted in its place; or infidelity has abjured it altogether. With both the pious and the profane, the Church of God and the cause of God have always been deemed the same, and their interests so identified, that in common language they are convertible terms. The pious, having declared in favor of God and his cause, and made an unqualified surrender of their affections and their lives to him, cannot but feel a deep and lively interest in the success of that institution whose prosperity is calculated above every thing else to restrain the current of vice, and in whose adversity the wicked malignantly triumph. The shouts and triumphs of the enemy render them inconsolable, even when their own unfaithfulness is the cause of their calamities. "They that carried us away required of us a song; and they that wasted us required of us mirth; saying, Sing us one of the songs of Zion."—"How can we sing the Lord's song in a strange land?"—Thus oppressed Israel wept, and said, "By the rivers of Babylon there we sat down, yea, we wept when we remembered Zion: we hanged our harps upon the willows in the midst thereof." They wept because they still loved Zion. Deep and deadly must be the depravity of that apostate who can prefer the profane scoffings of the wicked to the tender sensibilities which a remembrance of the house of God is calculated to inspire. "If I forget thee, O Jerusalem, let my right hand forget her cunning," said the psalmist, "if

I do not remember thee, let my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth; if I prefer not Jerusalem above my chief joy."

2. These feelings of affectionate regard which the people of God cherish for his cause, especially in times of oppression and adversity, are as rational as they are sincere and pungent. They love God, and they love his Church on his account. Viewing it as the object upon which he has set his love, and for whose defence he has pledged his name and his honor, their sensibilities are alive to every thing calculated to expose it to scandal, or impair its energies.

It was with special reference to his worship upon earth, as established by himself, and for the honor of his name, that he wrought wonders among his ancient people, to the terror and dismay of their enemies. For this he brought them up out of the land of Egypt with a high hand, and overthrew their enemies with a mighty arm. For this he gave them bread and water in the wilderness, and subdued their more powerful enemies before them—enemies who, dismayed at what they saw and heard of the wonderful doings of the God of Jacob, were seized with fear, and covered with confusion. "He hath not beheld iniquity in Jacob," said Balaam to terrified Balak, "neither hath he seen perverseness in Israel; the Lord his God is with him, and the shout of a King is among them; God hath brought them out of Egypt. He hath as it were the strength of a unicorn. Surely there is no enchantment against Jacob, neither is there any divination against Israel; according to this time shall it be said of Jacob, What hath God wrought!" For this too God gave commandment to his people to avoid idolatrous communion with the profane, and to destroy false worship out of the land. "Thus shall ye deal with them; ye shall destroy their altars, and break down their images, and cut down their groves, and burn their graven images with fire; for thou art a holy people unto the Lord thy God; the Lord thy God hath chosen thee to be a special people unto himself, above all people that are upon the face of the earth."

3. The illustrious worthies of ancient times manifested their strong affection for the work of God in the institutions of his worship, by openly observing his ordinances in the face of danger and of death. Elijah boldly challenged the pampered hosts of national idolatry to a trial of their conflicting systems of worship by an appeal to miraculous interposition, knowing that his life was the forfeiture of a failure. Moses chose to suffer affliction with the people of God, in open defence of the institution of his worship, rather than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. Daniel prayed to his God, with his windows open toward Jerusalem, thereby professing his unshaken attachment to the holy place; while he knew that for so doing he should be cast into the den of lions. So also did the three Hebrews, many of the prophets, the apostles, and an army of holy martyrs, boldly adhere to the worship of the true God, in defiance of the persecutions and tortures with which they were everywhere menaced. With such examples of firm and unshaken attachment to God and his worship, in conformity to his own institutions, the Scriptures and the early history of the Church abound. These examples we would earnestly recommend to the serious consideration of those who think they can serve God ac-

ceptably, unconnected with his Church, or without any concern for its prosperity. If any reliance is to be placed upon the testimony of Scripture, or the examples of former times, in this matter, we are authorized to affirm, that an abatement of our love for the Church of God and the ordinances of his house, is a sure indication of an abatement of our love to him. Such was the sin of Peter, which caused him to weep bitterly. "I know not the man," said he, in an evil hour of temptation and trial. Feeble indeed was his faith. And in what light would his character have stood at this day had he persisted in disclaiming the responsibility of an open profession of connection with Christ and his people? God would have left him to the error of his ways. The good man cannot separate, in the object of his affections, Christ and his Church. His love for the one will induce him always to feel a lively interest in the honor and the prosperity of the other, and to manifest such feeling by earnestly praying and laboring for its prosperity, whatever sacrifice and self-denial it may cost him.

4. There is another consideration which causes the good man to feel a deep interest in the healthy state and efficient success of the Church. It is its conservatory moral influence in the world. "Ye are the salt of the earth," said the blessed Saviour to his followers. Men may say what they choose, and they *will* say what they choose, of the effects of religion upon the great question of morality. But there are few things said, by even those "who love and make a lie," so palpably insulting to the honest convictions which the testimony of facts produce in candid minds, as the insinuations which are often thrown out, that Christianity is of immoral tendency. They who venture such insinuations are conscious themselves of their absurdity, and therefore produce only such examples as, in other connections, they call hypocrites and deceivers. But our purpose does not require us to be detained here. The truth, that the practice and spirit of holiness among professors of piety exert a more powerful restraining influence than all other causes combined, needs no proof. It is everywhere evident. The abatement of piety and the prevalence of vice are simultaneous occurrences in any community. That the love of many waxes cold when "iniquity abounds," is no more true than that iniquity abounds when "the love of many waxes cold." They act conjointly, and are inseparable. But it is worth while to inquire, In what does the conservative principle of the Church consist? Is it in the form of its worship,—the purity of its creed,—or the rectitude of its moral code,—either or all of these exclusively? Surely not. Each of these has its place and its use. But apart from the spirit of holiness, all of them combined are ineffectual. "If the salt have lost its savor, it is henceforth good for nothing, but to be cast out and trodden under foot of men." It is the savor of the salt which preserves. The same is true of the Church. The spirit of holiness, existing in the hearts and manifested in the lives and tempers of its members, spreads a conservative influence throughout the body with which they are connected. Strange that even men of the world have not seen and acknowledged this. They resort to a thousand expedients for the suppression of immorality, and affect to deplore it as destructive of peace and happiness; but they close their eyes to the fact which all experience

confirms, that the prevalence of pure and undefiled religion is the surest—the only safe protection against moral corruption in the world. It sanctifies talents, and renders them available, where they are splendid; and more than half supplies the deficiency where they are not. The strong moral influence of a Fenelon, a Baxter, and a Wesley, was impressed upon the nations and ages in which they lived. The piety of even a solitary and unpretending individual throws a restraint around all who come within the circle of his limited sphere. Such too is the combined influence of the Church when it walks in the light of the Lord. "Who is this that cometh up from the wilderness, leaning upon her beloved; clear as the sun, fair as the moon, and terrible as an army with banners?"—"Strong in the Lord and in the power of his might," the sacramental hosts control the morality of the communities in which they live. So it was in all ancient time. The history of the Jewish nation confirms this fact. When the rulers and the people walked in the fear of the Lord, truth and righteousness prevailed; but when they departed from him, neither the purity of their law, nor their forms of worship, could stay the flood of impiety, injustice, and oppression, which came rolling in upon them. Deep piety—that which sanctifies the heart and controls all the affections, is the salt which alone can preserve the Church, and save the world from moral rottenness and ruin.

5. To this truth God has set his seal. Where justice calls for speedy destruction upon a guilty community, for the sake of the righteous he spares it. Ten only were required to save the corrupt mass of profligate Sodom. And though ten were not found, God so much respected his own constitution of things, in rendering the righteous the salt of the earth, that he destroyed not this deeply depraved people until righteous Lot was removed from among them. Nor could he destroy the Jews themselves, until the salt had entirely lost its savor. "When, therefore, ye shall see the abomination of desolation, then let him which is in Judea flee to the mountains; let him which is on the house-top not come down to take any thing out of his house; neither let him which is in the field return back to take his clothes." Let all the savor of the salt be extracted, that God may effect the work of destruction. O how little the world think of their indebtedness to the righteous, the people whom they persecute and despise! What would society be, if all that is holy and divine were removed from it—if there were no devout worshippers—none to offer up prayer to God, or to acknowledge his mercies with deep-felt gratitude of heart! There are those—and we have them among us—who avowedly wish for such a state of things. Soon would they deplore it, could their desire be granted. But for the benignant indulgence of the Almighty, on account of the devotions and intercessions of his people, they would too soon reap the fruit of their folly.

As it is true piety which preserves all that is desirable and lovely in the world, and promotes the honor of God, there is no object which so deeply interests the feelings and desires of the good man, as to witness its prevalence. He marks with deep solicitude every symptom of decline in the Church, and prays and labors for its revival and restoration to vigorous health, that all its efficient ener-

gies may be brought to bear upon the salvation of a corrupt and guilty world.

III. This prayer of the prophet shows us under what circumstances the Church becomes especially an object of solicitude to the pious heart.

1. The terms of the prayer are expressive of deep feeling and tender sympathy. The Church appeared to the mind of the prophet in the light of an endeared friend, suffering under the influence of a wasting disease which he saw weakening its energies, and threatening its final dissolution. This figure was a favorite one with the inspired writers, and frequently recurs in the Holy Scriptures. It is most commonly employed to represent the various degrees of morbid affection to which the Church is liable, between a state of perfect health and an entire extinction of the vital flame. Thus it is represented as a dependent, confiding child, under the care and protection of an affectionate parent. "When Israel was a child, then I loved him, and called my son out of Egypt." It is also represented in the tender and endearing relation of a spouse. "Thy Maker is thy husband;" and he hath said, "I will remember my covenant with thee in the days of thy youth." In the vigor of its strength, the Church is represented as "coming up out of the wilderness—terrible as an army with banners." The same figure, as we have noticed, is used by the apostle, in which he represents it as one body, and those united in it, as members one of another. Thus, as God formed man out of the dust of the earth, and breathed in him the breath of life, and he became a living soul; so he formed the Church by his power and wisdom, and animated it by an infusion of the Spirit of life and holiness. And as the body without the spirit is dead, so is the Church without the vital principle of holiness dead also. In this mysterious union of the principle of life with the body, spreading itself through all its members, and imparting an energy to all its faculties, we have a lively and beautiful representation of the Church, as the work of God. And no truth can be more evident than that the Spirit of life is essential to its existence and efficiency.

2. But man is subject to disease; and when under its influence, how alarmingly does it paralyze his energies, and reduce him to a state of inefficiency and helplessness! So it is with the Church. "The whole head is sick, and the whole heart is faint."—"For this cause," said the apostle, "many are weak and sickly among you, and many sleep." How readily, and with what anxious forebodings, do we detect the progress of disease in a beloved friend! Though it be slow and insidious, we mark with deep solicitude the train of symptomatic indications of vital decay, until every energy is wasted, and the object of our affectionate regards sinks into the arms of death. How painful is the process to the sensibilities of our nature! No distress is so poignant—no grief so agonizing, as that which arises from seeing a beloved friend sinking down under the influence of disease, and struggling in death, without any power to afford him relief. Recollections of circumstances which have endeared him to us, serve to excite emotions of tender grief; and in the despair which follows our fruitless efforts to save him, we are wont

to utter our feelings of anguish in the language of melancholy exclamation.

Such was the state of feeling under which the prophet uttered this vehement prayer. The Church was the dearest object of his affections upon earth, because he viewed it as that upon which God had set his love, and in defence of which he had pledged the honor of his name. He thought of the effect of its calamitous condition upon surrounding idolatrous nations—of the occasions it would afford for reproach and scandal—of the scoffings and triumphs of the ungodly, and the unbridled reign of wickedness in the land. He thought of all these things, and prayed and wept before the Lord. He had marked with fearful apprehensions the indications of spiritual decline; and, deeply concerned for the result, faithfully administered admonition, warning, and instruction. But all to no purpose. An inveterate disease had spread itself throughout the entire system, and enervated all its powers, so that another prophet exclaimed, "Is there no balm in Gilead; is there no physician there? why then is not the health of the daughter of my people recovered?" With the same emotion of ardent desire commingled with partial despair, he called upon his God, "O Lord, how long shall I cry, and thou wilt not hear! even cry out unto thee of violence, and thou wilt not save! Why dost thou show me iniquity, and cause me to behold grievance?" The answer of God was, "Behold ye among the heathen, and wonder marvellously, I will work a work in your days, a work which ye will not believe, though it be told you: I raise up the Chaldeans, that bitter and hasty nation, which shall march through the breadth of the land, to possess the dwelling places that are not theirs." How appalling this answer! Still love refuses to give up the dying friend. The man of God renews his supplications. His ardor increases with the increasing difficulties in the case; and he appeals to the power and veracity of his God. "Art thou not from everlasting, O Lord my God, mine Holy One? We shall not die. I will stand upon the watch, and set me upon the tower, and watch to see what he will say unto me, and what I shall answer when I am reproved;" what I shall plead to move him to show mercy. He could not—would not give up the object of his pious solicitude, while a gleam of hope remained. If the justice of God stood in the way of a speedy and triumphant deliverance, he still would plead for a mitigation of the merited punishment, and a preservation of the endeared object of his love from utter ruin. "I have heard thy speech," said he, "and was afraid; O Lord, revive thy work." Save thy Church in this day of commotion and trial. "In wrath,"—in the visitation of thy righteous judgments—"remember mercy." Suffer not the vital principle to become extinct. O send forth a quickening influence—the spirit of life and health—to reanimate it, and restore its wasted energies! What an example of love is here! How ardent were the feelings and the supplications of this holy man of God, for the restoration of spiritual influence to the Church! The whole transaction reminds us that to pray acceptably for a revival in the Church, our feelings must be duly impressed with a sense of the importance of it. Alas! how cold and lifeless are many of the prayers offered up in the precise language of the prophet! "O Lord,

revive thy work," has come to be a sort of set phraseology in prayer—a commonplace expression, used often, it is to be feared, without either the understanding or the heart accompanying it. Can such a prayer be availing? Deep and ardent were the feelings of the prophets in their supplications, because they were prompted to them by a rational and moving sense of the condition of those for whom they offered them up. They took in a full view of their condition and their danger—made themselves familiar with the gloomy picture, by intense and constant meditation—suffered nothing else—no worldly care or speculation, to divert them,—and wrought up their souls to the highest pitch of tenderness and benevolence. Therefore they were mighty in prayer. But how is it with modern professors generally? Do they sink thus deeply into the spirit of devotion? Are their souls thus imbued with the Spirit, and wrought up to the highest point of intensity of feeling for the subjects of their prayers? O, how much of worldly mindedness, indifference, and heart wandering from God and his cause, have professing Christians yet to overcome, before, like the mighty men of old, they will have power with God in prayer!

IV. In the terms of this prayer we are furnished with some important considerations of duty.

1. The figure of a human being is still kept before the mind, whichever way we contemplate the Church as in a state of decline, and a subject of revival. God only can give life and health; each is his own mysterious work; and yet with an abiding sense of our entire and unqualified dependence on him for these inestimable gifts, we have an equally abiding conviction that he preserves neither without our concurrence and care. That life which we cannot give, we may nevertheless destroy. Health is promoted or impaired by means. These truths present themselves intuitively to our minds, and influence our conduct. We know not how it is that wholesome food nourishes life, or that poison destroys it, only that God has so ordained; and he has revealed it in the book of nature that we may be admonished to use the one and avoid the other. In the same way we learn that perpetual abstinence from food will produce weakness of body, and, in the end, death by starvation. Though God gives the life and health which are preserved by the temperate use of the food needful for us, yet the receiving and using of that food, as the means of preserving them, are acts of our own; and we are duly admonished that to neglect these claims of our natural constitutions, must end in death. But our health and life may be endangered by the neglect of others. There are periods in the history of our mortal existence, when these interests are confided to others. The child in early life depends much upon the prescriptions of parents and others, to whom its physical training is intrusted, in regard to its nourishment. A nurse may administer a slow poison instead of wholesome diet, and the unsuspecting innocent may be trained to contract such a fondness for it, as ever after, while it lives, obstinately to prefer it above the wholesome aliment of life, whatever be the consequences. Of this we have a melancholy exemplification in the multitudes who are brought in the nursery to love strong drink. Under the influence of sickness, too, prescriptions are regulated by others, rather than ourselves.

How fearfully responsible is the office of a physician, or a surgeon, or even a nurse, in a chamber of sickness! How much depends upon both their skill and their disposition to use it!

But a far more fearful responsibility rests upon ministers and members of the Church of Christ. We pray for a revival of the Church—for the spiritual life and health of the religious body. But are we aware how much this depends upon ourselves, in the various offices we sustain in it? Not indeed that we can produce the least emotion of life, or in any way control the Spirit by which alone it can be produced and sustained. But God has shown us what course of conduct he will honor by accompanying it with his Spirit, and what he will not. And to expect he will produce the end while we neglect the means, is the folly of antinomianism. As well might we expect he would preserve the life of a friend, to whom we deny necessary food, or feed with poisonous drugs, or pierce to the heart with a dagger. Those feelings of tender regard for the Church, which will induce us to pray sincerely for its revival, will induce us also to labor for such revival. And we act inconsistently, and evidently insincerely, if we do the one without the other. Look at that son who is weeping bitterly over the emaciated form of a dying father! He seems deeply affected on his account. But his own neglect is the cause of his father's untimely death! Are his expressions of sorrow sincere? No one believes them so. Look at those parents who are pleading with the physician to save their child's life. Is that child dying because they have neglected to give it necessary food, or have fed it with poison? Are they sincere? Who can believe it? Are then professing Christians sincere who incessantly employ this deeply interesting prayer of the prophet, while they live in habitual neglect of those duties which God requires in order to the fulfilment of it? I will leave their own consciences to answer.

2. I must beg indulgence here. The subject is practical, and leads to a consideration of that disciplinary process upon which so much depends in maintaining a healthy action in the system. The body is constituted of its different members, in their union with the head; and these members have their different and appropriate offices. Thus the apostle represents the Church, in his Epistle to the Corinthians. A disease may be local, and more or less dangerous to the safety of the body, as it more or less approximates to the vital organs, and sympathizes with them. But if disease exist in one or more of the members, such is the organization of the body, and such the sympathy of the affiliated parts, that when one suffers, all suffer with it. To preserve the health of the body, therefore, the first and most important object, is to attend to the guarding and nurturing of its individual members. This brings the subject of responsibility directly home. Every member is charged with a particular care of itself. This is a paramount consideration, and of the first importance in the nature of the subject; but the last, it is to be feared, in the estimation of many who are most deeply interested in it. How many there are who are endlessly deploring errors and indications of spiritual decline in others, while they show no concern about themselves.

We hear much on the subject of discipline, and most perhaps

from those who least understand the wide range of duties and responsibilities it involves. They seem to think that it begins and ends with a vigorous administration of the rules of trial and expulsion from the Church. Where there are no excommunications—no cases of censure for delinquency or crime, and decided action resulting in the excommunication of members, in their estimation there is no discipline. Views and feelings like these betray such a want of mental and moral culture, as must disqualify those who cherish them from performing any useful part in the great work of nurturing and edifying the Church of Christ. The object of that discipline which aims at the orderly government and efficient operations of the Church, in carrying into effect the purposes for which it is instituted, comprehends all the means and measures which tend to give a healthy action to the members of the body, severally and jointly. It has its beginning, therefore, with the individual members; and he is the most faithful and successful disciplinarian, who sees to it that his own heart is first brought into submission to the will of Christ, and himself subjected to those rules of orderly conduct in the observance of which his soul will acquire the greatest degree of spiritual strength.

3. In view of sustaining the place and discharging the functions of a healthy member in the body of Christ, regard must be had to the provisions which God has made for the sustenance of the soul. This thought is not wholly analogical—it is clearly suggested in the Scriptures. The apostles speak of the doctrines of the Gospel as the food of the soul, and direct that they be used in a way to impart strength to those who receive them. "I have fed you with milk," said Paul to the Corinthians, "and not with meat, for hitherto ye have not been able to bear it." It appears in this connection, that by some error of their own, they had either neglected the spiritual nutriment furnished them, or improperly used it, or mingled with it that which was injurious; so that, when they should have been strong men, they were yet children, weak and helpless. Is there not much reason to fear that from similar causes many of the members of Christ's Church remain thus weak and sickly all the days of their lives? God has graciously provided for our souls such spiritual nourishment as is suited to the various conditions of our Christian experience. "Strong meat is for them that are of full age." To such, "a portion is to be given to each one in due season." St. Peter illustrates and applies this figure in a beautiful manner. "Wherefore," says he, "laying aside all malice, and all guile, and hypocrisies, and envies, and evil-speakings, as new-born babes desire the sincere milk of the word, that ye may grow thereby; if so be that ye have tasted that the Lord is gracious; to whom coming as unto a living stone, disallowed indeed of men, but chosen of God, and precious, ye also as lively stones are built a spiritual house, a holy priesthood, to offer up spiritual sacrifices, acceptable to God, by Jesus Christ." Every term here is full of interest. We are taught that our spiritual experience, as the children of God, commences in *tasting* that the Lord is gracious; that to acquire strength we need the sincere milk of the word; which implies literally that we lay aside, or studiously avoid, guilt, malice, hypocrisies, and envies,—the evils which early supervene to vitiate

our spiritual tastes, and continue to adhere to the sincere and self-denying doctrines of the cross, by which alone we can "be strengthened with might in the inner man;" and all this is to be done in view of our becoming healthy and useful members in the communion of Christ's Church. Here, then, is one important point to which attention is to be paid in contemplating the means of promoting health and vigor in the Church. A Church made up of members who perceive no distinction between truth and error—between the sincere milk of the word, and the poison which is often artfully mingled with it, can never be other than in a diseased state.

4. It appears proper in this place to make another remark. God has set his ministers as the guardians of the flock in this matter. "Simon," said the Saviour, "feed my lambs,—feed my sheep." Awfully responsible charge! In this delicate work begins the pastor's care. It is his first and principal business to "feed the Church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood." On this the health and prosperity of its members essentially depend. Feed them, not with the husks of empty and unsubstantial theories of worldly wisdom, but with the pure word of God, the food that is profitable for them. The soul is represented in the Scriptures, as having the sense of taste; which, if not vitiated, will enable it to discriminate between that which profits it and that which does not. Its sense of spiritual want is beautifully set forth, under the idea of hungering and thirsting; and the plenitude of the provision made to satisfy these desires, is generously exhibited in the liberal invitations we have in the Gospel, to partake freely of the bread and water of life. "Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be filled."—"Ho! every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters."—"O taste and see that the Lord is good."—"Eat and drink abundantly, O beloved."—"Come, for all things are now ready."

But let us not deceive ourselves. There is what may be called an intellectual taste; and there is a spiritual taste. But these are not identical. The Christian minister has something to study besides the elements of criticism, and something to do other than please the fancy of his people, in qualifying himself for his work, and discharging the duties it involves. The imagination may be feasted while the soul is starved. If we would nourish the spiritual members of the body of Christ, it should be our main object to keep in mind what is suitable and necessary for them. "I am the bread of life," said Jesus. "This is the bread which cometh down from heaven, that a man may eat thereof and not die. I am the living bread which came down from heaven. If any man eat of this bread he shall live for ever; and the bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world. Whoso eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day; for my flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed. He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me and I in him. As the living Father hath sent me, and I live by the Father; so he that eateth me, even he shall live by me." To gross and sensual minds, incapable of discerning spiritual things, this deeply interesting discourse of our blessed Lord contains nothing of importance; but those whose spiritual faculties enable them

to discern its mystical application to the wants of the soul, see in it a plenitude of heavenly grace, which above all other objects they desire. He who will so feed the people of God, as to cause their spiritual growth and prosperity, must furnish for their daily food the soul-sustaining doctrines of the cross. Christ and him crucified —Christ in all his offices—Christ as the atoning sacrifice, offering himself for the sins of a guilty world—Christ exalted as a Prince and a Saviour, to give repentance to Israel and the remission of sin—Christ in them the hope of glory—these are the truths, the only truths, which can satisfy and sustain the souls of his people. These truths should constitute the substance of every sermon, every exhortation, every social conversation. They should be the theme of ministers and people in all their intercourse. How lamentably evident is it that all people among whom these truths have been neglected, whatever has been substituted in their place, have withered away and perished like branches separated from a tree. They have no signs of spiritual life left. They may preserve the forms of worship, and partake at the sacred altar of the feast which symbolically represents the Saviour's body as meat indeed, and his blood as drink indeed; but "not *discerning* the Lord's body," they "eat and drink unworthily," and are dead. Let all who will promote the spiritual health of the Church of Christ see to it that they contend earnestly for that faith, which constantly keeps before the mind the sacrificial offering, as the bread of life which cometh down from heaven.

5. To preserve healthy action in the body, moreover, it is required that it be trained to exercise, each member performing its proper functions. Inaction produces imbecility. God has a work for his people to do, and for every individual member of his Church in particular. But it is a spiritual work, and constant spiritual mindedness is necessary for the performance of it. They, therefore, are the most healthy and vigorous members of his Church, who devote themselves most intensely to the work he has assigned them. As in physical education, all the members of the body are to be exercised in their appropriate offices to preserve its symmetry and promote a general healthy action, so it is no small part of the disciplinary process in sustaining the life and vigor of the Church, to keep all its members actively engaged in the work to which God has called them. He is a delinquent disciplinarian who looks with indifference on his charge, while all are idle and inactive; and especially he who will encourage it under the notion that all is peace. He may cry peace and safety; but sudden destruction is at hand! We have no promise of God encouraging us to hope that he will send forth his Spirit of revival in a community who live in habitual neglect of plain incumbent duties. The prayers of such for revival can never be expected to avail.

6. If we desire to witness an increase of life and animation in the Church, we must apply ourselves to the work of preserving it pure from those causes which more directly oppose the influences of the Spirit. We cannot serve God and mammon. Not indeed that it is impossible to attend to our lawful business and keep the mind steadily fixed upon God. This may be done, and is done, so long as the affections are not ensnared by the world. But here is

tne danger. "If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him." When the mind and the heart become engrossed with the things of the world, no matter what they are, they lose their hold on God and his cause; and indifference to spiritual things follows as a matter of course. To such causes is owing, in a very great degree, the spiritual declension of the present day. Subjects of absorbing interest are agitating the community,—political strife, and speculations for worldly gain—such as no man can enter into without the danger of having all his feelings enlisted; and when these things come to be constant topics of conversation among the members of the Church, and so intensely engage their thoughts as to displace those of a religious nature and tendency, they produce a most deadly influence upon the spirit of piety. To keep the minds of Christians at the farthest possible remove from all things which tend to damp their spiritual ardor, should be the steady object of those who desire a revival of the work of God. In the absence of heavenly mindedness, which cannot consist with the spirit of the world, piety will expire as a lamp unreplenished with oil.

The health and vigor of the body are promoted by a careful training of the members under a regular and uniform disciplinary process to mutual edification.

7. The analogical view we are taking of this subject suggests the importance of a faithful exercise of discipline to keep the Church clear from corrupt members. As diseased members of the human body endanger the general health of it, if they be not cured, or in due time separated from it, so unsound members of the Church become deleterious to it unless they are restored to soundness or cut off from communion with it. It is then a question of weighty importance, how long such members should be permitted to remain in connection with the body, and at what period they should be excluded. Reason and analogy unite to say that the amputation of a member should be resorted to only as an alternative to save the life, or preserve the general health of the body. So grave a work as the amputation of a member, and one resulting in consequences so serious to both the body and the member concerned, can never be decided upon hastily, or despatched with careless indifference, by any who are affected with the common sympathies of our nature. In the work of excluding from the Church such members as are deemed to be unworthy of communion in it, there are two extremes into which we are exceedingly liable to fall; the one is too much indulgence, the other is too little patience and forbearance. Both have their origin in a disposition to avoid the labor and patience of endeavoring to save the diseased member by kind efforts and judicious treatment. What does analogy suggest in this matter? "If thy hand or thy foot offend thee," said Christ, "cut it off, and cast it from thee." But when cut it off? What must be the nature and extent of the cause of offence, to justify so severe a sentence against it? When it obviously endangers the body; "for it is better for thee to enter into life halt or maimed, rather than having two hands or two feet, to be cast into everlasting fire." But who would decide upon cutting off a hand or a foot, though deeply diseased, until he had made every possible effort to restore it to soundness? Such rashness would soon destroy the body. Much injury results

to the Church from a similar rashness in the treatment of members. From a prevailing aversion to that patient perseverance which is necessary to soothe the irritation of morbid excitement in morally diseased members, or to restore them from the deathlike inaction into which they have been thrown by spiritual decline, the shortest and most speedy method of ridding the Church of them, is in some cases rashly resorted to. And when members are so excluded, it too often occurs, that due care is not taken to heal the wounds which are occasioned by the process. Hence instead of preserving the general health of the body, it is much reduced and weakened by it. Such was the complaint of the prophet. It was of the Church he said, "From the sole of the foot even unto the head there is no soundness in it; but wounds, and bruises, and putrifying sores;" and the cause is assigned thus:—"They have not been closed, neither bound up, neither mollified with ointment." Alas! how much mischief arises from the narrow view which some men take of the exercise of discipline! "Cut off the dry branches,"—"clear away the rubbish,"—"the dead members are only a curse to the Church,"—"it can never prosper until they are put out of it," and many other expressions of a similar import, indicate their tone of feeling, and the contractedness of their views in this matter. That the unsound members must be separated from the body when they become incurably diseased, all agree. But the single act of separation is not all that is to be done. It is indeed only a small part of the duty which the living are to perform. The general health of the body must be attended to, that it may have strength to bear the shock of so severe a treatment as is the amputation of a member. The tone of life in a body, which is capable of suffering the loss of a member by amputation without much painful feeling, is irrecoverably low; and that Church which can have a member separated from it by an act of expulsion, without painful feeling, is dead, irrecoverably dead. Moreover, care is to be had for the member. Expulsion, we say, is the last resort to save the body. Consequently it is to be decided upon only when every effort to save the member under treatment has failed. And then, when the diseased member is separated, more intense care is necessary to preserve the body. No member was ever separated from a living body without occasioning a wound that needed attention to heal it. Neglect it, and what must be the consequence? "Putrifying sores,"—the strong figure of the prophet, furnishes an awful answer. O the "closing," the "binding up," the "mollifying with ointment," how necessary! how much neglected!

But in faithfulness I must add, the opposite extreme is perhaps as prevalent, and equally dangerous. Suffer diseased members to remain in the body too long, and they will contaminate the whole of it. No object presents a more melancholy picture than the friend whose whole system is affected with a deadly cancer, which at first appeared on his hand, or his foot, or elsewhere. Time was, when, by separating the diseased part, even after efforts to cure it had proved unavailing, he might have escaped the destructive issue. But now it is too late. The whole system is vitiated by it, and he must die. Such is the condition of a religious community in which, invariably, corrupt members are retained. The disease is diffused

through the whole body, and all its energies are wasted by it. It is the duty of the Church strictly to maintain that discipline over its members which is necessary to preserve it from moral corruption and consequent death. But this duty is to be performed with all that deliberation with which we would decide upon parting with a diseased hand or foot, and with all that sympathy of feeling which such a decision would be calculated to produce. When the Saviour was about to pronounce sentence of excommunication against the Jews, after he had long labored for their salvation, he wept over them. Such should be the feelings of his people. The expulsion of a single member furnishes an occasion, not of triumph, but of weeping. To a revival of the Church of God, it is necessary that the corrupt and contaminating members of it be removed. This is a duty—a painful duty—which the living members have to perform. If they love the Church, of which they form a part, they will feel that this duty is essential to that revival for which they pray. How preposterous would it be for a man to pray for the preservation of his life, and an increase of health and strength, and at the same time carelessly weaken the energies of his body by recklessly cutting off members which might be cured, or obstinately retaining diseased ones which could not. We have evidently something to do, as ministers and members of the Church of Christ, in preserving it from moral disease and spiritual death.

The members were never organized and arranged in this mystical body, to mangle and destroy one another, but to feel for each other, and be mutually helpful in promoting the spiritual prosperity of the whole. "If ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another." While we pray for revival, let us not forget that we pray in vain, if we at the same time neglect our duty toward God and his Church. And this perhaps is the reason we are so often disappointed in our expectations. We desire a revival of the work of God, and persuade ourselves that, as he is a God that heareth prayer, we have only to ask and we shall receive; forgetting that we may ask amiss—that in the neglect of these plain and rational duties, which God requires us to perform for the spiritual welfare of the Church, we have no right to expect he will answer our prayer.

V. The language of this prayer implies a sense of entire dependence on God for all spiritual influence.

1. After we have done all our duty, in endeavoring to promote the spiritual welfare of the Church, we feel that God alone can revive it. "Paul may plant, and Apollos water, but it is God that giveth the increase."—"The Spirit giveth life;" therefore, "salvation is of the Lord." These truths are truly evangelical, and should be always present in our minds, both when we labor in the cause of God, and when we pray for a revival of his work. "Except the Lord build the house, they labor in vain that build it." Honest and pious laborers, while they toil in their field, yet trust in God for success. Hence they pray intelligibly, "Give us this day our daily bread." The anxious parent lingers at the bedside of the sick child, and does all in his power for its recovery; but he feels at the same time that he has no power to preserve its life, or restore its lost energies. For this he looks to God, and to him alone. In the same

spirit of entire dependence upon him does the humble Christian pray for a revival of his work. The immediate object of his prayer is the outpouring of the Spirit, to quicken and sanctify his people, and give them to enjoy "the healthful influence of his grace."

2. In this we are strongly encouraged by the promises of God. He has declared his willingness to revive his people. He loves them for his name's sake; and solicits the return of those who have departed from him. In terms of great tenderness he says to Ephraim, "how can I give thee up;" and to backsliding Israel, "return unto me and I will heal your backslidings." The remedy is ample. "With his stripes we are healed." That the manifestations of God's grace are to be looked for first and principally in the Church, quickening and animating its members, and producing a healthy action in the body, is in accordance with the entire language of the Scriptures. "The salvation of the Lord cometh out of Zion." To send out its healing streams, the fountain must exist there. The state of holiness in the Church is exceedingly partial, viewed in the light of the promises and privileges of the Gospel. Were all who name the name of Christ "sanctified wholly throughout soul, body and spirit"—were all, like the disciples of ancient times, "filled with the Holy Ghost,"—were "every thought brought into captivity to the will of Christ," and every faculty of soul and body consecrated to his service—attainments by no means impossible—what a mighty influence would the Church exert in the world! For this we pray in the language of the text.

3. It will be perceived that in this we acknowledge the direct operations of the Spirit. And why should we not? Explode this truth from the Gospel, and we are prepared to give up all the rest. "The kingdom of God is not meats and drinks, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost." The influence of the Spirit is efficacious upon the heart, producing the fruits of righteousness in the subjects of it. Their souls are deeply rooted and grounded in love. They daily grow in grace, and become more heavenly minded—more abstracted from the world—more given up to God and his service. "They walk, as seeing him that is invisible,"—"walk by faith, and not by sight." Being "dead to the world and alive to God through Jesus Christ,"—"they have their conversation in heaven," and "account the sufferings of this present life not worthy to be compared to the glory which shall be revealed," while they steadily "look, not at the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen." They are "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might." In their prayers, they have access to God, and prevail. Their example, exhortations and labors of love, all carry with them an energy, and are attended by an unction, which even strangers to piety feel and acknowledge. Having no vain ambition to gratify, they are always prepared, as the children of God, to exert an influence in promoting peace and good will among all men. They never trifle with the infirmities of others, but pity them; and never rejoice in the calamities of others, but "weep with those that weep." Having their own corrupt passions subdued, they avoid giving offence to others, or making others offenders for slight causes. "They have the mind of Christ." Such are sanctified believers. And in a perfectly healthy state, such would

be all the members of the Church of Christ. For this we pray in the language of the text. "O Lord, revive thy work."

4. Such a state of strong and vigorous piety in the Church, tends to the promotion of revival in all its branches. A sanctified Christian cherishes a strong desire for the prosperity of Zion, and the salvation of the world. He is prepared to make any sacrifices, and to perform any services, for the accomplishment of these objects. The meekness of his spirit and the ardor of his zeal, commend his piety, and tend to induce similar feelings in the community with which he is connected. His concern for the cause he loves, keeps his feelings alive to its interests. His grief is deep and poignant when Zion languishes. He rejoices in all her prosperity. Urged on by such an impulse of feeling, he practically says, "for Zion's sake I will not hold my peace, and for Jerusalem's sake I will not rest, until the righteousness thereof go forth as brightness, and the salvation thereof as a lamp that burneth." Now who can doubt, that if all the members of Christ's Church were thus sanctified to God, and ardent in his service, it would produce a powerful effect upon the irreligious world? Few would be unmoved; few, it is believed, would remain unconverted to God. More of the responsibility of the obstinacy and wickedness which exist in the world, falls upon professors of religion than they are aware of, or are perhaps willing to allow.

But sanctified Christians have power with God in prayer. This is a favor to which he has been pleased in great and condescending goodness to raise them. "Whatsoever ye ask the Father in my name," said the Saviour, "I will give it you." They ask in faith, nothing doubting; and their prayers are availing. Witness Moses pleading for offending Israel. "Let me alone," said the Almighty, "that my wrath may wax hot against them, and that I may consume them." Though justice called for speedy vengeance, the divine approbation with which he was pleased to look upon the supplication of his servant, induced him to "let the lifted thunder drop." Witness Samuel, and Elijah—the prophets and apostles, and a host of worthies who by mighty prayer prevailed with God to stay his threatened judgments, and visit the people with mercy and salvation. Think not that this privilege was limited to times of old, and to the inspired instruments of God's revelation only. It is common to the saints. The power to work miracles was a special gift, and imparted for special purposes. But the privilege of prayer is common to "all who love God with pure hearts fervently." And success in it depends upon the devotedness of heart with which it is offered up, and the degree of faith attending it. The absence of these is the true cause why our prayers are unavailing. They are empty words. We draw near to God with our lips, while our hearts are far from him. When we ask we do not expect to receive. We repeat again and again the prayer of the prophet, "O Lord, revive thy work," without any deep feeling of what we utter, or sincere belief that we shall realize an answer. Very different would be the effect if all these supplications were attended by the strong faith of a sanctified heart. Were the tone of piety in the Church elevated to the standard exhibited in the examples of such holy men as Stephen, and John, and many others of their time,

then would righteousness go forth out of Zion as brightness, and salvation as a lamp that burneth.

VI. In the intelligent use of the words of the text, we pray also for the influences of the Spirit of grace in the awakening and conversion of sinners.

1. I have noticed that many probably confine their thoughts to this point only, when they use these words in prayer; and, therefore, they can be understood as asking in this individual petition for nothing more; for that cannot be supposed to be a particular object of desire in prayer which one does not think of while praying. Hence the importance of entering upon this duty with a mind duly prepared by previous meditation, and of clearly comprehending, and calmly weighing, every expression used in our supplications. When the mind fully comprehends the object, and the feelings of the soul are drawn out in desire for its accomplishment, then it is that our prayers are both rational and sincere.

The intelligent Christian, who looks upon the Church of God as his work—who loves it for his sake—who knows and feels the importance of its spirituality to preserve it from scandal and render it useful—and who understands the divine economy of establishing righteousness and truth in the earth through its instrumentality, will embrace it, especially in his supplications for an extension of the Redeemer's kingdom in the earth; and the consequence of reviving influence in the Church, as an effect invariably connected with it, the awakening and conversion of sinners, is present in his mind and forms a part of the object of his prayer. I could not assume this strong ground were it not supported by strong evidence. But it is the order of God, as the uniform history of his marvellous works will show; and who will contend against him? I do not assume that there are no instances of gracious influence in the awakening and conversion of sinners, apart from the Church, or from a revival in it. God may work independently of apparent means, and often does, though rarely if ever among those who are within the range of the influence of professing Christians, without commencing it in their hearts. But what I affirm is, that a genuine and deep revival in the Church, quickening and rousing professors, and bringing their graces into lively action, will be followed by awakenings among their neighbors. So it ever has been; and, therefore, for the best reason that can be adduced to attest any fact, we are authorized to believe it will be so.

2. I cannot well illustrate my subject without a little particular explanation on this point. To the religious excitements of which we speak, distinguished principally by what I have denominated the awakening and conversion of sinners, common use has appropriated the terms "revival," "work of God," "work of revival," &c. I have no disposition to object to this, since it is understood what is meant; nor yet to the propriety of so using these terms. Every kind and degree of religious influence, in the hearts of saints or sinners, is a work of God; and all such influence is, in its degree and tendency, a revival. So that they who pray for a revival, or a work of God in the awakening and conversion of sinners, pray correctly and intelligibly; but they evidently do not comprehend all that was embraced in the prayer of the prophet. Yet the prayer

of the prophet, understood as we have explained it, comprehends all that is implied in the common use of the term "revival," and in its most enlarged sense. Let the Church experience the revival prayed for by the prophet—let all her members become "strong in the Lord"—let a quickening and healthful influence become universal, so as to bring grace into lively and vigorous exercise, and who will venture to estimate the extent of influence in the awakening and conversion of sinners which would most assuredly follow?

3. Such we have said is the order of God. There are some instances, it is true, in which it is less evident than in others. Remarkable occurrences of the outpourings of the Spirit upon communities, seemingly careless and stupid, occasionally mark the ways of God. This fact we must admit, as it has come under our own observation. Within the circle of my knowledge, but a few years ago, while the young people of a town in which there was little attention paid to religion, were collected in different places to celebrate an annual festival, and indulging in all the hilarity of the occasion, by a sudden and simultaneous impression their merriment was changed into seriousness, and their mirth into solemn prayer; and a general revival ensued. Scenes like this cannot have escaped the notice of others who have had the opportunity and inclination to observe, to any considerable extent, the phenomena of religious excitements which have been prevalent in our own country. These are his marvellous works, and serve to show that in the kingdom of his grace, as in that of his providence, he displays his sovereignty in sometimes causing the fertilizing showers to decend more plentifully than at others. These are, in the language of Scripture, "times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord." These are seasons of great privilege, when God is evidently and eminently near. And to such seasons especially the language of the prophet is applicable, "Seek ye the Lord while he may be found, call ye upon him while he is near." Not indeed but that he may be sought and found by sinners in a day of spiritual dearth and darkness. Then they are exhorted, as Paul exhorted the benighted Athenians, to "feel after him if haply they may find him." And even in the day of revival, sinners may resist the Spirit, but not without the greater condemnation.

4. But though there are instances of such extraordinary manifestations of divine influence, in places where there are few professors, and without any visible evidence of their being the result of a special revival in the Church, the fact does not vary our position, that where God has a people—where his Church exists in due form—it is in the order of his economy to commence a work of revival in the hearts of his people, and thereby to render them instrumental in extending its influences abroad. And why should it not be so? "To them are committed the oracles of God." They are intrusted with the Gospel, the mighty instrument which God has ordained for the illumination and salvation of the world; and are charged with the duty of sustaining the faithful preaching of it. The self-denying labors which they must perform in carrying into effect this great system of means, so as to bring it to act at all points upon perverse and rebellious sinners, can never be persevered in with a zeal necessary to render them efficacious, without feelings of strong

and ardent piety. In the absence of this, all is weakness and inefficiency. Where it exists in full vigor, there is force and energy.

Let facts speak. They give strength to our faith. John was "a burning and a shining light." It was the melting influence of his piety—the holiness of his heart and life, more than the celebrity of his eloquence, which produced the great religious excitement that attended his ministry. The spirit of religion is in its nature communicative. The slightest touch of its influence excites a desire that it may be extended. The feelings of Andrew were no sooner excited by his interview with the Saviour, than he sought to enlist those of his brother Simon; and when Philip was brought to follow Christ, he immediately endeavored to persuade Nathaniel to the same course. The quickening influences of the Spirit in every young disciple, at once prompts to acts and efforts for the salvation of others. "The Spirit in the bride says Come." When the apostles and disciples received the effusions of the Spirit at the feast of Pentecost, and from the fulness of their feelings declared the wonderful works of God to the multitude, though some mocked—others, many others, in the bitterness of their souls, cried out, "men and brethren, what shall we do?"

Whatever there was of miracle in their speaking with tongues, that particular influence which produced conviction in the hearts of their hearers, and induced them to seek salvation, was identical with what all sinners feel when awakened by the Spirit of God. Peter indeed affirmed that it was the Spirit which God had promised to pour out upon all flesh.

5. But we must not dwell here. The characteristics of a revival, in all its essential features, are uniform. The first work of the Holy Spirit is to "reprove the world of sin;" and then, to the humble believing soul, it conveys the evidence of pardon and acceptance. The fruits of the change thus produced, appear in the lives of the subjects of it. So it was in the days of the apostles. So it has been in later times. Great and glorious things have been witnessed in our land. "We speak what we know, and testify what we have seen"—an influence bearing down opposition—carrying away the deep-rooted prejudices and antipathies of scoffers,—bringing them to bow down with those they had despised and constraining them to cry aloud for mercy. The impious and the profane have humbled themselves, and become serious and devout. They have expressed the agony of inward grief; and, suddenly, the joys of spiritual consolation; and forthwith shown the most ardent and undying love for the men and the things they had opposed with a deadly hate. Multitudes in the same neighborhood, and at the same time, have passed through these changes. And instances of such general excitements have been numerous in our own age and country. Such events—so strongly marked in all their prominent features—so frequent and evident—present well-attested phenomena for serious investigation and solemn decision. They must be accounted for—they demand explanation. To call the work fanaticism, is a foolish assumption—averse alike to sound philosophy and the testimony of Scripture. It is an explanation without reason, a solution without evidence. To the pious Christian the answer is ready—it is of God.

This work the good man most ardently and intensely desires to

see promoted in the world. Knowing it by its fruits, so far as it is genuine, all the pious feelings of his heart are alive with desire to witness its prevalence. For this he labors, and for this he prays. How important then that he should pray understandingly, and labor in accordance with the order and will of God. Go abroad among professing Christians, and what do you hear? Universal lamentations about the desolations of Zion—the general apathy that prevails in the Churches—and the decline of revivals. And every where in public assemblies, social circles for prayer, and at the family altar, again and again is repeated the prayer of the prophet, "O Lord, revive thy work." Still we see not those general outpourings of the Spirit which we desire. May it not be profitable for us to inquire seriously—what is the cause? Have we not accustomed ourselves to pray too much in the spirit of Antinomianism? By confining our thoughts to the immediate operations of the Spirit, in the awakening and conversion of sinners, while praying for revival, have we not lost sight of the condition of the Church, and that it is necessary for the work to commence there, to prepare the members of it for those holy exercises of devotion, which seem, in the order of God, incipient and essential in the work for which we pray? Have not professors forgotten themselves in their zeal for the salvation of others? It is possible too, that as ministers and Christians, we may have placed too much confidence in extra efforts, and not enough in God. The expedient of protracted meetings has a show of an increase of zeal for the promotion of the cause of piety. I am not prepared to condemn these means. No doubt in some cases good has resulted from them. In others, perhaps not. The danger of relying on them solely for the desired effect—of trusting to the influence of commanding talents, usually sought to be employed on such occasions—of being brought to depreciate the regular institutions of grace—and more than all of inducing a disposition to neglect the ordinary means of cultivating constant communion with God, by looking forward to such meetings as seasons of special privilege for this purpose, deserve the serious consideration of all who are accustomed to place a high value upon them. Neither these nor any other similar means can originate the spirit of revival. When they are the result of it, they may—they will be productive of good. The spirit of revival, deeply imbuing the souls of Christians, will find means to exert itself. Let the Church be alive to God—let the members of it come together in the fulness of the spirit of the Gospel—having their hearts filled with the love of God, and burning with zeal for the salvation of sinners, and their devotional services, ordinary or protracted, will tell upon the condition and feelings of the people who assemble with them, and the community in which they live. Let this be the preparation for extra efforts, and the result will attest their utility.

6. This is the sum of the whole matter. A revival of the work of God has its commencement in the Church. Its source is in God, and its influence in the spirit of holiness. This is attained, in the order of God, by faith in Christ;—and it is cherished and kept alive, by cleaving to God with all our hearts, in prayer, in watchfulness, in the spirit of abstractedness from the world, in much meditation, and in constant devotedness to the service of God. The Christian's

strength is his piety—deep and ardent piety. The health of his soul is the enjoyment of spiritual life—nourished and sustained by the bread of life—the bread which cometh down from heaven. This imparts strength to all his spiritual faculties. It is holiness—deep and increasing holiness of heart and life—which gives vital energy to good men's efforts, in promoting the cause of piety. No artificial ardor, or temporary preparation, can supply the absence of it. No system of measures, however well concerted, can succeed without it. It is the main-spring which gives motion to the great system of instrumentality, which God in infinite wisdom has devised to carry on his work in the earth. To attempt to promote that work without it, is the sure way to bring it into contempt. This is the true cause of so many failures, and so much consequent scandal. A genuine revival, though it may occasion violent opposition, never wounds or injures the cause. The sincere and unaffected simplicity with which the pious labor for the salvation of their neighbors and friends, so much commends itself to the observation of candor, that it is never alluded to as a cause of reproach. Influenced constantly by a spirit of deep and ardent piety, the devout Christian acts most conformably to his feelings, and therefore most naturally, in all his efforts to do good to others. With the high state of religious experience of which we are capable, how mighty is the influence of one individual in a neighborhood, though he be poor, and unlettered, and otherwise uninfluential in the world: in the cause of God he is a host. What, then, would be the result if all the members of the Church—all the talent and influence in it—were consecrated to God and his service, by the universal prevalence of the spirit of holiness! The contrast is so immense, when compared with any condition of the Church, since the general spread of Christianity, that the mind is dazzled with the thought! Would not the millennial glory then usher in? What good reason can be assigned that the Gospel has not long since succeeded in the salvation of the multitudes who have been brought within the circle of its influence? The evidences of its truth, and the motives to virtue which it holds out, are all that can be required to secure the submission of rational beings. In these there is nothing that the sinner can find it in his heart to allege as a reason to excuse his rejection of God. But his strong support is the backslidings and shortcomings of professors. While they show the same love of the world as other men—an indulgence in the same unholy tempers with other men—the same indifference to moral integrity as other men—and are in no way distinguished from other men, only by a connection with a body of professing Christians, and a zeal to promote the interest of the cause with which they are connected, their unconverted neighbors have daily before them the reasons which secretly operate to confirm them in the perverse unbelief of their hearts. Let all these obstacles be removed—let the world see nothing in professors but what savors of deep and heart-felt piety—let all their conversation be as becometh the Gospel of Christ—and their influence must be irresistible. Unbelief would wither before it. The strong holds of infidelity would give way; and the Gospel, having free course, would accomplish the thing whereunto it is sent.

7. Never was there a time when it behooved Christians to turn their attention to this subject more than at the present. There are elements in operation whose tendency is to unsettle the feelings of the Christian public, and divert professors from the great objects of personal piety and permanent usefulness. We live in an age of excitement. New objects are thrust forward to command our attention and enlist our feelings. The combined energies of conflicting parties in political and polemic strife are employed to entangle the Church of God, and draw to their different interests the sanction of its councils, and the influence of its agency. New and inviting sources of worldly gain are opened in every direction, and motives for speculation are held out at all points. And in the midst of the bustling strife, the sacred friendships long consecrated by Christian communion, are broken in upon, and the bonds of love are dissevered by a spirit of ultraism, which condemns moderation as crime, and acknowledges no virtue that appears not in the tempest, and sympathizes not with the wild projects which are directed by the tameless fury of the whirlwind. Surrounded by all these elements of strife and occasions of danger, how important is it that the souls of God's people should be established by grace. If Christianity—pure and undefiled—be permitted to lose its influence, in the present state of society, all is lost—there is no hope for the nation—no hope for the world—without a renovation. We are not prepared to say that it has lost its influence, or that it is very essentially impaired. If there be a change for the worse, it is evidently in the world. All signs of decline in the Church are temporary. But it does not, and never has, exerted the influence it is destined to, if it arise to the standard of piety pointed out in the word of God as its privilege. How few of the multitudes who profess piety are as devoted and useful as they might be! How few who, like Jeremiah, spend their days and nights in weeping over the sins of the people! How few who, like Samuel, cease not to pray for them! How few who, like Moses, have a prevailing influence at the court of Heaven to avert by their prayers impending evils! How few are "strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might!" Yet the weakness is only comparative. Such strength is the privilege of all—and entire sanctification of soul and body to God would render all his people mighty in their influence to restrain the current of vice and correct the spirit of the times. For this we pray in the language of the text, "O Lord, revive thy work." Give health and vigor to Zion, by sanctifying the ministry and the membership, and qualifying them for exerting a hallowing influence upon the world. This is a point of deep and absorbing interest. After all the devices and speculations of worldly wisdom, the prevalence of scriptural holiness, and that alone, can harmonize the conflicting elements which threaten the ruin of all that is desirable in society, and bring peace and good will to man. And this is attainable. Other devices, however well concerted, may fail. Holiness is an attainable object. "It is the will of God, even your sanctification."—"Faithful is he who calleth you, who also will do it." On other ground Christians are not safe. The world will love its own and them only. Obsequious to its power, its policy, or its spirit, Christians lose their influence and their confidence with God. Their counsels are

despised, and their prayers are unavailing. All terms of compromise with the world, or conformity to it, on the part of Christians, are a surrender of high and important privileges. In so far as we come short of entire sanctification to God, we make such a surrender to the spirit of the world. Herein lies the weakness of the Church —and this is the ground of the exhortation, "Awake! awake! put on thy strength, O Zion; put on thy beautiful garments, O Jerusalem; for great is the Holy One of Israel in the midst of thee."

May God gloriously and universally revive his work, for his mercy's sake. Amen.

PROMINENT CEREMONIES OF THE ROMAN CHURCH AT ROME.

Continued from p. 185.

MAUNDY THURSDAY.

MESSRS. EDITORS:—I concluded my last communication with an account of the washing of the feet of the *Apostoli*, as they are called. The next ceremony in order was the

Dinner.

This was in a part of the great Vatican palace, up two or three flights of stairs from the portico of St. Peter's, and at some distance round a balcony. Desirous to see the whole, we left our ladies to the care of some friends, and threw ourselves into the current of the moving thousands who were pressing upward and onward to the place of *feeding*. Here was a scene of crowding and pushing which exceeded all that I had before experienced. Several times my courage well nigh failed me; and, indeed, I believe I should have given up the enterprise at last, but that, when the severest part of the pressure came, I found it too late to repent, and I had no other alternative but to give myself up to the moving current, and be *carried* onward by volitions and muscular energies other than my own. To give the English credit for all they do, I must say they played the principal part in this drama. On the whole they are the most famous performers in a jamb I ever met with; and what surprised me the more was to see many English *ladies* in the crowd, some with their shawls and vandykes torn off, others with their bonnets crushed, and all with their fashionable shoulder balloons well flattened. For myself, being naturally weak at the chest, I began to fear dangerous consequences from the compression, as I found my breath nearly suspended, and my breast wedged up as in a vice, the screws of which were gradually turned closer and closer. I found, however, by a little management, I could turn myself so as to take the pressure *laterally*, and thus relieve my chest. With this precaution I succeeded in gradually working my way up very near the table, where for two very tedious hours, so long at least the time seemed to me, I had the gratification of seeing—what? Why, of seeing those symbolical apostles eat their sweetmeats and drink their wine, while the pope served them in person. His holiness, however, did not see the end of the meal; he only moved round the table a few times, being himself waited upon by prelates, who took the dishes, and, kneeling, handed them

to the pope, and he passed them to the guests. After giving them something to eat, he gave them drink, blessed them, and retired. They seemed, however, determined, whether served by popes, prelates, or servants, to finish their meal, which they did at good length, and apparently with a good zest. At the close they took the remainder of the refreshments in sacks, and their serviettes, all of which, it seems, were their perquisites, and retired—not, however, without having first distributed some of their consecrated flowers to their friends and others, a few of which, as a stranger, I solicited and obtained. They were given with that usual courtesy, which the Italians, to their credit be it spoken, generally show to strangers.

The remaining exercises of the day were the repetition of the "Tenebrae" and "Miserere," the latter by Bai, and a ceremony called "the washing of the altar," which is done by pouring wine and water upon it, and rubbing it with brushes, and wiping it with sponges and towels—all of which is to represent the blood and water which flowed from the Saviour's side, and the bloody sweat with which he was bathed in the garden. Of this ceremony, however, I cannot speak from personal observation, as I was too much fatigued with the preceding ceremonies to be able to attend the concluding observances of the day.

GOOD FRIDAY.

Some of our friends attended on the functions of the pope on this day, but, as I was informed nothing very different was to be transacted from the ceremonies of the preceding day, I did not attend at the Sistine chapel. I learn, however, from their report,—and this also agrees with Bishop England's account of the day—that the principal ceremony consisted in the pope's going with all his ecclesiastical court and prelates to bring back from the Pauline chapel the body of Christ, that had been deposited there the day before. A procession was formed as before, the host was taken from the tomb, and given to the pope, who carried it covered with a veil, himself walking under a canopy, back again to the Capella Sistina. Now is performed what is called the mass of the *pre-sanctified*, so called because the wafer was consecrated before. It might have been remarked, however, that previous to this procession, his holiness goes through the ceremony of worshipping the cross. This ceremony is in the Sistine chapel. The cross is presented, before which the pope kneels repeatedly; he then has his shoes and his mitre taken off. He then goes to the cross, bows before it with the profoundest reverence, kisses it, &c., after which the attendant knight threw into a silver basin a red purse of damask silk trimmed with gold, which contained the pope's offering for the occasion; for on Good Friday all the devotees throw in their offering, more or less, into a basin placed to receive it. It seems, indeed, to be a general collecting day. We visited numerous churches, and found in each a crucifix, generally with the image of the Saviour upon it, and placed in such a position as to be accessible by all. To this cross a crowd of worshippers of men, women, and children were constantly pressing, bowing before it, and kissing the image. The more common course was to kiss the five wounds on the feet, hands, and side, and sometimes the temples, and as they withdrew,

for they were continually coming and going, they threw into the basin, which was always placed under the cross, a piece of money. The most solemn ceremony, however, which we witnessed on this day, was at the Jesuits' church. It was called the "Three hours of Agony." Here a great multitude were assembled, and attending alternately to reading and extempore addressing. The reading was a kind of service which seemed to be specially prepared for the occasion, descriptive of the Saviour's sufferings. As the officiating priest read, he was occasionally interrupted, perhaps in the middle of a paragraph, by the extempore orator or preacher, who rose up, as it would seem, at some thought which struck him at the time, and gave an impassioned address on some point connected with the service and with the solemn reminiscences of the day. The audience appeared solemn—some of them affected; and the whole ceremony was impressive.

SATURDAY BEFORE EASTER.

On this day, at the Basilisk of St. Peter, were a number of unimportant functions, the principal of which were the extinguishing of all the old lights, and the striking of new fire from a flint to rekindle them, to represent the resurrection.* Then followed the blessing of the paschal candle. The paschal candle is very large; sometimes, I should judge, three inches in diameter, and has somewhere about the centre certain knobs or protuberances so arranged as to be an imperfect representation of the cross. One of these candles, of greater or less dimensions, according to the character of the church, was found in almost every church and chapel we visited.

But the most interesting ceremonies of the day were at the church of St. John of Lateran. The first was a baptism of such Jews as had been converted to Christianity. We arrived just at the conclusion of this ordinance, which, however, was of less interest on the account of the fewness of the converts—only two or three, I believe, presented themselves for this Christian ordinance. The disciples of Moses at Rome seem very obstinate in their rejection both of the Messiah and of his assumed successor and vicegerent, judging, perhaps, that the Messiah has no more claim upon their faith than his supposed representative. Few, however, as was the number of converts, we found, on going into the church, that the *agents of conversion* were being multiplied abundantly. The ordination service was a splendid function, on account of the splendor and variety and changes of the vestments, the pomp of the ceremonies, and the number of the candidates.

After some delay on the part of one of the sacristans, who promised to admit us into a temporary gallery which had been erected for spectators, and which delay seemed to be for the purpose of getting a higher fee, we at length obtained a position which gave us a near and a distinct view of all the performances. The service was led by a bishop of middle age and fine personal appearance, with a countenance that expressed more of heaven than of earth. His mitre was splendid, his robes rich and gorgeous, and his whole manner devout. The candidates, nearly if not quite one hundred

* The flints used for this purpose at Florence are said to have been brought from the Holy Land, which gives, of course, a greater sacredness to the fire.

in number, all clad in their peculiar vestments, according to their standing and destination, on entering the choir threw themselves upon their faces in solemn and devout prostration. All of them had their heads shaved, *for they had a vow*. Some only had a small spot shaved upon the crown; but the greater part had both the top and the lower part shaven, leaving only a ring, or belt of hair, passing round the centre of the head. They were ordained in four or five classes, according to their different grades. The ceremony consisted in prayers and music, in a multitude of incensings, genuflections, prostrations, manipulations, and benedictions. The bishop's vestments were changed, his mitre was taken off and put on; so also were his gloves and his ring. He clipped a lock of hair from the candidates, bound their hands with a napkin, caused them to be *di*-vested and *in*-vested in a variety of changes, and by a variety of garments, and performed upon them and to them many other rites too numerous to mention, in all which he was assisted by numerous bishops and other ecclesiastical functionaries who took their part in the service.

Like most other Catholic observances, however, the thing was quite overdone, both as to the number of the rites and also the length of the entire service. All parties, both spectators and actors, seemed heartily weary of the scene, and a great portion of the former had withdrawn long before the ceremonies closed. The bishop himself, who appeared to be a feeble man, seemed quite exhausted; and yawning and snuff-taking round the ecclesiastical benches showed that much form and ceremony was a weariness to the flesh. After the conclusion of the service we recreated our minds a little by taking another view of this splendid Basilisk church, and then returned to our lodgings.

EASTER SUNDAY.

This is the great day of the feast, being one of three days during the year in which his holiness himself celebrates high mass. The other two instances are Christmas and the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. We were at our places before the hour, in order to obtain good positions to witness the ceremony; for, in general, a Catholic church is of all places the worst for seeing and hearing. The functions are generally performed but a little above the dead level of the floor of the church, and there are for the most part neither galleries nor seats. Some temporary galleries, however, had on this occasion been thrown up, into which our ladies had the good fortune to find access; and I took a position directly at the side of the gate into the altar; where, not without some difficulty, I was permitted to stand, and sometimes to sit in a free and close view of the ceremony, and directly in the way where all the vestments and sacred elements and vessels were carried past by the sacristan, who was constantly passing and repassing in the performance of his part of the service.

The procession formed in the *Sala Regia*, or Royal Saloon, passed down the royal staircase, and through the porch of the church into the front door, where the chapter, ranged in two lines, and the military guards awaited its entrance. The pope came in state, borne in his pontifical chair upon the shoulders of his twelve

"supporters," and canopied, as on Palm Sunday, by a splendid screen, elevated upon long poles, and carried over his head by eight referendaries. As he entered the church the choir chanted, "*Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram ædificabo ecclesiam meam*,"—"Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my Church," &c. As he passed up he stopped at the chapel of the Holy Sacrament, to descend and worship the sacred host. The stool where he knelt, like the chair from which he had descended, was covered with crimson velvet and gold. He reascended the chair, and was borne to his throne, where he was seated to receive the homage of the cardinals and prelates, before the worship of the *great God above* was allowed to commence;—but, as this man-worship was similar to that explained already, I need not repeat it here. The pontifical prince wore upon his head the tiara or triple crown. This is a crown with three cinctures or coronets, to represent the *pontifical*, *imperial*, and *kingly* offices united. This crown, it is said, had at first a single cincture, and it was thus worn in the time of Constantine. In about 1300, Boniface VIII. added another, and in about 1360, Urban V. completed this triune emblem of all civil and ecclesiastical power, by giving it the form of the present tiara. The large splendid *fabelli* of peacock's feathers waved before him, together with a large golden cross called the *vexillum*.

The pontiff had to pass through the operation of robing preparatory to the celebration of mass; and, in addition to the robes worn by other bishops already alluded to, he had a striped silk scarf-like cincture over his shoulders, called a *fanon*, a sort of maniple hanging on the left side, and called a *succinctorium*, and a band round the neck, hanging down in pendants before and behind. This is made of wool shorn of lambs blessed on St. Agnes' day, and after it is fabricated, it is again blessed by the pope at the festival of St. Peter and St. Paul. With this double blessing it becomes a badge of great sanctity and honor.

Having been vested, the pope entered upon the solemnities of his official function for the day. He was attended by the thurifer, or incense-bearer, the cross-bearer, four accalyths or light-bearers, deacons, patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, priests, &c. Three cardinal priests approached him, and, after bowing profoundly, embraced him, to represent the homage of the three wise men to the Saviour. The mass was then celebrated. The form being essentially the same as already described, I will not repeat it. His holiness certainly performed the service with a great deal of solemnity, and just at the moment when the transmutation was about to take place, when the inert wafer was to become a god, before which, *or whom*, the whole multitude were to fall prostrate, he gazed at it with an intensity which seemed to indicate his full belief in the fable of transubstantiation. The language of every feature was

"A god, a god, appears"

and as he elevated the host at the given signal—I was very near him, and think I could not be mistaken—as he elevated it for the adoration of the multitude, tears gushed into his eyes, and he seemed to be melted down before the imaginary god of his own creation.

Indeed all that I saw of Gregory XVI. led me to think favorably of his sincerity and piety. Respect for a venerable old man, as well as a tender regard for the feelings of the worshippers near me, would have induced me, if principle had not been involved in it, to have bowed with the thousands that were prostrate around me. But believing, as I verily did, that that same piece of wafer was *only a wafer still*, a voice from Sinai thundered in my ears, "Thou shalt have no other gods before me." One circumstance in the celebration shows that, after all, Catholics themselves do not believe in the reality of the change of the elements into the actual body and blood of Christ. Before the elements of consecration were received by the pontiff, the sacristan, in order to guard against poison, ate two of three particles, which were brought forward for the mass, and drank some of the wine. It is hardly supposable that, at the present day, the pope fears being poisoned, but there was a time when such fears were entertained, and hence originated the custom, which is now kept up merely as an established usage. But this shows that, when there was danger of poison, even popes were afraid to trust to transubstantiation to change the poisoned wafer into the real body of Christ. What! the body of Christ—poisonous and producing death! Christ says, "My flesh is meat, indeed, and my blood is drink indeed."—"I am the bread of life." But Catholics either believe that Christ's body and blood may be poison indeed, and the bread of death,—or they do not believe that a poisoned wafer is by the celebration of the mass changed into the real body of Christ. Whichever alternative they take proves fatal to their system.

And here let me say that the courtesy of the Romans far exceeds that of some blustering Catholics of our own country, who have assumed to themselves the liberty of knocking off hats, if not of knocking down those who do not choose to conform to what is verily believed to be their superstition. The military behaved on this occasion with great propriety. I was specially struck with the pontiff's noble guard. They are a volunteer corps, who tender their services gratuitously to their sovereign pontiff, and are made up from the noble families of Rome. They were well dressed, and as fine looking men as I ever saw in the ranks of a military company. This guard were all around me, and although they could but see that I was a decided non-conformist in the ceremonies of the occasion, they let all pass without censure or apparent notice.

The pope, together with the deacon, and sub-deacon, communicated on this occasion, the two latter, which is not practised on other occasions, taking the wine as well as the wafer, and taking it too in a peculiar way, by sucking it through a pipe or tube, his holiness also drinking in the same way.

After mass the pope returned in state, as he came, stopping, however, at a kneeling stool by the way to venerate

The Holy Relics.

As you face the high altar of St. Peter's, you see on the left a shrine consecrated to a damsel called St. Veronica. Here is a statue of the saint, and high above it is a balcony, where, on great occasions, three most sacred, and, if we may believe the reports of

several special courts that have been appointed to examine into their history,—most veritable relics are exhibited. They are, 1. A part of the lance with which the Saviour's side was pierced. 2. Parts of the true cross, and, 3. A napkin, or handkerchief, on which the Saviour wiped his face, covered as it was with blood and sweat, as he was going up Calvary. The outlines of his visage were thus miraculously left upon the napkin, which continue unto this day. With respect to the authenticity of these relics, every one, of course, must judge for himself. Even Catholics do not *require* a belief in them as essential matters of faith. The same sub-deacon that whispered in my ear at the time of the controversy with the Spanish general of the Franciscans on Palm Sunday, stood by me on Easter Sunday, as I, with thousands of others, stood gazing at these relics; and, perceiving, as I suppose, by my remarks and looks, that I was somewhat incredulous, observed, "These are not articles of faith—a man may believe them or not, and in either case be a good Catholic." With respect to the handkerchief, it appears that its identity and history can be traced as far back as the year 707, at which period it was an object of veneration. What its former history was, I believe even Catholics cannot definitely trace. Tradition says, however, that this St. Veronica was one of those daughters of Zion who accompanied their Lord and Master to the scene of his tragedy, and that, being near him as he was sweating under his cross, she kindly wiped his face, or permitted him to wipe it on her handkerchief—and the miracle followed. It was taken back with the bloody portrait indelibly impressed upon it. It was, of course, preserved as an object of attention and veneration, and where else should it be preserved but at the great capital of the Christian world? With respect to the cross, the history is, that it was found at Jerusalem by St. Helena, the mother of Constantine. She placed the larger portion of it in a case at Jerusalem, but sent some pieces to Rome. The portion left at Jerusalem was carried away by Chosroas, king of Persia, in his war with Phocas in the year 624. It was afterward retaken and brought back to Jerusalem, and carried thence to Constantinople; and during the crusades portions of it were brought to the west of Europe, at different times and by different persons, insomuch that it has been sarcastically said that there were pieces of wood in different places of Catholic countries, which are called parts of the true cross, sufficient to build a 74. This is doubtless hyperbolic; but that there are and have been many cords of such wood, there can be no doubt. We were shown at the church of the Holy Cross in Jerusalem, situated near the palace of the Lateran in Rome, that portion which was brought or sent to Rome by St. Helena. One of the pieces now exhibited, for I believe there are two of them, is from the portion first sent over by the empress, and the other probably is from Constantinople. They are enshrined, as are also the other relics, in a rich silver case with rock crystal and precious stones. The lance is also said to have been found at Jerusalem by the mother of Constantine, and this was carried to Constantinople in the sixth century, and was there, as the accounts say, divided. The point was pledged to the Venetians in the 13th century, in pawn for the payment of money borrowed, and the shank was kept still at Constantinople. St. Louis of France

redeemed the pledge, and took the relic to France. The part kept at Constantinople was sent to Rome by a special embassage in 1492. At Ancona two bishops met the ambassador and received the relic, at Narni two cardinals met the bishops and received it from them, and at the Flaminian gate of Rome the pope himself received the relic, and carried it in solemn procession to the Vatican. So much for the history of these sacred remains, and I have dwelt the longer on this, that the reader might know something of the ground on which so many sacred relics in Rome are authenticated. These relics are supposed to be the most unquestionable of any. What credit then is to be given to others, each must judge for himself. Where were these relics when Jerusalem was ploughed as a field? They are now kept in a chapel made on purpose to receive them, and are allowed to be approached by none but the canons of the Church.* The height and distance from which we were permitted to view them, as they were successively exhibited in their crystal cases from the high balcony, made the view very indistinct. We could discern, however, the outlines of a human face faintly imprinted upon the handkerchief. The pope knelt to witness the exhibition, and to venerate these sacred relics; and the vast multitudes that thronged St. Peter's fell also upon their knees. And there they were, in one devout mass, gazing with up-turned eyes, and with the same apparent intensity and adoration, until the relics disappeared, as that with which the disciples gazed upon their ascending Lord, until "a cloud received him out of their sight."

The pope reascended the chair, and was borne out of the church, to appear once more at the front gallery to bless the people. This benediction was more splendid than that on Maundy Thursday, inasmuch as the crowd was greater, and there was a greater display of the military. Even the horses, it is said, were made to kneel at the spreading out of the papal hands. The pope prayed, and although he was too high and distant to be heard, yet the form is written, as is every part of the Catholic service, and from this form we learn that the pope "asks, through the prayers and merits of the blessed Mary ever virgin, of the blessed John the Baptist, of the blessed apostles, Peter and Paul, and all the saints, that the Almighty God may have mercy upon them, and that all their sins being forgiven, Jesus Christ would bring them to eternal life. Amen." A truly Catholic prayer: sins are to be forgiven through the merits of the saints!! The blessing was then pronounced, and plenary indulgence imparted to penitents, which, on printed notices, is thrown down among the people—all of whom seemed eager to catch them. Once more the bells rang, and the cannons of St. Angelo thundered, and the multitudes, which were variously estimated at from thirty to eighty thousand, moved off and were dispersed to the four winds.

W. Fisk.

* Don Miguel, the ex-king of Portugal, has obtained the favor of the pope of being made honorary canon of St. Peter's, for the purpose of being permitted to examine these relics.

Copied from the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine.

FAMILY WORSHIP.

The general assembly's Pastoral Letter to the people of Scotland on Family Worship.

Edinburgh, May 30, 1836. *Sess. ult.*

THE General Assembly, having considered and approved the overtures recommending a renewed admonition, for the purpose of stirring up the people of this land to the faithful and regular observance of the worship of God in their families, did, and hereby do, require the following pastoral letter to be read by all the Ministers of this Church from their several pulpits on the first convenient Lord's day after it shall come into their hands.

JOHN LEE, Cl. Eccl. Scot.

The General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, to our dearly beloved people: grace, mercy, and peace, from God the Father, and Christ Jesus our Lord.

On your behalf, brethren, we thank God, whom we serve with our spirit in the Gospel of his Son, that your faith and devotion have long been spoken of throughout the world: and we are bound always to have remembrance of you in our prayers night and day, greatly desiring that, like your forefathers in times of clearest light, you may continue steadfastly in the fear of the Lord, and in the comfort of the Holy Ghost, abounding in the exercises of that unfeigned godliness which is profitable unto all things, having promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.

In compliance with the solicitations of many who watch for your souls, and are jealous over you with godly jealousy, we have resolved to issue this brotherly exhortation on the sacred and indispensable duty of family worship,—not as if we had any recent ground for apprehending that it is likely to fall into more extensive neglect, but because we know too well that it is by no means universally practised, and because even the purest minds require to be stirred up by way of remembrance, that, while they hold fast the profession of their own faith without wavering, they may consider one another, to provoke and encourage, by good counsel and good example, to the love of truth and holiness, and to the habitual and serious observance of those offices of piety, whereby, as surely as the body is nourished and refreshed by its daily bread and its nightly rest, the soul of man, through the nurture and admonition of the Lord, is progressively matured in excellence and strength, till it is advanced to the perfection and glory of its immortal existence.

In calling your attention to this momentous topic, we think it superfluous to enlarge on the high obligations by which the duty is enforced—obligations which are involved in the very constitution of

our frail and dependent being, and impressed on the understanding and the heart, by the persuasive voice of scriptural authority, opening the ears of men, and sealing the instruction, by which God speaketh, not once or twice, but at sundry times, and in divers manners, adding line upon line, precept upon precept, promise upon promise, and threatening upon threatening, so as to bring perpetually to remembrance both the blessings which are multiplied to them that fear the Lord, and the fury which is poured out on the families which call not on his name. The appointment of the reasonable service of bowing down at the domestic altar before the Lord our Maker, that, in waiting for the promised effusion of the Spirit of grace and supplications, we may be filled with the fruits of righteousness, has ever been regarded by all men of sound mind and Christian experience, not as the imposition of an irksome yoke, but as the conveyance of an inestimable privilege; for as often as we mark the tokens of God's power and presence in making the outgoings of the morning and evening to rejoice, must every enlightened and purified heart, lifting up its affections to the Father of spirits, acknowledge with triumphant satisfaction, that it is "a good thing to show forth his loving-kindness in the morning, and his faithfulness every night."

To those only who have tasted and seen it, can we speak intelligibly of the tranquil delight which is awakened and sustained by such periodical acts of household worship, as are not a mere formal ceremony in which the members join with reluctance or cold compliance, but the fervent utterance of lips which, out of the abundance of the heart in which the love of God is shed abroad, are, by the influence of that unquenchable affection, most pleasingly constrained to celebrate the mercies which are new every morning, and to offer up the spiritual incense of prayer with as unceasing regularity as from the sanctuary of Israel the smoke of the evening sacrifice arose, or as the early dew of Hermon descended on the mountains of Sion, when there the Lord commanded the blessing, even life for evermore.

Without all controversy, the benefits produced by this hallowed exercise are ineffably precious. It is not enough to say that thus are devout and grateful emotions awakened;—thus is faith in the superintending providence and holy promises of God confirmed;—thus are the graces of humility, resignation, and patience nourished and increased;—while with the contemplation of the infinite excellence, the unwearied beneficence, and the everlasting strength of the Lord Jehovah, we contrast the instability, deceitfulness, and desperate wickedness of the heart of man. By the infallible testimony of Heaven, we are authorized to affirm constantly that there is an efficacy in the prayer of faith, which, though inexplicable by our feeble understandings, must, through all ages, continue to avail as much as it did in the days of those patriarchs, prophets, and righteous men, who as princes had power with God, when, receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved, they had grace to serve him acceptably with reverence and godly fear. "The Lord is ever nigh unto them that are of a broken heart, and saveth such as be of a contrite spirit," when, taking with them the words which inspired

wisdom has taught them to utter, they lift up their desires at his footstool, not seeking great things for themselves, or panting after the dust of the earth, or sighing for the vain delights of the sons of men, but thirsting and longing for the blessedness of the man whose transgression is forgiven, and who, being justified by faith, has peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ. We have no encouragement to hope that, by taking thought for temporal satisfactions, we shall find grace in the sight of the Lord; but if we aspire after the best gifts, which are the heritage of the faithful, seeking first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, we believe and are sure that his Divine power will give us all things that pertain unto life and godliness, through the knowledge of Him that hath called us to glory and virtue. Though our Father in the heavens knoweth what things we have need of before we ask them, and though the purposes of his everlasting kindness are often fulfilled more substantially by withholding than by granting the desires which we naturally cherish, it is only to them who worship him in spirit and in truth, that he has promised to do exceeding abundantly above all that they ask or think; and we have no more solid ground to expect that we shall receive without asking, or that we shall find without seeking, than the husbandman has to look for an abundant harvest springing up in the fields which he has neither planted nor watered, or than the merchant has to calculate on reciving his own with usury, for the talent which has been tied up in a napkin or buried in the earth.

It is not for us to unfold the laws of the spiritual world, or to demonstrate why and how it is that the communications of heavenly influence and favor are in any degree suspended on the frequency and fervency of our supplications. But this we know, that, as in old time, the father of the faithful commanded his children, and his household after him, to unite with him in the exercises of a holy life, that the Lord might bring upon Abraham that which he had spoken of him,—even so, in all generations, may the willing and obedient hope that, while seeking unto God, and committing their cause to Him who doeth great things and unsearchable, they place their confidence not in their own importunity or their own efforts, but in the exalted merit and prevalent intercession of the Mediator of the new covenant, they cannot fail to be made partakers of that abundant grace which ought to be the chief object of all our prayers, and which is never denied to the humble We know, assuredly, that our heavenly Father giveth his Holy Spirit to them who ask him; and if, for the sake of his beloved Son, he is pleased to bestow this unspeakable gift in answer to the prayer of the believing soul, why should we hesitate to admit that it is of the Lord's mercies that, by the eternal ordination of Divine wisdom, prayer has been rendered one of the sure and sufficient means of transmitting to the faithful every other good and perfect gift which cometh down from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither shadow of turning?

To the duties of social prayer and thanksgiving, accompanied with that instruction in righteousness which the reading of the Scriptures is calculated to impart, let the benefits thus conferred on your

several domestic circles operate as a strong incitement. It is not, indeed, within the compass of human ability to infuse grace into the souls which are most tenderly beloved. But great will probably be the influence of a pious example on those who confide in your affection, and have cause to revere your worth. If your children and dependants perceive, that, while you are not slothful in the business of time, you are also fervent in spirit, serving the Lord; and that, while you provide for your own the food and the raiment which are obtained by the blessing of God on the hand of the diligent, you ask for them that bread of heaven which strengtheneth the heart; may you not hope that they will be stirred up both to pray and to labor for the meat which endureth to life everlasting, and that they will learn to regard the favor of God as a better portion than the abundance of corn and wine? May you not hope that, while your own minds are elevated by contemplating the works of creation, providence, and redemption, and by reflecting on the dignified and endearing relation to which you have been raised in having "received the Spirit of adoption whereby you cry, Abba, Father," they who look up to you for guidance and protection will take pleasure in approaching to God, and through the experience of the peace of walking with the wise, will be taught to abhor the enticements of sinners, and to hold fast that which is good? And even in the case of those who, through perversity of heart, and the snares of an evil world, have forsaken the path of integrity and truth, may it not be hoped that the wise counsels which they have for a season forgotten, and the devotional habits which they have long failed to imitate, will, like the bread cast upon the waters, be found after many days? Small must have been your experience of the discipline of Providence, if you have never known so much as one who had wandered so far from the way of peace as to disappoint the earnest expectations of his father, and to turn the joy of her who bare him into bitterness, but who, after his own wickedness had corrected him, and his backslidings reproved him, has been awakened to new obedience, by recalling to his agonized mind with reverential awe the solemn image of the parental guide, in whose quiet habitation the daily exercises of prayer and praise hallowed every pursuit, lightened every care, soothed every sorrow, and seasoned every enjoyment, so as to render the voice of rejoicing and salvation in the tabernacles of the righteous a lively type of the blessed conversation of heaven, and a delicious foretaste of the fellowship of the saints in light.

If ye know these things by your own experience, or by the incontrovertible testimony of them who have tasted that the Lord is gracious, happy are ye if ye do them. Nor can you have peace and safety if, knowing what is good, you leave it undone.

And while you present your supplications for yourselves and your families, forget not the eternal concerns of the families which call not on the name of God. If it be, as it ought to be, your heart's desire that they may be brought to the obedience of the Gospel, brethren, pray for us, and for all the ministers of the truth, "that the word of the Lord may have free course and be glorified, even as it is with you." Such an intercession as this will assuredly

prove efficacious toward the enlargement of the household of faith, if all of you, both small and great, not only in the congregations of the upright, who, in heaviness of heart, sigh for the abounding of iniquity and the failing of truth, but in your families apart, and in your unseen retirements, prostrate yourselves at the footstool of your Father in heaven, who seeth in secret, and pour out your desires before him in that effectual fervent importunity which, like the long and patient waiting of the husbandman for the precious fruit of the earth, will, according to the sure word of promise, issue in plenteous showers of blessings, not confined to any favored spot, or any privileged community, but dropping down fertility far and wide over fields coextensive with the inhabited world, filled as it shall be in that evening time of light with the knowledge of the glory of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea; and thus the God of the whole earth, in remembrance of his holy covenant, and in fulfilment of the good pleasure of his goodness, will arise and have mercy not only on the mountain of holiness in which he had his dwelling in time past, but on all in every place who call on the name of Jesus Christ our Lord; so that, while he clothes his priests with salvation, and makes his people shout for joy, the ways of Zion which have mourned, because few came to the solemn feasts, shall be thronged with the multitudes who keep the holy day with thanksgiving in their hearts, and the high praises of God in their mouths,—wisdom and knowledge shall be the stability of those times of refreshing from the presence of the Lord, when his work shall appear before the face of his servants, and his glory to their children; and they that fear the Lord, being all replenished with the riches of grace, shall take that sweet counsel together which revives the inward part, and knits the brotherhood of Christians in the unity of the faith and the holy bond of perfectness. "Then shall the offering of his people be pleasant unto the Lord as in the days of old, and as in former years." "And the Lord will create upon every dwelling place of Mount Zion, and upon her assemblies, a cloud and smoke by day, and the shining of a flaming fire by night; for upon all the glory shall be a defence."

The above circular we recommend to the prayerful attention of all our readers. The subject of which it treats is one of vital interest to professing Christians; but, it is to be feared, too much neglected by many of them. We deem family worship to be instituted by the same authority and on the same principles as public worship, and enforced by the same sanctions. The principal difference between them appears to be that the one is to be performed daily, and the other weekly—the former by the constituted head of the family, the latter by the authorized minister of the Church. Now, what should we say of a body of Christians professedly in Church fellowship with each other, without any public worship? Such a course of conduct, anomalous as it might appear, would be analogous to that of too many professors of religion with regard to family worship. The doctrines laid down in the circular, and enforced with a perspecuity and strength of reasoning for which the Scottish divines are so eminent, are adapted to all Christians in all countries, and are perhaps as much needed in ours and other American Churches as in the venerable Kirk whence they emanated.—Eds.

Rev. Charles Giles.

of the Baltimore Conference.

THE

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REVIEW OF CHARLES W. UPHAM'S LIFE OF SIR HENRY VANE, FOURTH GOVERNOR OF MASSACHUSETTS.

BY REV. JOSEPH HOLDICH, A. M.

In no period of her history did Great Britain produce a larger number of illustrious men, than during the reign of the first Charles, and the usurpation of Oliver Cromwell. The following century is indeed denominated the Augustan age of English literature, wherein flourished many imposing names, such as Pope, Swift, Addison, Thomson, Watts, Young, and others equally distinguished. But if the reign of Queen Anne was more remarkable for productions in belles lettres, the former were more so for bold, original thinkers, for profound investigation, and laborious inquiry. This may be easily accounted for by the peculiar state of the world at the time. Some of the most signal events in the history of mankind had just occurred. The Reformation had but recently broken the chains of papal despotism, and freed the mind of man from the darkness and thraldom in which it had been held for ages. The recent invention of the mariner's compass, the passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope, and the discovery of the Western Continent, had opened up boundless views to ambitious enterprises. These things, added to the still recent perfection of the art of printing, and increasing facility of multiplying and circulating thought, had given an impulse to mind such as had never been known before, and to which, indeed, history affords no parallel. Thought could now be no longer suppressed: mind would not be enslaved. The effects were immediately seen in every direction. The compression was no sooner removed than the mind, by its own powerful elasticity, burst from its confinement, and spread with the rapidity of light over the entire surface of human knowledge. New sciences were brought out, new inventions and discoveries were made, the principles of government were thoroughly sifted, and thought upon every subject stretched to its utmost capacity. To this age, be it remembered, we are to refer the names of Hariot, the inventor of algebra; Harvey, who discovered the circulation of the blood; Napier, the inventor of logarithms; with Hale, Coke, Locke, Bacon, Milton, Shakspeare,

Algernon Sidney, Tillotson, Chillingworth, Prideaux, and a multitude of others in every department of learning and science. This may be justly considered the age of experiment and discovery, the age of strength and adventure, the age of theory and elements. It remained for the succeeding age to give polish and refinement to the materials which were now produced.

Among the vast multitude of illustrious men in that epoch, it could hardly be expected that *all* should occupy equally conspicuous places in the records of history. All we could expect was, that each should have the portion of notice which his character and attainments merited. It might be expected, too, that some men would have injustice done them by the historian without design: for amid such an array, it might sometimes happen that the less deserving would be brought conspicuously forward, while others, with better claims to notice, would be thrown into the back ground. Admitting all this in excuse for the historians of *that* period, we still think with Mr. Upham, that "there is something very remarkable," to say the least, "in the manner in which the name of Sir Henry Vane is passed over by the principal English writers." In Clarendon he is never named but to be placed in an unfavorable light, except when praise is absolutely extorted from him. Neale, though writing expressly on the Puritans, of whom Sir Henry was a distinguished leader, has made a very sparing use of his name. We might have expected better things from the author of the Saints' Everlasting Rest and the Reformed Pastor. Yet even Baxter presents him in a light very unenviable and not less unjust. Of the more modern historians, much justice was not perhaps to be expected. They chiefly follow the authors who fall in with their own modes of thought, and have not ordinarily given themselves much trouble in searching the true sources of secret history, or extending their inquiries into musty folios or worm eaten parchments. We ought to except, however, from this charge of injustice, several of our *more* recent historians. Among others, Sir James Mackintosh, and Mr. Hallam in his Constitutional History of Great Britain, have helped to rescue his name from undeserved odium. And the excellent author of the Life and Times of Richard Baxter, has corrected the mistake into which his subject had fallen. Mr. Orme observes, "Baxter did not understand him, and therefore could not do him justice:" and adds with great force and propriety, "The man who was feared by Cromwell, hated by Charles, and praised by Milton, could not have been a silly fanatic or an unprincipled knave."*

Such omissions, however, can be very easily explained. Sir Henry Vane was a man too far above the spirit of the age he lived in to be duly appreciated. His principles were too pure, and his views too enlightened to be identified with any party in Church or State. He was consequently feared or hated by all. The royalists hated him for his republican principles: the Cromwellians for his opposition to their despotic aims: the Episcopalians because of his contempt of unmeaning ceremonies and idle pageantry in the Church: and a large portion of the Puritans for his liberal senti-

* Life and Times of Richard Baxter, vol. i, p. 85. *Note.*

ments on religious liberty and toleration. None of these subjects were at that time properly understood. He was two hundred years in advance of his countrymen. Had he lived in the nineteenth, instead of the seventeenth century, he had been regarded as one of the most pure and patriotic statesmen, a most sincere and devoted Christian, and in every respect a most distinguished man. Of this we have some evidence in the testimonies to which we have referred, Hallam, Orme, and Mackintosh. To these we now add Mr. Upham, who deserves the warmest thanks of the American nation for rescuing such a name from the obscurity in which it was involved, and for bringing to light so remarkable a testimony to the excellence of those principles on which our government is founded. There is, too, a peculiar appropriateness in the Life of Sir Henry Vane being written in America by an American. For as he was essentially American in his views, principles, and character, so there is no other nation in the world by whom he would be so correctly, or at least so generally appreciated.

This work will be found not less acceptable to the general reader on another ground. It throws considerable light on one of the most interesting periods of English history, and gives us an insight into the character, the principles, the motives, and the secret designs of that singular being, at once the wonder and execration of his country, Oliver Cromwell. There is no part of English history less generally understood than this. Not many in this day have the patience to wade through Clarendon, Burnet, and Neale, and by a comparison of their conflicting accounts arrive at the truth. A more convenient and much more general mode is to adopt, without examination, the statements of the popular and fascinating Hume. And yet our modern historian is but little entitled to our confidence. Setting aside his religious, or rather anti-religious views, which alone would disqualify him for writing the history of that period; he is now known to have been very indifferent to historical accuracy, and to fidelity of relation. Indeed he seems to have been chiefly intent on producing a popular work, and if he could only secure readers, he seemed to care for little more. We think no one will fail to detect this, if he turn to his account of the trial and execution of the earl of Strafford, Cromwell's dissolution of the Parliament, or the dethronement of Richard Cromwell. On none of these, to say nothing of many other parts, will he find that satisfaction which I fancy he would desire.* The patient and laborious Dr. Lingard has approached as near to impartiality as could be expected: but it must be evident that this is a chapter in British history that a papist was very ill qualified to undertake. Indeed the history of this period yet remains to be written. Nevertheless Mr. Upham has collected some important information, which will be new, at any rate, to the reader of only Hume and Lingard, especially on those events in which the subject of his memoir was concerned.

But not to exhaust our reader's patience by farther prefatory remarks, let us turn to our author.

* See D'Israeli's Curiosities of Literature, 2d series, 2d vol., article "True Sources of Secret History," for a singular instance of Hume's indolence, and indifference to historical accuracy.

"The family of Vane," he tells us, "was of the ancient nobility, tracing itself clearly back to the earliest dates of English history. Six generations are distinctly recorded before the battle of Poictiers in 1356, when the honor of knighthood was conferred upon Sir Henry Vane, for his valiant behavior. After the lapse of several more generations, one of the branches of the family altered the name Vane to Fane, and gave rise to the noble house of which the earl of Westmoreland is the present representative. The Vanes continued to figure conspicuously in the wars and in parliament, until, in 1611, James the First knighted the father of the subject of this memoir."

Sir Henry Vane, the elder, filled numerous important offices under the governments successively of James and Charles the First. He was member of parliament for Carlisle, cofferer to Prince Charles, and a member of his majesty's privy council. In 1631 he was sent to Denmark as ambassador extraordinary, and subsequently in the same capacity to the court of Gustavus Adolphus; in both of which he concluded satisfactorily important treaties. Finally, in 1639, he was made treasurer of the household, and principal secretary of state.

Sir Henry Vane, the younger, was born in 1612, and was one of a numerous family, through whom he became connected with some of the most powerful houses of the realm. The present duke of Newcastle, the earl of Chichester, and Lord Yarborough are among their descendants. These facts serve to show the position he sustained in society, the influence under which he came forward into the world, and the prospects which opened before him.

He was placed at the collegiate school at Westminster, where at the age of about fifteen, he tells us, "God was pleased to lay the foundation or groundwork of repentance in him." From that time his character as a Christian was marked with uncommon energy and decision. At the age of sixteen he became a gentleman commoner at the university of Oxford; but when the time of matriculation arrived, he refused to take the requisite oath of supremacy and allegiance. This act, by which he forfeited his membership in that community of learning, will be acknowledged as a strong proof of mental independence; and as he never swerved from his principles afterward, it must be regarded as something more than the petulance of a froward boy. There was in it the maturity, and strength, and constancy of more than ordinary manhood.

He now went over to the continent; visited Holland and France, and spent some time in Geneva. While abroad his views of religion were confirmed, and he returned home less than ever disposed to yield to the claims of the hierarchy. His father, finding him rather unmanageable, employed the notorious Archbishop Laud, then bishop of London, to convince him of his errors. But his lordship found himself overmatched in the young Puritan, and as he was at a loss for arguments, he gave him a specimen of what his admirer and eulogist Clarendon calls his "hasty, sharp way of expressing himself." The interview, thus closed with Laud's characteristic violence, no doubt served to strengthen Vane's opposition to

the national Church, and confirm him in the principles he had adopted.*

His situation being now rendered uncomfortable by the excitement against him, it was thought advisable that he should retire for a season from the storm. He determined on a visit to the New-England colonies. He landed at Boston in 1635. The rank, accomplishments, talents, and piety of Mr. Vane secured for him, in an eminent degree, the favor of the colonists, a striking proof of which they gave by electing him the following year to the office of chief magistrate, although but twenty-four years of age. It is this fact, his being governor of Massachusetts, that entitled him, in Mr. Upham's view, to a place in American biography.

He commenced his administration with vigor and sagacity. Of his address the following instance may serve as a specimen:—

"There were, at that time, fifteen large vessels in port. It occurred to the leading men of the colony, that the presence of such a large force of foreign vessels was in itself a formidable and disagreeable circumstance in the condition of a feeble settlement, which could not rely upon the sympathy of the mother country, any more than it could upon the friendship of other powers. It was also obvious to every reflecting person, that the influence of the manners and habits of the officers and men of these ships could not be other than injurious to the morals and social condition of the inhabitants of the town.

"The first act of Governor Vane's administration was to prevent the evils that threatened to spring from this source. Within a week after assuming the government, he accordingly took measures with this view, which illustrate his tact in affairs, and his skill and success in managing men. He invited all the captains of the ships to dine with him, and availed himself of the opportunity to lay the whole case before them. The conversation was conducted with so much frankness, and in such a friendly spirit, that the captains consented, readily and cheerfully, to the following agreement. First, that all inward bound vessels should come to anchor below the fort, and wait for the governor's pass before coming up to the town. Secondly, that before discharging their cargoes, their invoices should in all cases be submitted to the inspection of the government. And thirdly, that none of their crews should ever be permitted to remain on shore after sunset, except under urgent necessity."†

But no human prospects are unchanging. Governor Vane's

* Of Laud, Clarendon says, "He was a man of great parts and exemplary virtues, allayed and discredited by some unpopular infirmities; the greatest of which was, (besides a hasty, sharp way of expressing himself,) that he believed innocence of heart and integrity of manners, was a guard strong enough to secure any man in his voyage through this world." Yet this very man, whose greatest infirmity was too sure a reliance upon his integrity, he tells us in the next page, "when he came into great authority, it may be, retained too keen a memory of those who had so unjustly and uncharitably persecuted him before; and I doubt was so far transported with the same passions he had reason to complain of in his adversaries," &c. This is a singular instance of the tendency of partizanship to blind the eyes and pervert the moral judgment.—Hist. of the Revolution, vol. i, p. 165, Boston edit. 1827.

† Winthrop's History of New-England, Savage's edit., vol. i, p. 187.

administration was destined to come to an early close, and to terminate in commotion and dissatisfaction. This fact has been used by his enemies, greatly to his disadvantage. Yet if the circumstances be inquired into, it will be found owing to the same cause which rendered him unpopular at home—his principles were too pure and liberal for the age. The first occasion of dissatisfaction was the ground he took in regard to hoisting the British flag in Boston. A difficulty arose between the colonists and the officers and men of the British vessels lying in the harbor, from the absence of that token of respect to the king. The colonists would have had no objection to perform the part of liege subjects, but for one unlucky circumstance: the British flag contains a representation of the cross; and this was so strongly associated with papacy, that no good Puritan could allow it to pollute his eye sight, or float in the atmosphere he breathed. Governor Vane could not exactly sympathize in their antipathy to this innocent emblem. Seeing the difficulty in which it was likely to involve them with the royal government, believing their scruples absurd and childish, and deeming it no more than right to hoist his majesty's flag in his acknowledged dominions, he maintained the propriety of a compliance; and finally, supported only by Mr. Dudley, he actually hoisted it on his own responsibility, though hugely to the offence of the worthy colonists.

Notwithstanding this petty affair, as it now appears, Governor Vane continued to enjoy the general confidence and affection of the people. Soon afterward he made a tour through the towns on the north and east side of the bay, and "made a public entrance into Salem." Our author deems it very unfortunate that no "authentic records" of this event have been preserved, and to supply the sad omission, draws upon his imagination for a picture, which occupies somewhat more than two pages. As we do not think the fanciful sketch of any greater importance than the event itself, we shall not trouble our readers with it, notwithstanding the compliment it pays to the "*witchery*" of the Salem belles.

A second cause of difficulty between the governor and many of the colonists, grew out of the Hutchinsonian controversy. Governor Vane became the advocate of Mrs. Hutchinson. We need not suppose, however, that he justified all her extravagances or indiscretion; he probably did no more than approve of her general principles, and above all, resisted the measures taken against her. The authorities of the colony, instead of attempting to correct her irregularities and improprieties, determined to proceed against her as a *heretic!* Yet she was accused of heteredoxy only on two points. She insisted that the Holy Spirit dwells personally in all believers: and secondly, that sanctification is no certain evidence of justification. It is not at all clear that she meant any more by the first, than the scriptural doctrine of a spiritual influence in believers: and as to the second, in an age when the length of the hair, the cast of the countenance, the very tones of the voice, as well as peculiar phraseology, were accounted evidences of grace, it must surely be admitted that hypocrisy was rendered very easy, and a warning voice against it was salutary. There was, it is true, something very reprehensible in the manner in which she made known

her sentiments, and expressed herself concerning the clergy. Yet with all the vituperation and singular ribaldry of Mather's Magnalia, it is impossible to prove that she was guilty of any very serious error, much less of any flagrant crime. Yet she was examined, tried, convicted, and banished as a heretic. Her end was truly shocking. Having settled, ultimately, after the death of her husband, on Long Island, she was butchered by the Indians with her whole family, excepting only one daughter, who was carried by them into captivity.

These proceedings against this indiscreet and unfortunate woman were entirely contrary to Vane's sentiments on the rights of conscience and religious liberty. By his maintenance of those views and defence of Mrs. H., he gave great umbrage, so that at the next election for governor, Mr. Winthrop was restored, and Vane and his friends ejected from office. The Bostonians, however, still adhered to him, and immediately elected him and some of his warmest adherents to represent them in the General Court. The prevailing party declared their election void; but the Bostonians, with the true spirit of '76, "returned the same men back to the house, by a new election, the very next day!"

To prevent the growth of heresy, a most extraordinary law was now enacted. Many persons, supposed to be favorable to Mrs. Hutchinson's sentiments were shortly expected over; and it was accordingly ordained that a heavy penalty should be exacted from such individuals or towns as should give entertainment to any stranger coming there to reside, unless sanctioned by a member* of the standing council, or two of the magistrates. Such a law was an outrage on all liberty. It was far, however, from being universally approved. Indeed, so strong was the opposition to it, particularly in Boston, that the otherwise excellent Winthrop was constrained to take up his pen in its defence. Mr. Vane was his opponent, and as his production is remarkable for the clearness of its reasoning, and the soundness of its views, especially for that period of the world, we think our readers will be pleased to see it transcribed.

"Winthrop introduced his argument by the following definition of a 'common weale or body politic,' such as the colony of Massachusetts was. 'The consent of a certain company of people' united 'together, under one government, for their mutual safety and welfare.'

"To this definition Vane objects, that 'at the best it is but a description of a commonwealth at large, and not of such a commonwealth as this, (as is said,) which is not only *Christian*, but dependent upon the grant also of our sovereign; for so are the express words of that order of court to which the whole country was required to subscribe.

"'Now if you will define a Christian commonwealth, there must be put in, *such* a consent as is according to God; a subjecting to such a government as is according to Christ. And if you will de-

* "The penalty to private persons was forty pounds, and twenty pounds beside for every month they continued in the offence. And any town which gave or sold a lot to any such stranger was subject to a hundred pound penalty."—Hutchinson's History of Massachusetts, vol. i, p. 64, third edition, 1795.

fine a corporation incorporated by virtue of the grant of our sovereign, it must be such a consent as the grant requires and permits, and in that manner and form as it prescribes, or else it will be defective. The commonwealth here described may be a company of Turkish pirates, as well as Christian professors, unless the consent and government be better limited than it is in this definition; for sure it is, all pagans and infidels, even the Indians here amongst us, may come within this compass. And is this such a body politic as ours, as you say? God forbid. Our commonwealth we fear would be twice miserable, if Christ and the king should be shut out so. Reasons taken from the nature of a commonwealth, not founded upon Christ, nor by his majesty's charters, must needs fall to the ground, and fail those that rely upon them. Members of a commonwealth may not seek out *all* means that may conduce to the welfare of the body, but *all lawful and due* means, according to the charter they hold by, either from God or the king, or from both. Nor may they keep out whatsoever may appear to tend to their damage, (for many things appear which are not,) but such as, upon right and evident grounds, do so appear, and are so in truth.' "

"Another important point in Winthrop's argument was this:—'The Churches take liberty (as lawfully they may) to receive or reject at their discretion; yea, particular towns make orders to such effect; why then should the commonwealth be denied the like liberty, and the whole more restrained than any part?'

"The following was Vane's reply. 'Though the question be here concluded, yet it is far from being soundly proved; yea, in truth, we much wonder that any member of a Church should be ignorant of the falseness of the groundwork upon which this conclusion is built; for, should Churches have this power, as you say they have, to receive or reject at *their* discretion, they would quickly grow corrupt enough. *Churches have no liberty to receive or reject at their discretions, but at the discretion of Christ.* Whatsoever is done in word or deed, in Church or commonwealth, must be done in the name of the Lord Jesus. (Col. iii, 17.) Neither hath Church nor commonwealth any other than ministerial power from Christ, (Eph. v. 23,) who is the head of the Church, and the prince of the kings of the earth. (Rev. i, 5.) After that Cornelius and his company had received the Holy Ghost, whereby the right which they had to the covenant was evidenced, it is not now left to the discretion of the Church whether they would admit them thereunto or not. But can any man forbid them water? saith Peter. He commanded them to be baptized. (Acts x, 47, 48.) There is the like reason of admission into Churches. When Christ opens a door to any, there's none may take liberty to shut them out. In one word, there is no liberty to be taken, neither in Church nor commonwealth, but that which Christ gives and is according unto him. (Gal. v, 1.)'

"He thus expressed his views respecting the proper treatment of heretics. 'As for scribes and Pharisees, we will not plead for them; let them do it who walk in their ways; nor for such as are confirmed in any way of error, though all such are not to be denied cohabitation, but are to be pitied and reformed. (Jude 22, 23.) *Ishmael shall dwell in the presence of his brethren.* (Gen. xvi, 12.)'

"Toward the conclusion he sums up his argument in these words.

"'This law we judge to be most wicked and sinful, and that for these reasons:—

"'1. Because this law doth leave these weighty matters of the commonwealth, of receiving or rejecting such as come over, to the approbation of magistrates, and suspends these things upon the judgment of man, whereas the judgment is God's. (Deut. i, 17.) This is made a groundwork of gross popery. Priests and magistrates are to judge, but it must be according to the law of God. (Deut. xvii, 9, 10, 11.) *That law which gives that, without limitation, to man, which is proper to God, cannot be just.*

"'2. Because here is liberty given by this law to expel and reject those which are most eminent Christians, if they suit not with the disposition of the magistrate; whereby it will come to pass that Christ and his members will find much worse entertainment among us, than the Israelites did among the Egyptians and Babylonians, than Abram and Isaac did among the Philistines, than Jacob among the Shechemites, yea, even than Lot among the Sodomites. *These all gave leave to God's people to sit down among them*, though they could not claim such right as the king's subjects may. Now that law, the execution whereof may make us more cruel and tyrannical over God's children, than pagans, yea, than Sodomites, must needs be most wicked and sinful.'"

In this place Mr. Upham says of our subject,—

"He well deserves a place in that illustrious company who have taken the lead, in modern times, in asserting the rights of conscience, and in vindicating the principles of Christian liberty. He was contemporaneous with Roger Williams, and was followed by John Milton, William Penn, and John Locke. Not one of them grasped the subject more completely than he did; and, when we consider that he was zealously engaged in religious discussions, and enthusiastically devoted to what he thought the truth, we can hardly hesitate to yield to him the glorious distinction of having, to a degree that was never surpassed, if ever equalled, comprehended in theory, and developed in practice throughout his whole life, the sacred principles of Christian toleration and religious liberty.

"It is of course impossible to say, who first conceived and apprehended these principles. But it is highly probable that the earliest public and formal expression of them, was in the tract just quoted, which was issued in 1637. Roger Williams was already carrying them into practice in the settlement of Rhode Island, and defended them in 1644 in his celebrated 'Dialogue between Truth and Peace.'

"As writers and as statesmen, Vane and Williams seem to deserve the glory of the earliest promulgation of the principles of toleration. They understood them, in their whole extent, as applicable not only to Christians, but to all men of whatever religion."

The controversy was broken off by Mr. Vane's return to England. He embarked in August, 1637, in company with Lord Ley, son and heir of the earl of Marlborough, who had come over to see the

country. He was accompanied to the vessel by a large concourse of people: parting salutes were fired from the town and the castle, and every indication given of most sincere respect and attachment. Judge then of the dependence to be placed on Baxter's testimony, who says, "He was fain to steal away by night, and take shipping for England, before his year of government was at an end."*

It is gratifying to the heart to find these two worthy men, Winthrop and Vane, subsequently exhibiting so much of the Christian spirit toward each other. We find Vane using his influence at court to obtain important benefits for the people who in many respects had given him just cause of complaint, and the other, bearing honorable testimony to the character of one by whom he had been warmly and successfully opposed in controversy.

We cannot but feel a little surprised at the method adopted by our author to vindicate our ancestors from the charge of inconsistency in this painful part of American history. They left home to avoid persecution, and immediately turned persecutors: they came hither for the enjoyment of religious liberty, yet denied it to those who differed from them. "The remark and reproach," says Mr. Upham, "are equally founded in error. It was for religious liberty *in a peculiar sense*, that our forefathers contended, and they were faithful to the cause *as they understood it*." Now we are in some perplexity to know in what "peculiar sense" they understood religious liberty. It seems to us to have been the liberty of following their own consciences, and of persecuting all who saw not as they did. We should be obliged to any one who could show in what "peculiar sense" this differed from the liberty of the papal hierarchy and of the inquisition. I suppose it would have been somewhat difficult to have convinced John Huss and Jerome of Prague that burning them at the stake was a proof of liberty in any sense; yet I do not see but that they had as much liberty as Mrs. Hutchinson and the unoffending Quakers found in New-England, in the seventeenth century. The truth is, as our author immediately observes, that of religious liberty in the abstract they had no idea; it is a doctrine which had not then dawned upon the world. A few only of the superior spirits of the age had formed a conception of it. All that the early settlers of the American colonies thought of and aimed at in this matter was to secure liberty for themselves and for their posterity. This is all that can be said in extenuation of their conduct toward the Quakers and the Hutchinsonians; and this view certainly does palliate in some degree their inconsistency. Yet one cannot but think that they might have learned from their own experience some lessons on the folly, injustice, and cruelty of persecution for matters of conscience; and that their own sufferings in this cause might have taught them to show mercy toward others in similar circumstances. We do not see, therefore, after all, that they are relieved entirely from this charge, nor are we willing to think that "the remark and the reproach are equally founded in error."

Neither can we see the propriety of what is advanced in the succeeding paragraph. They came to New-England, we are told,

* Quoted by Orme, in the Life and Times of Richard Baxter, vol. i, p. 82.

expecting to found a colony who should be all of one mind, and to raise up their children in the same faith, and so perpetuate for ever their own form of worship, without adulteration or commixture with others. Mr. Upham admits, what we all see, that it has been "abundantly proved visionary and impracticable." Yet he observes it was a beautiful vision, and, upon the whole, very creditable to those who indulged in it."—(p. 148–9.) Now we cannot view it in this light. To us it seems that right is more beautiful than wrong, and truth than error. There was more beauty in Vane's theory than in Winthrop's; and there is more of the morally beautiful, according to our view, in the various sects of Christians living together in harmony and good fellowship, "provoking one another to love and good works," than to witness the absence of all disputes only for want of something to dispute about, and to see but one denomination, and that one, as has ever been the case, degraded into a mere political engine—a tool of the state. The Puritans did, indeed, exhibit the morally beautiful in their spirit of self-sacrifice and devotion; in their hardihood and Christian chivalry; in their ardent and vigorous piety. But I do not see such great beauty in their design, considered merely as a design. In their theory they had not advanced a point beyond the dark ages; nor in their spirit, beyond the temper of "the house of mercy." Like the papists, they would have only one religion; and if any man was found who did not fit the Procrustean bedstead, he must either be cropped or stretched, to bring him to the right dimensions; and if he would neither, then he must burn or hang! Now we do not see much beauty in this project; nor do we see how a theory can be creditable to them that formed it, which has been not only "abundantly proved to be visionary and impracticable," but which was also founded in ignorance—in ignorance of the true nature of religious liberty, of the nature of the human mind, and of the natural tendency and course of events. Our Puritan forefathers do indeed command, and most justly too, much of the world's admiration; but it is not their theory which is the object of it, but their general conduct and private characters.

We mean no discourtesy toward the worthy author of an interesting volume, in these observations upon a point in which we differ from him. We make them only because we believe that truth and justice require it, and as reviewers we should not otherwise discharge our obligations. The sentiments seem to us fraught with evil, and, were it not that it is rather late in the world's history for them to find much favor, would be very dangerous. We hope, therefore, that we shall be excused if we cannot join our author to "sympathize with our fathers in the disappointment they so bitterly experienced," in the failure of their project.

But to return to our narrative. After Mr. Vane's arrival in England, "he connected himself in marriage with a lady of distinguished family," our author tells us, but says not of what family, and spent the two or three succeeding years in retirement. He was then elected member of parliament for the town of Hull, in Yorkshire, and appointed soon after, in conjunction with Sir William Russell, treasurer of the navy. In addition to these distinctions he received also the honor of knighthood from the king, and was entitled, to

distinguish him from his father, Sir Henry Vane, of *Raby* Castle, Knight. After the dissolution of this parliament we find him again returned from Hull, as a member of the famous long parliament, in which he took a leading part from the commencement.

We arrive now at an incident, in the life of our subject, which cannot be read without some regret, but which has not been very fairly represented by our historians. We allude to his share in the trial and condemnation of the unhappy earl of Strafford. No doubt the death of this nobleman was owing in a great measure to the Vanes, and the document obtained by the younger Vane from his father's cabinet had some share in sealing his destiny. Yet this fact has been very improperly stated. Hume gives a most perverted and unwarrantable view, besides speaking of the elder Sir Henry Vane, in language quite unbecoming. Dr. Lingard says the document was "*purloined* from his father's cabinet." It belongs to the historian to treat on the justice or injustice of Strafford's execution; it is our province only to illustrate the part Sir Harry Vane bore in that affair. To form a correct view of the case it should be observed that Wentworth had long persisted in a course of virulent and contemptuous treatment of the elder Vane. He had especially exhibited his opposition in striving to prevent his rival's appointment to the office of principal secretary of state. About the same time, too, he perpetrated an insult upon the feelings of the Vanes, which few perhaps can properly appreciate who are not apprized of the peculiar sentiments and habits pertaining to a long succession of feudal honors and family distinctions. When his patent of nobility was made out, he contrived, by some means or other, to get himself designated by the style and title of earl of Strafford and baron Raby, of Raby Castle. Raby Castle, it will be remembered, was the family mansion of the Vanes, with which all their pride of birth and title was connected. This was a freak of malice on the part of Wentworth, the most dishonorable and puerile; so little and contemptible that it cannot be reconciled with the high pretensions to magnanimity put forth by Strafford's friends in his behalf. To us it looks like an act of a supercilious and haughty, but at the same time, a feeble and paltry spirit. Not even Clarendon, though the avowed apologist for Strafford, and enemy of Vane, could find any excuse for what he calls this most unnecessary provocation. This incident sufficiently explains the state of feeling subsisting between the parties.

By this time the tyrannical, oppressive, and violent behavior of Strafford had created such a sensation in the public mind, and rendered him so universally odious, that he was impeached, by a unanimous vote of the house of commons, of high treason. The charges were founded partly on his conduct as lord president of the north of England, and partly on his illegal exactions and high handed measures as lord lieutenant of Ireland. But the chief odium arose from the fact, that he was believed to be the most violent of all king Charles' counsellors, and the main spring of all the tyrannical movements of that unfortunate monarch. To prove this last, however, was a matter of some difficulty, especially as all the privy counsellors of the king were under an oath of secrecy. It was in

reference to this last point that the document produced by the younger Sir Henry Vane had an important influence. The history of this document is briefly as follows:—

While the elder Sir Henry Vane was with the king in the north, he sent his keys to his secretary, with directions to his son to attend to some private business. Having obtained the papers requisite for this purpose, he felt a curiosity to know what was contained in a small red velvet cabinet that stood with the other boxes. On opening it, he found, among other papers, one in his father's handwriting relative to some matters which had taken place at the privy council. The contents were such as to make a very deep impression upon his mind, and being aware that his father was bound to secrecy, and desiring to have the advice of a confidential friend, he showed the paper to Mr. Pym. Being both impressed with the importance of the discovery, and that it "might do no less than preserve the kingdom," he consented that his friend and fellow patriot should take a copy of it. He then returned the original to its place in safety. This paper contained advice given in council by Strafford to the king to this effect: "Sir, you have done your duty, and your subjects have failed in theirs: and therefore you are absolved from the rules of government, and *may supply yourself by extraordinary ways:* you must prosecute the war vigorously; you have *an army in Ireland with which you may reduce this kingdom.*" This advice to the king to oppress his subjects, and even to make war upon them, decided the destiny of Strafford.

We are sensible that the story loses much of its interest by our abbreviation; and we, therefore, refer the reader to Mr. Upham for farther satisfaction. But we think we have said enough to show that, however we may regret the situation of Sir Henry Vane, and even blame his conduct, still there are few who would not have done the same under similar circumstances. Moreover, the blame is generally, we think, attached to him on wrong grounds—i. e., for surreptitiously obtaining the document. Such was not the fact. He did not search for the paper. He had no idea of its existence. He found it accidentally while searching, out of mere curiosity, among his father's papers. The blame therefore must attach to the indulgence of his curiosity. How far this was dishonorable in a son of his age, situated as he was in relation to his father's affairs, to examine a cabinet, the keys of which had been intrusted to even a domestic, is a point on which there may be a difference of opinion. We suppose the use he made of the paper under such circumstances was altogether different from what it would have been had he sought expressly for it, with malicious intentions.

The allegation of some, that this whole affair was a mere plot between the father and the son, and that the document was a fabrication, as Clarendon seems to insinuate, is sufficiently disproved by Mr. Upham. Indeed we think that any careful reader of even Clarendon's prejudiced account will discover too much verisimilitude in the facts related, to allow him to doubt their authenticity. As to the charge of Lingard, that the document was procured at the commencement of the trial; it is inexcusably false. It happened, as Mr. Pym stated, several months prior to the meeting of parliament, by which the lord lieutenant was impeached. In addition to

this, the circumstances of the disclosure, the amazement of the father, the embarrassment of the son, the vote of the house approving the conduct of the latter, and requesting his father to be reconciled to him, and the displeasure of the father notwithstanding, and the consequent coldness between them, bear so much the air of truth, as strongly to corroborate the whole affair. In conclusion, we think there is abundant proof of Strafford's guilt, insomuch that even Lingard admits that he was "the most able and devoted champion of the claims of the crown:" and the intelligent reader will understand this to mean, the vindicator of Charles' tyranny and oppression, "and the most dangerous enemy to the liberties of the people." And though we rejoice that a milder spirit characterizes the present age, and regret the sanguinary character of the ancient laws on the subject of treason, and especially condemn all executions for constructive and accumulative treason, yet such as the laws then were, and as they were then understood and applied, we see not how the verdict in Strafford's case could have been otherwise. We cannot decide upon the justness of this or any other political measure by a reference to the spirit and laws of our own age. We must transport ourselves a few centuries backward, and become coeval with the parties. In this day if a statesman be convicted of "high crimes and misdemeanors," he is dismissed from office, and sent to languish out his existence in obscurity and neglect. In that day every one knew that there was but a step from the cabinet to the tower, and from the tower to the block.

Those who are fond of tracing the hand of Divine Providence in human affairs, will not fail to remark the coincidence in the present case. The Vanes and the people were the objects of Strafford's superlative contempt—the subjects of his injustice and oppressions. The people, by means of their representatives in the house of commons, and the Vanes, were the selected instruments of his destruction.

From this time Sir Harry Vane became still more decided in his opposition to the encroachments of the crown, and in his attachment to the cause of the people: so that on the actual commencement of hostilities we find him enrolled on the side of the Parliament. In June, 1643, he was appointed one of the commissioners to Scotland to form an alliance with that kingdom. On this occasion was formed "*the solemn league and covenant for reformation and defence of religion, the honor and happiness of the king, and the peace and safety of the three kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland.*"* Whatever was thought of the object and character of this instrument, all seem to have given no small praise to Vane for uncommon diplomatic skill in effecting the treaty; and we apprehend few will be found in the present day who will deny him the praise of perfect honesty and uprightness in his intentions.

It is much to be regretted that popular leaders of rebellions, however good their cause, and excellent their original principles, have too often been so elated by their prosperity as to abandon themselves to the impulses of a reckless ambition, and madly trample upon the rights of the people which they first undertook to defend.

* Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. iv, p. 1573.

Cæsars, Cromwells, and Bonapartes are the natural production of every soil. A Washington stands alone, the common property of the world, but the peculiar glory of America. Sir Henry Vane soon found himself associated with a class of men for whom he felt but little sympathy. Factious, fanatical, unprincipled, and ambitious, they resorted to expedients which he could not tolerate. But he was embarked upon the ocean of popular tumult, and a storm was raised which he could not quell. In 1648 was concluded the treaty between the Parliament and the unhappy Charles, then a prisoner in the Isle of Wight. Although Vane opposed this measure as one of the commissioners, and voted against it in parliament, yet as soon as it was adopted, he considered the war at an end, and the king lawfully and actually restored. To the violence of Cromwell, therefore, he was entirely opposed. He no less abhorred the audacious and high-handed measure of impudent tyranny, called "Col. Pride's Purge," although it excluded his opponents from the parliament, and left only such as he had identified with the cause of liberty. There is, perhaps, no transaction in his life which shows more strongly than this, the independence of his mind and the purity of his principles. At the very moment when his own party had gained an uncontrollable power, and the views which he had contended for were about to be carried fully out, and he was to witness a practical experiment of his favorite theory; at that precise moment he stood alone and unaided against his entire party, and utterly refused to participate in their triumph. Disgusted and shocked at human perfidy, and heart-stricken by so palpable a violation of all sound liberty, he withdrew from the arena of conflict, and sought repose in private life. In the violent transactions, therefore, of Cromwell's administration, especially in the bloody tragedy of the 30th Jan., 1649, he had no participation, nor could he ever be made to approve them.

After the death of the unhappy and misguided monarch, he was again induced to mingle in public affairs. He was appointed member of the council of state, and was for some time its president, in which capacity, and as treasurer and commissioner for the navy, he held more power in his hands, probably, than any person in the kingdom excepting only the protector. It was in this situation he weaved for himself another chaplet of glory, which shall enwreath his name with lustre while history endures. He voluntarily relinquished, for the good of the public, the profits of his office, when they amounted to no less than thirty thousand pounds sterling per annum.

But Sir Harry Vane and Oliver Cromwell were too dissimilar in their views and principles to continue long in close union. An incident soon occurred which drove him again into retirement, and as this is closely connected with the dissolution of the long parliament, it may not be uninteresting to give a hasty sketch of it.

As one of a committee to consider the state of the representation, he reported a bill for a *reform* in parliament. In some features this bill bore a strong resemblance to the celebrated reform bill of recent date. Then, as now, the national representation was found defective. Boroughs which were of sufficient importance at the settlement of the kingdom to have a member in parliament, had sunk into

utter insignificancy, or as the modern phrase is, had become "rotten." Towns meanwhile had arisen into prime importance to which a representation had never been assigned.* Moreover, the original qualification for voting, viz., the holding of real estate in fee simple, was no longer just. For owing to the vast impulse given to trade by the discoveries already mentioned, many, by successful enterprise, had become wealthy, who possessed no landed property. But this new order of men had no fair representation in parliament, although their interests were rising rapidly to a par with those of the "lords of the soil." The two principal points, therefore, aimed at by Vane's bill, were, first, by breaking up the rotten borough system, to secure a representation of the towns more in accordance with the relative importance they had acquired: and secondly, by enlarging the elective franchise to provide for the representation of a class of citizens who had arisen since the constitution of the kingdom was formed. To this we may add, a removal of denominational distinctions and an admission of all sects to equal privileges.

It is very clear that the passage of this bill would lead to a remodelling of the parliament. Many members would lose their seats; and the whole must be submitted to the ordeal of public opinion. As Cromwell's ambitious aims began already to be suspected, he had good reason to fear and shun such a test. It is at least probable that it would have occasioned the overthrow of his authority. He had sagacity enough to perceive this, and he took his measures to prevent it.

The catastrophe we give in the words of our author, both on account of the interest of the scene, and as a happy specimen of his manner of relation.

"On the 20th of April, 1653, the house having concluded all the preliminary measures respecting the bill, nothing remained but to give it its third reading, and engross and enact it. A motion was made, that these forms be forthwith observed and the bill become a law; in the event of which motion passing, the long parliament would, according to the provision of the bill, be dissolved and a new one summoned. Harrison, who was in Cromwell's confidence on

* The house of commons was first organized by the earl of Leicester in the reign of Henry III., A. D. 1265. Of course, circumstances, and especially the wonderful importance which the manufacturing arts were acquiring, produced strange alterations on the face of the country, and in the relative importance of towns. Hence it was that a mere hamlet sometimes sent one, or perhaps two members to parliament, while large and growing manufacturing towns sent none. Out of this another evil arose. In some cases all the real estate in such a borough had passed, by purchase or otherwise, into the hands of one person; and as there was no other qualified voter, his single voice sent a member to parliament, or, if he do not choose to do his work by proxy, he might go himself. This will explain the phrases, "purchasing a vote," and "buying a seat in parliament," which we find in English political writings, and explains Mr. Upham's assertion, that "a seat in parliament is worth a thousand pounds per annum." At least I know not what other meaning to attach to it, since the privilege of a seat, I believe, involves no pecuniary emolument. But this must be a very uncertain standard, as the value of a seat, in this sense, must depend on the amount of real property in the borough to which the privilege appertains, and this of course is exceedingly various. But perhaps it only means that the right of nomination to parliament renders the estate more desirable, and thereby raises its nominal value; or, in other words, makes it bring a higher price in the market.

this occasion, rose to debate the motion, merely in order to gain time. Word was carried to Cromwell, that the house were on the point of putting the final motion; and Colonel Ingoldsby hastened to Whitehall to tell him that, if he intended to do any thing decisive, he had no time to lose.

"Cromwell at last, and evidently against the most powerful struggles of his conscience, roused himself for the occasion, and repaired to the house. He was dressed in a suit of plain black, with grey worsted stockings. He took his seat, and appeared to be listening to the debate. As the speaker was about to rise to put the question, Cromwell whispered to Harrison, 'Now is the time; I must do it.' As he rose, his countenance became flushed and blackened by the terrific passions which the crisis awakened. With the most reckless violence of manner and language, he abused and aspersed the character of the house; and, after the first burst of his denunciations had passed, suddenly changing his tone, he exclaimed, 'You think, perhaps, that this is not parliamentary language; I know it; nor are you to expect such from me.' He then advanced out into the middle of the hall, and walked to and fro, like a man beside himself. In a few moments he stamped upon the floor, the doors flew open, and a file of musketeers entered. As they advanced, Cromwell exclaimed, looking over the house, 'You are no parliament; I say you are no parliament; begone, and give place to honest men.'

"His whole manner was like that of a person who had surrendered himself up to a design which his mind and heart equally condemned. To stifle the voice of reason and conscience, he seemed to resort to the most extravagant gestures, exclamations, and actions. He sought refuge from the compunctions of his better nature, in the transports of blind fury. Raising his voice to a loud pitch, he poured forth invectives and reproaches against the leading members, calling them by name, in language so gross and indecent as would have shocked the most vulgar and depraved ears. He ordered the speaker to leave the chair; and, when his eye fell upon the mace, he shouted out, 'What have we to do with that fool's bauble? Take it away.'

"While this extraordinary scene was transacting, the members, hardly believing their own ears and eyes, sat in mute amazement, horror, and pity of the maniac traitor who was storming and raving before them. At length Vane rose to remonstrate, and call him to his senses; but Cromwell, instead of listening to him, drowned his voice, repeating with great vehemence, and as though drunk with the desperate excitement of the moment, 'Sir Harry Vane! Sir Harry Vane! Good Lord, deliver me from Sir Harry Vane!' He then seized the records, snatched the bill from the hands of the clerk, drove the members out at the point of the bayonet, locked the doors, put the key in his pocket, and returned to Whitehall. On reaching his palace, he related the exploit, and in conclusion observed, 'When I went to the house, I did not think to have done this. But, perceiving the Spirit of God so strong upon me, I would no longer consult flesh and blood!'"

Sir Harry Vane now retired to his seat of Raby Castle, to wait

until circumstances should again call him forth as an advocate of the people's rights. In this retirement he produced some of his most important works. These were chiefly of a theological character; but one was political, or more properly, of that politico-theological kind which characterized the age. This was the celebrated tract called "A Healing Question," the object of which was to expose the designs of Cromwell, and to induce him to pause in his tyrannical career. This contains many valuable sentiments on liberty, and exhibits a wonderfully clear view of a subject at that time little understood. It recognizes the cardinal principles on which is based the constitution of the United States. This tract aroused the wrath of my lord protector, and poor Sir Harry had to pay the penalty by an imprisonment for some months in Caresbrook Castle, together with sundry efforts to wrest from him his estates, and involve himself and his family in utter ruin.

But other events were soon to take place. In 1658 the protector resigned his sceptre and his ill-gotten power, and went to give an account of his deeds at the bar of Heaven. Sir Henry Vane now came forward again to claim a seat in parliament. He was elected by a plurality of votes from his old borough of Hull; but the dependents on government managed to keep him from his just claim. The same thing occurred at Bristol. At length he was elected from Whitchurch, in Hampshire. Immediately he took an active part in business, and his talents and zeal made him a distinguished leader of his party. His object was to overturn the protectorate, and institute a republic. His cause was gaining ground. Richard, urged by his partisans, resolved to put an end to the discussion by dissolving the body. But the house was prepared for him. When the usher of the black rod came to execute his commission, he found the door locked. It was on this occasion that Sir Harry Vane delivered a speech which hurled Richard from his throne. It is remarkable that his agency in this transaction, as well as the speech itself, should have been passed over in silence by all our modern historians. Considering the circumstances under which it was delivered, it may be justly cited as a proof of its author's ability, learning, readiness, and eloquence. If we remember, too, that he was in the minority, and Richard, with the military power still at his disposal, almost within hearing, it may be regarded as an evidence of no small degree of moral courage. Our readers, I am sure, will pardon its introduction, for the sake of its excellence.

"'Mr. Speaker,—

"'Among all the people of the universe, I know none who have shown so much zeal for the liberty of their country, as the English, at this time, have done. They have, by the help of Divine Providence, overcome all obstacles, and have made themselves free. We have driven away the hereditary tyranny of the house of Stuarts, at the expense of much blood and treasure, in hopes of enjoying hereditary liberty, after having shaken off the yoke of kingship; and there is not a man among us who could have imagined that any person would be so bold as to dare attempt the ravishing from us that freedom which has cost us so much blood and so much labor. But so it happens, I know not by what misfortune, we are

fallen into the error of those who poisoned the Emperor Titus to make room for Domitian, who made away Augustus that they might have Tiberius, and changed Claudius for Nero.

"'I am sensible these examples are foreign from my subject, since the Romans, in those days, were buried in lewdness and luxury; whereas the people of England are now renowned, all over the world, for their great virtue and discipline; and yet suffer an idiot, without courage, without sense, nay, without ambition, to have dominion in a country of liberty.

"'One could bear a little with *Oliver* Cromwell, though, contrary to his oath of fidelity to the parliament, contrary to his duty to the public, contrary to the respect he owed to that venerable body from whom he received his authority, he usurped the government. His merit was so extraordinary, that our judgment and passions might be blinded by it. He made his way to empire by the most illustrious actions. He held under his command an army that had made him a conqueror, and a people that had made him their general.

"'But as for *Richard* Cromwell, his son, who is he? What are his titles? We have seen that he has a sword by his side, but did he ever draw it? And, what is of more importance in this case, is he fit to get obedience from a mighty nation who could never make a footman obey him? Yet, we must recognize this man as our king, under the style of Protector!—a man without birth, without courage, without conduct. For my part, I declare, sir, it shall never be said that I made such a man my master.'"

Richard immediately resigned, and spent the rest of his long life in a private station, which he adorned by his amiable disposition and social virtues; and displayed more solid wisdom, though less splendor of talent, than his misguided and ambitious father.

The events immediately following we may pass over in silence. On the restoration of Charles, Sir Henry Vane was of course one of the first victims. He was committed to various places of confinement, all of which he consecrated by his prayers, and by the employment of his pen in the cause of religion and human happiness. His compositions at this time breathe delightfully the pure and elevated spirit of a Christian martyr. His "Meditations on Death," and his letter to his wife, contain some sweet and touching thoughts; full of affection and Christian resignation. "Death," he says, "is not to be feared and fled from, as it is by most, but sweetly and patiently to be waited for, as a thing natural, reasonable, and inevitable. This, * * * *' as it gives us a fuller fruition of Christ, is a very great gain, that the sooner we are possessors of the better."

Writing to his wife he says:—

"This dark night and black shade which God hath drawn over his work, in the midst of us, may be (for aught we know) the ground color to some beautiful piece that he is exposing to light."

Again:—"If the storm against us grow still higher and higher, so as to strip us of all we have, the earth is still the Lord's, and the fulness thereof; he hath a good storehouse for us to live upon."

"I know nothing that remains to us but, like a tossed ship in a storm, to let ourselves be tossed and driven with the winds, till He that can make these storms to cease, and bring us into a safe haven, do work out our deliverance for us."

We have not time to go through the interesting trial which took place soon after writing the letter to his wife. It was, perhaps, as perfect a mockery of justice, and as shameless a display of corruption, as ever disgraced the annals of jurisprudence. The prisoner defended himself with wonderful ability and presence of mind; justified himself from the allegations against him, and repelled every attack, and all this though he was denied the benefit of counsel, and was not permitted to see his indictment before it was read in court, nor to have a copy of it afterward. His condemnation was evidently predetermined; and it is to the disgrace of the age that a court was found sufficiently infamous to gratify the malice of an abandoned monarch. And what was the ground of his condemnation? The charge was treason; though he all along acted by authority of parliament. But the real ground was a fear of his eminent abilities and a hatred of the purity of his principles.* Charles and his minions could never feel themselves secure while such men as Vane were about them. And to send him to the block was an offering to their libertinism in politics and in morals.

But two days intervened between his sentence and execution. This time he spent in exhortations to his friends and family, and in various offices of devotion. To one who reminded him of some promise of Scripture, he replied, "I bless the Lord, I have not had any discomposure of spirit these two years; but I do wait upon the Lord, till he shall be pleased to put an end to these days of mine, knowing that I shall change for the better: for in heaven there is an innumerable company of angels, the spirits of just men made perfect, and Jesus, the blessed Mediator of the new covenant."

When about to part with his wife and children, "I bless God, by the eye of faith I can see through all my relations to Mount Sion, and there I shall need none of them."

Some one suggested that by making submission to the king perhaps his life might be spared. He replied:—

"'If the king does not think himself more concerned for his honor and word, than I am for my life, let him take it. Nay, I declare that I value my life less in a good cause, than the king can do his promise. He is so sufficiently obliged to spare my life, that it is fitter for him to do it, than for me to seek it.'"

When they came to take him to the scaffold, one said, there must be a sled. The martyr replied, "Any way, how they please, for I long to be at home, to be dissolved, and to be with Christ, which is best of all." On the way, many prayed aloud for blessings on his head. To one who inquired how he was, he replied,

* Bishop Burnet, though he did not rightly appreciate Vane's character, asserts that this was the real ground of his execution. "Above all," his words are, "the great opinion that was had of his parts and capacity to embroil matters again, made the court think it necessary to put him out of the way."—Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. i, p. 180. London, 1818.

"Never better in all my life." Another replied, "How should he do ill that suffers for so glorious a cause?" Some said, "How cheerful he is!" Others, "He does not look like a dying man!"

At the scaffold, on his speaking to the concourse, such was the dread of the effect, that trumpets were sounded and drums beaten to drown his voice. Sir John Robinson, and others, rushed upon him, to tear his papers from his hand. He kept them off, however, and tearing them up himself, handed them to a friend, from whom they were taken by violence. The whole scene upon the scaffold was most brutal and shocking; during all which the prisoner maintained a most surprising and heroic composure. Such was the admiration his conduct excited, that even a zealous royalist exclaimed, "He dies like a prince!"

After this he offered a prayer, "which for sublimity, truth, simplicity, and pathos," was perhaps never excelled by any similar human composition, in ancient or modern times. Then laying his head upon the block, he said, "Father, glorify thy servant in the sight of men, that he may glorify thee in the discharge of his duty to thee and to his country." Then at one blow the executioner severed his head from his body.

Thus perished Sir Henry Vane the younger, on the 14th day of June, 1662, in the 50th year of his age. As a pure and upright patriot, a most skilful statesman, a profound and original thinker, a most zealous and conscientious Christian, all in one, he was perhaps never excelled by man. His death is not to be classed with those of Laud and Strafford. Theirs were the reward, justly or unjustly is not the question, of their crimes. He died for his virtues, for even his enemies could prove nothing against him, nor even frame their allegations without self-contradictions. As he was a terror to tyrants while he lived, so his death shook the throne of the abandoned Charles to its very foundations. Nothing disgusted the kingdom with the royal administration so much as the manner of Vane's death. Even the royalists confessed that the "king lost more by that man's death than he will get again for a good while." But while the royalists trembled, the republicans exulted. They regarded Vane as a champion and a martyr, whose death shed more glory upon their cause than a thousand lives could have done, and gave them an advantage over their enemies which they were not speedily to lose. No doubt the victim himself foresaw this; and it served to render him more willing to meet the blow, and helped to fortify him for the occasion. Surely he has his reward: for all "future generations shall call him blessed," while they read an important lesson in his history. Well, therefore, does Mr. Upham apply to him the felicitous line of the ancient poet,

"Dulce et decorum est pro patria mori."

We are aware that we have drawn largely upon the facts in this biography. Yet we have by no means exhausted the subject. We therefore cheerfully refer the reader to the work itself for more detailed information, as well as to form a more correct knowledge of Vane's talents and sentiments, especially his sentiments on civil and religious liberty, a subject ever dear to the hearts of Americans.

He will find the book written in a sprightly, agreeable style, sometimes perhaps rather feeble and diffuse, yet fitted to occupy a highly creditable position in our national literature. In the sentiments he will find very little to reject. On one or two points we have had occasion to differ from him; and to these we may add his views on the death of Charles I. We cannot quite admit that the condemnation of this unfortunate monarch was not "a more shocking transaction than the condemnation of any other public or *private* criminal." As persons in authority are peculiarly exposed to the odium of the populace, and to the shafts of malevolence, so their lives ought to be more sacredly guarded. Besides, their very position in society engrosses a larger portion of public attention, invests them with greater interest, and renders them more important. Their death produces a concussion of feeling and an uprooting of confidence that that of a private person would not. So the world has since learned. So we should all feel if a president of the United States were the victim. To the sentiment quoted from the statesman Fox, as to its elevation of the British character in the eyes of other nations, we have no objection; only we could wish it had been intimated that the same end would have been more wisely, more mercifully, and quite as effectually answered, by doing as England did subsequently to James II., and France to Charles X. We think that Charles had justly forfeited his crown; but not the head that wore it. However, it is not the only case in which the wisdom of the world came some centuries too late. It was so in the case of Strafford and Laud; but with this difference between the cases: their death was in accordance with the laws and usages of the land; that of the king was a violation of both.

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THE SPIRIT OF CHRIST IN HIS FOLLOWERS.

BY WILLIAM M. WILLETT, A. M.

The whole system of Divine economy, both Jewish and Christian, is founded in a spirit of labor and self-denial. It was in this spirit that Abram "went out," not knowing whither he was going; and in this spirit he hastened, at the Divine mandate, to offer up Isaac. In the same spirit Moses chose rather to suffer affliction with the people of God, than to be called the son of Pharaoh's daughter, and enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season. As Abram and Moses, the leading instruments in the hands of God in the establishment of the Jewish economy, were moved by a spirit of labor and sacrifice, so Jesus Christ, in the exercise of the same spirit, "pleased not himself." He was rich, but became poor: he was surrounded with all the glory of heaven, but he took upon him the form of a servant: he was the everlasting Father,—the mighty God, but he was "manifest in the flesh;" his throne was from everlasting, but he became "obedient unto death, even the death of the cross."

The injunctions of the Saviour are in accordance with the spirit which he himself manifested, and which Abram and Moses, and all his true followers under every dispensation have shown. "If any

man will be my disciple, let him deny himself, take up his cross, and follow me." "He that saveth his life shall lose it; and he that loseth his life, for my sake and the Gospel's, shall find it."

As an internal experience of vital Christianity can be *received* only by a sacrifice of every inclination, appetite, and practice opposed to its pure requirements—as the eye that offends must be plucked out, and a hand that offends must be cut off,—so can it be *retained* in its purity and power only by exhibiting the same spirit of sacrifice and self-denial in all future life. A Christian should no more seek to please himself than a soldier should look for ease and safety in the field of battle. The question should be, not how he may gratify his own inclinations, but how he may most effectually aid the great object for which Christ died and rose again. And wherever a person is truly imbued with the Spirit of Christ this will be the case. When Saul of Tarsus was arrested by the Spirit in his mad career, the first question he asked was, "Lord, what wilt thou have me to do?" And when labors connected with great personal hazard and sacrifice were pointed out to him, he said, "None of these things move me, neither count I my life dear unto me, if I may but finish my course with joy, and the ministry which I have received of the Lord Jesus to testify the Gospel of the grace of God." So must the missionary go into heathen lands, if he would be successful in the spirit of labor and sacrifice. But are missionaries only called to labor and to suffer for Christ? Is not every Christian bound to exhibit the same spirit? Can the disciples of Christ sit down in inactivity, or, if they have the means, sleep on beds of down—pamper the appetite—indulge a taste for extravagance and show, and not sacrifice a single sensual indulgence for the cause of Christ? If Christians generally are not called to make the same personal sacrifices—if they are not required to leave their country, home, kindred, and friends, to preach the "unsearchable riches of Jesus Christ"—the greater is their obligation to make sacrifices at home, to forego some of their numerous comforts, in order to aid those who are called to make greater personal sacrifices, and so labor with them in the great work of converting the world. What is it constitutes a Christian? Is it not the subjugation of the will to God? And is not the subjugation of the will the foundation of every Christian effort and sacrifice? So that a spirit of labor and self-denial is inseparable from Christianity. The name of a Christian—a disciple—is synonymous with that of a soldier. His state is a disciplinary one; and it is only by constantly repeated acts of labor and self-denial that he is fitted to acquit himself in that state. St. Paul says, "They that strive for the mastery are temperate in all things: now they do it to obtain a corruptible crown; but we an incorruptible." Shall they who strove for the mastery in some bodily exercises, which profited but little, inure themselves for the struggle by the greatest self-denial, and Christians, who have a greater work to perform, and whose reward is incomparably more glorious, not exercise a universal temperance for the accomplishment of their object?—shall they shrink from any labor or self-denial, if they may but glorify God by doing good to Zion, by building up the walls of Jerusalem? What momentary earthly gratification should stand in competition with a sense of duty, or

the advancement of Christ's kingdom! Is it to be supposed that Regulus upon his return from Rome to Carthage with the sure prospect of a most painful death before him, was disposed to seek on his journey any of those gratifications which under other circumstances might have contributed to his enjoyment? Sustained by a sense of duty, by conscious integrity, and by a love for his country, he travelled back to Carthage with a soul elevated above every low consideration. He had but one object in view—to die rather than dishonor his name, or advise his country to a measure which would prove detrimental to its prosperity or renown. So Christians, with the spirit that distinguished their Master, should count no toil laborious, no sacrifice dear, when such labor and sacrifices fall within the range of their duty in their Master's service. They are to have but one object in view, *to live not unto themselves, but unto Him who died for them and rose again;* and in accomplishing this object every personal advantage and gratification is to be laid out of the question. It will be enough for them to rest when the battle is fought—when the race is run; until then let their lives be eminently lives of labor and self-denial.

The principles of Christianity, when traced to their source, are frequently at variance with the practices of those who pretend to carry them out into common use. Who, for instance, in the age perhaps of Constantine, or amid the splendor and power of the papal court, or wherever religion has been supported, not by its own intrinsic excellence, but by the extraneous assistance of wealth and power, can discover in the spirit and lives of the great number of those professing its sublime, energetic, and mortifying doctrines, that activity and zeal—that submission to the will of God—that deadness to the world, which our Saviour exemplified in his own life, and enforced in his doctrines? When we look at the indolent and luxurious lives of such—the richness of their attire—the expensiveness of their furniture—their profuse and costly entertainments—in a word, "their conformity to the world," are we not ready to inquire, Can these be the disciples of Him who "went about doing good,"—who had not where to lay his head—whose life was one of self-denial, in food, in sleep, in almost every personal enjoyment—in order that he might fully accomplish the work which his Father had given him to do? What resemblance do we discover between the "ensample" which Christ left, and the conduct of those who thus profess themselves his disciples—who from the badge they assume undertake to carry out the principles of Christianity in their daily lives and conversation? Such opposition of principle and practice—such a stumbling block in the way of the ungodly—it is the duty of those who really wish to show by their labor and sacrifices that they have the mind of Christ, to remove out of the way, by exhibiting in their conduct the humble, holy, and self-denying spirit of Him who came from heaven to earth to give his life a ransom for us, and to be an "example that we should follow in his steps."

If such be the spirit which Christians in their individual capacity should manifest,—such too is the spirit which should characterize Churches in their collective capacity. A Church is a spiritual house, composed of lively stones—of those who are "sanctified in

Christ Jesus, called to be saints," united together for mutual benefit. In this capacity they are enabled to act with the greater efficiency, like a well organized and well disciplined army with banners—terrible and splendid—arrayed against "principalities and powers—against spiritual wickedness in high places." It follows from this, of course, that Churches in their united capacity are to exhibit the same spirit as a Christian in his separate and individual sphere.—Churches, then, should be distinguished for their zeal, for the abundance of their labors, for self-denial, for patience, for perseverance in well doing, for incorruptness in doctrine, for charity. The glory of Churches should be that not only a few, but all their members walk with Christ in white—with undefiled garments. So it was with the Church at Jerusalem. So it should be with all Churches now. Being "of one heart and of one soul," continuing steadfastly in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, and "in breaking of bread and prayers;" every Church, of whatever name, like that of Philadelphia, should hold fast the "little strength" which it hath—labor to increase it—have souls "added to it daily of such as shall be saved," and so "hold fast" as not to lose its "crown."

This is the spirit we desire much to see in Christians and Churches—a spirit of labor which smiles at obstacles—of self-denial which rejoices at every opportunity of foregoing personal ease and comfort, for the sake of that cause which is dearer than life itself.—Should this spirit, so pre-eminently the spirit of Christ, prevail generally and powerfully as it did in the commencement of Christianity, the result would be glorious. The same cause operating now as when Christianity commenced, and which then produced such astonishing effects, would be attended now with the same blessed consequences.

We have witnessed in modern times the effects produced by this principle of self-denial and labor, to a great extent, by two celebrated sects, in the diffusion of the Christian religion. The motives however which influenced these two sects to sacrifice, unparalleled since the days of the apostles, were indeed widely different. We refer to the Jesuits and the Moravians. In the case of the Jesuits, their zeal, their labors, their sacrifices, and their astonishing perseverance to accomplish their objects have astonished the world, jealous as they have been of their motives and purposes. When we consider the results produced by their labors and sacrifices, we are disposed to exclaim, What an amount of good might have been actually accomplished had all Christians exerted the same zeal and perseverance in promoting and diffusing the simple doctrines of the Gospel and the pure spirit of experimental godliness! In the contemplation, however, of the blessed spirit of Christ, as exhibited in the operations of the Moravians, we see a glorious result. In the short period of a century they have succeeded, by a handful of devoted, self-denying men, to establish the Gospel in some of the coldest and most barren climes—in countries whose very atmosphere was impregnated with death—among the rudest and most barbarous tribes—tribes sunk lowest in the scale of civilization, as well as among the ignorant and fettered slaves. With a spirit which bore the indelible mark of its Divine original—wherever nature presented the most formidable obstacles—wherever the human race was to be

found in its most forlorn and degraded condition, there these faithful servants of their Divine Master proclaimed the name of Jesus Christ, as the power and wisdom of God, to the salvation of every one that believeth. And every where, with but few exceptions, they have succeeded—have failed only when opposed by obstacles beyond human control. And yet how small is the Moravian Church! What a lesson is this to us—all of us, who are so "slow to learn and reluctant to understand." If that small society, which in Europe and America is scarcely known out of its humble enclosure, and whose means have always been so extremely limited, have effected so great a work among the heathen, chiefly by a spirit of personal labor and sacrifice, aided by Divine grace, what would be the incalculable result were the whole body of Christ—the Church, throughout the world, to be animated by the same spirit? This spirit can be exhibited at home as well as abroad—if not on so grand a scale, and at so much personal hazard, yet still daily exhibited by Christians and Christian Churches in that sphere in which the providence of God has placed them. Let the Churches be animated by this spirit, and if there be no amalgamation of the distinctive principles of the various sects in one general scheme, there will, nevertheless, be a union of design—a concentration of effort, in spreading the Christian religion "from sea to sea; and from the rivers to the ends of the earth." Hasten, O Lord, this Gospel day—this day of the Son of man! Our limits warn us to bring this part of our subject to a close. We proceed, therefore, to point out more in *detail* the efforts, acts, and self-denial, which are, after all, the truest and best tests of pure vital principles. In doing this, *we* may observe,

First, That Christians should appropriate their property to the cause of God.

In the practice of the first Christians, without considering it as a model for our imitation, we may see the natural tendency of Christianity, when it is felt in its full force, to open and expand the heart, and to subdue that selfishness which is one of the strongest passions of our nature. Shortly after the effusion of the Holy Spirit on the day of pentecost, "the multitude of those that believed were of one heart, and of one soul; neither said any of them that aught of the things which he possessed was his own; but they had all things common." This is to be regarded as a great triumph of Christianity over the selfishness of the human heart—a triumph effected not by any ulterior views of self-interest, but simply in reference to the glory of God in the extension of his kingdom.

Few feelings are stronger than the love of property. And yet here we find a large body of individuals influenced by the "unsearchable riches of Christ," overcoming these feelings—relinquishing their individual rights—calling none of those things which they possessed their own, but having every thing in common. That this state of things did not continue to exist, may be ascribed to various causes. That it did exist, and that its existence can be clearly traced to the direct influence of the Gospel, shows, and will show to all ages, that the tendency of the Gospel of Jesus Christ is to lead Christians to appropriate their property in order to send the "Gospel to every creature."

Here, then, is the first fundamental law of Christianity, the law of love, producing love to our neighbor, and leading to acts of effort and self-denial, in appropriating our property for the good of our neighbor. This consideration should lead Christians generally to inquire how far they are influenced by the same spirit in appropriating their property to the advancement of Christ's kingdom upon the earth.

The obligations of duty implied in these remarks, extend to all classes of Christians. Even the poor are not excepted. If the poor widow of Zarephath, with her handful of meal and cruise of oil, and the poor widow of the Gospel with her two mites, gave of their substance to this cause, there can be but few whose circumstances wholly exempt them from this duty, or, I might rather say, this invaluable privilege—for he who feels that love for souls which brought his Master from heaven to earth, will, in the poorest circumstances, seek occasions to cast his mite into the treasury, rather than make excuses for withholding it.

If it be objected that the two cases above stated are extraordinary ones, and not to be adduced as forming a general rule for the imitation of the poor, we answer, that we are not so fully sensible of the force of this objection. In one particular, and in *but* one, the cases are extraordinary. They exhibit the extraordinary strength of the faith of these individuals. They both believed in God, believed they were doing their duty, and believed that He who "takes care of the sparrow, would much more take care of them." The records of the Church in all ages, without doubt, present numerous instances of a similar character. The orphan house of Halle, in Germany, was founded by means but little beyond the widow's handful of meal, and cruise of oil; and the Moravian missionaries acted as the widow did with her two mites, when they set out for Greenland without money, without "two coats," without any provision for future emergencies.

Great importance should be attached to the offerings of the pious poor. They may actually go farther, and do more real good than the splendid gifts of those who do not act from the same holy motives, or than even the richer gifts of those who do not profess the same degree of faith as their humbler and poorer brethren. Giving their "all" to promote the great work of the conversion of the world, while it strengthens in the poor that faith and dependence in God for the want of which our Saviour rebuked his disciples, when he said, "O ye of little faith," is in accordance with the economy of God's ancient people; and when the mite, whatever it be, is accompanied with their prayers, and doubtless is followed by their pious breathings to distant lands, it possesses a real value in the estimation of all who confide in the Divine promises. In this age of missionary enterprise, who can tell the good which may result from a penny, freely contributed by one who can give no more, while it is accompanied with faith and prayer, and continually watered, perhaps in some solitary widow's habitation, with tears. A penny will buy a tract which contains ten pages. This tract may be the means of enlightening the mind of the sovereign of some mighty heathen empire. Who can tell but a tract, bought with the penny of the believing poor, may be the means of the conversion of the mighty

Asiatic despot, and of the consequent diffusion of Christianity among three hundred millions of our fellow beings.

There is nothing extravagant in this view; faith is the same powerful and productive principle in all ages. It is not one thing in Abraham and another in his children. See what resulted from the faith of Abraham! He was but a single individual, and "him as good as dead;" and yet there "sprang from him so many as the stars of the sky for multitude, and as the sand which is by the sea-shore, innumerable." So it is impossible to trace beforehand the effects which may follow from the offerings of the poor, thrown into the treasury, in the spirit of that faith by which "Abraham believed God, and it was accounted unto him for righteousness."

The rich are, of course, to appropriate a portion of their property to the same cause, according as God has prospered them. As to the amount to be given, whether a fifth or a tenth—whether more or less—this at present is not a point under discussion. There is, however, one particular connected with this subject which should not be forgotten. We refer to the curtailment of the expenses of the rich, with a view to the extension of Christ's kingdom. What opinion are we to form of the self-denial of those who never study to make a single curtailment in any of their expenses—who, perhaps, after all their own craving desires have been gratified, are willing to give something of the surplus to the cause of Christ! We are apt to suppose when we possess the power to gratify our inclinations, we may do so innocently, not considering that we are but "stewards of the manifold gifts of God," and that we are required to use what we possess with a view to the glory of God. Whoever therefore denies himself that which he has the ability to procure with a view to the glory of God in the salvation of the world, acts in the spirit of his Master, and shows, at the same time, that he regards his property as an instrument to subserve the cause of the Redeemer.

Indeed, in every true Christian's breast the love of property is a desire which burns but feebly, in comparison with the inextinguishable ardor he feels for the extension of Christ's kingdom. In an early age we read of those who "took *joyfully* the spoiling of their goods," in view of a better inheritance. Where such a spirit existed, covetousness, which is denominated idolatry in the word of God, was not the predominant passion. But this spirit is not confined to any particular period in the history of the Church—or to any particular exigency in the Church. It is a feeling common to Christianity in all ages, and under all circumstances. And it is this feeling, originating from the source of all benevolence itself—from Him who "was rich, but for our sakes became poor"—which should lead Christians to view their property as an instrument for farthering the cause of Christ, and which, therefore, should make them feel solicitous to appropriate it to this object. Christians should manifest the spirit of sacrifice and self-denial.

Secondly, By engaging personally in the work. Their time, their talents, their influence, should all be employed in promoting the interests of the Redeemer's kingdom.

A disposition which regards exclusively our own salvation, and not that of others, is diametrically opposed to the religion of Jesus

Christ. Christians should "look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others." They are to "seek, not their own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved." Intimately connected with this is that deep concern for the salvation of sinners which can be *felt*, but which it is difficult to *describe*. This it was which led David to say, "Rivers of waters ran down my eyes, because they kept not thy law"—which led Jeremiah to exclaim, "O! that my head were waters and mine eyes fountains of tears"—which led the Saviour to weep over Jerusalem, though surrounded by the immense multitude who greeted his public entry into the city, hailing him as the King who came in the name of the Lord. The sight affects the heart. The eye of faith looks at the things which are not seen, which are eternal. It sees the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life," passing away with almost inconceivable rapidity—it sees the sinner perfectly insensible to his danger, while he carelessly sports upon the very brink of a tremendous precipice—it sees death at his door, and judgment following in his train; and it reads the declaration of the "true and faithful witness" inscribed as on a rock, and with words of fire, "WITHOUT HOLINESS NO MAN SHALL SEE THE LORD." Hence it is that Christians engage personally in this work. Feeling the "love of Christ" in their own souls, and deeply concerned for the salvation of others, they are willing "to spend and be spent" for Christ; and they are anxious to devote their time, their talents, and their influence to his service, that others may be made partakers of like precious faith.

To "turn many to righteousness" by their labors and sacrifices, prompts to action, not only those who are more richly endowed with the gifts of nature, of providence, and of grace, but those also who have but a single talent. Without any reference to superior gifts, the whole "body of Christ" has but one "heart and one soul." Thus it is and has been, in all ages, in all countries, that the true body of Christ—the lively members of the true Church—have harmoniously endeavored to accomplish the great object for which Christ suffered and died. Thus it is, too, that the very diversity of gifts in the Church work one and the same end, being moved by one and the same Spirit, while all contribute to the symmetry, the strength, the efficiency, and the perfection of the whole.

In the history of the Church we see a spirit which is always inciting the true believer to action. And in proportion to the purity, the strength, and the universality of this spirit, has the Church been distinguished for its triumphs over the kingdom of sin and darkness.

Action is what the Church wants. It need not fear if it will but act. And as the Church is figured forth as a "body," it enforces upon Christians individually their duty, to act—to do all in their power, according to the "measure of the gift of Christ," "to save some"—to add "lively stones to that spiritual house," the "Church of God." Every member of the body has its office. So every member of the "body of Christ" has something to do—some office to perform. But if any one is at "ease in Zion"—"neither hot nor cold,"—indifferent to the welfare of souls, and the prosperity of Zion—if he does not "abound in every good work"—if he acts as if he thought the original command of the Saviour, that the Gospel

should be "preached to every creature," was in no wise obligatory on him, he is like a palsied member of the human body. If he was ever "purged from his old sins," has he not forgotten it? If he ever labored and suffered for Christ, has he not lost his "first love?"

In the case of one who says he loves Christ, whom he has not seen, and withholds aid when he has the ability to assist a needy brother, the searching question is asked in a manner which shows the utter impossibility of reconciling such a spirit with love to Christ,—*how dwelleth the love of God in him?* If in this case the circumstance of closing up the feelings of his heart against the cry of want and distress, is considered as rendering nugatory the profession of Christianity, what opinion are we to form of those who, having the "form of godliness," exhibit no love for the souls of their fellow men—can make no effort—for their salvation? Is the evidence of the want of Christianity stronger in the one case than in the other? Is it not equally the duty of every Christian to labor to save the soul of a fellow being, as to clothe him if he be naked, or feed him if he be hungry?

"If any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his." What more pre-eminently distinguished Christ as a perfect example of benevolence, than the efforts and sacrifices he made to "seek and to save that which was lost?" In what one particular were the apostles above all others—in which they were always united—on whatever minor matters they might differ? Was it not in their efforts to save souls? Neither sacrifices, nor toils, nor dangers, nor privations, nor difficulties, nor death itself, could deter or dishearten them in their ardent pursuit of "the lost sheep of the house of Israel." Search the records of history—call up to the mind the purest and bravest patriots that ever lived, and see if any can be found in the long catalogue, of so much disinterestedness, courage, patience, labor, and self-denial, as the apostles, and others of a similar spirit—any so entirely free from the ordinary motives which influence men to almost incredible efforts and sacrifices. What led to this? Can there be an effect so clearly marked without an adequate cause? The answer is easy. They had the "mind which was also in Christ Jesus." They were animated by the spirit of Him who, laying aside the glory which he had with the Father, took upon himself the form of a servant, and being found in fashion as a man, humbled himself to lead a life of unmingled sorrow, ceasing not to labor for the object which brought him from heaven to earth, until it was terminated by his death upon the cross. Is this the spirit of Christ? Was this the spirit of the apostles? What spirit then should distinguish every Christian? Is this a question which he can decide by a simple reference to his own inclinations? Can he act or not as pleases him? Is there not danger of his incurring the condemnation of the slothful servant who buried his talent in the earth, if he do not occupy it—make the best use in his power of his time and talents, until the master come? Is not the Christian under a direct obligation to promote the cause for which Christ died? Is he permitted to study his own ease? If he may by personal labor and self-denial "save some," is he not bound to "do what he can?" As to those who live as if they had nothing to

do in this world—no part to take in endeavoring to snatch souls as brands from the burning—no interest in promoting the Redeemer's kingdom—who in effect say, "No man has hired us,"—happy should we esteem ourselves if we could induce them to compare their spirit with that of Christ, and arouse them to zeal and activity in a cause which requires the most powerful exertions of every Christian. This cause has slept too long in the hands of those who have been its advocates and supporters.

In view, then, of this great work, the conversion of the world, every Christian should feel that he has something to do—that his time, his talents, and his influence, should be devoted to the same "object for which Christ died." Thus it was, as we have seen, with the Church at Jerusalem, shortly after the effusion of the Holy Ghost: "the multitude of them that believed were of one heart, and one soul." They were all animated by the same spirit. Such was the union which existed among them. One heart, one fountain head of life, sent its vital streams through the whole body, to give life and animation to all the members. Hence the mighty impetus which was given to Christianity in its commencement. The same union of personal efforts and sacrifices the Church now needs, in order that the "salvation of Israel may come out of Zion." The best expounders of legal instruments are those who drew them up—who know the exact intent for which they are prepared. So the apostles and first Christians delineate for us in the truest colors the spirit which should animate the whole Church in all ages and under all circumstances. In an especial manner at this time do the remarkable indications that the Lord is about to come suddenly to his temple, call for the most strenuous efforts—the most cheerful self-denial on the part of all who wish well to Zion—who favor the dust thereof. However unsearchable the ways of the Almighty may be to us, there can be no doubt that there are "set times to favor Zion;" and the present is certainly one of those auspicious periods. When a great work is to be done, unusual exertion is required. The soul is then to nerve itself with more than ordinary vigor; and dangers, obstacles, and privations are scarcely to be regarded. What a work have Christians before them?—and shall they "sleep as do others?" Shall they not rather awake in the strength of Christ, astonished that they have slept so long? Did a false religious enthusiasm, a restlessness of spirit, a thirst for war, or lust for gain; did a love of power and dominion, any, or all of these at once, incite all Christendom to wonderful exertions for the recovery of the Holy Land? And shall not the great and truly Christian enterprise of sending the Gospel to every creature—of establishing the kingdom of the Messiah in regions where idolatry, superstition, and error reign, excite in Christians a degree of zeal and devotedness to prosecute it on a scale the world never before witnessed? Let "Zion arise and shine"—let every Christian do his duty, laboriously, patiently, perseveringly, and soon will the predictions of prophecy, as to the latter day glory, be changed into matter of history. The sixtieth chapter of Isaiah exhibits, in a manner which almost dazzles the strong vision of faith itself, this scene of spiritual glory and prosperity. What Christian can read it, and not say with a heart swelling with unutterable desire, with irrepressible ardor, "Lord, what wilt thou have *me* to do?"

In this age of religious enterprise it would not be difficult here to enter upon "various details of effort and self-denial," in one or more of which all Christians should be engaged. The numerous societies which exist for promoting religious knowledge by spreading the Bible and tracts—the various ways by which, as Churches and as individuals, we may in the innumerable ramifications of society, exert our influence favorable to the cause of piety, all these have their respective claims upon the time and attention of Christians. But we will pursue our theme. And we are the less reluctant to do this, because we think, if we can but succeed in exciting a spirit of personal effort and self-denial among Christians, and prevail on them to cherish this spirit, instead of excusing themselves for being idle in the market place, they will go at once, in obedience to the call of their Master into his vineyard, even though it be with them the eleventh hour of the day. Wherever there is the disposition, opportunities of usefulness will quickly be found. Such opportunities, too, as will in this case afford full scope for those of the strongest capacities, and in the most exalted conditions, as well as those of the feeblest minds and the lowest walks of life. Every Christian *may* be employed, and every Christian *should* be employed. Do we go in the smallest degree beyond the limits of Divine revelation—are we not fully warranted by the precepts and example of Christ, when we say every Christian *must* be employed in fulfilling the original command of the Saviour, "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature?"

There is another duty devolving upon Christians in promoting the great work of the conversion of the world, which, to perform it properly, requires no less effort and self-denial than those which have preceded it—we mean,

Thirdly, Praying for the "peace" and prosperity of spiritual "Jerusalem."

In laboring for the conversion of the world, Christians should give their property, their talents, their influence; but they are not to forget that their prayers must accompany all these. The progress of Mohammedism was exceedingly slow, until the sword opened the way for its more rapid, but certainly not, under all the circumstances, very astonishing progress. But the weapons of the Christian's warfare are not "carnal." Misguided but well intentioned zeal used a sword once—but the touch of the Saviour immediately healed the wound, and by his command the sword was laid aside from that time never again to be resumed in this holy warfare. But the weapons of Christians do not the less answer their holy purpose. They are indeed mightier than those employed by the hosts of the bloody prophet, though wielded by gigantic strength and consummate skill. More powerful than any of the destructive engines of war, prayer, the first and most important of the Christian soldier's weapons, is mighty through God to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin. The Church, aware of the efficiency of prayer, have systematically used it, and in the establishment of periodical concerts, in which the success of missionary and other benevolent enterprises is made the specific object of their supplications. This weapon they wield with the hand of faith, and in strong confidence that the uttermost ends of the earth will see the salvation of God.

It is exceedingly striking to observe the weight which St. Paul attaches to the prayers of Christians for the fartherance of the Gospel. He labors to enlist their prayers for himself and his fellow laborers, that God would open unto them a *door of utterance*, that they might open their *mouths boldly*, that the *word of the Lord might have free course and be glorified.* Hence it appears how intimate is the connection between the prayers of the people of God for the peace of Jerusalem and the actual enlargement and prosperity of the Church. To an incredulous eye the connection between the prayers of Christians in Europe and America, for the extention of the Gospel in Asia, may appear imaginary. But if the prayers of the brethren in the days of the apostles could prevail to open a "door of utterance" for them, is not the prevalency of prayer the same now as then? May not the prayers of the Church at this period be available in causing the word of God to have free course in removing the obstructions which national jealousy for ages has thrown in its way—in subduing the inveterate prejudices, strengthened by eighteen hundred years of reproach, estrangement, and suffering—in softening and expanding the fierce and exclusive bigotry, and shedding a clearer and purer light wherever darkness, ignorance, and superstition reign?

That we do not place too much reliance upon the prayers of Christians in effectually aiding this glorious work, is evident from the light in which our Saviour himself regards this duty. Does he not mean to be understood as declaring it both a duty and privilege for Christians, in all ages, to pray for the prosperity and enlargement of the Church, when he directs them to pray that his "kingdom may come, and his will be done on earth as it is heaven?" Unless it be in accordance with the Divine economy that the prayers of Christians be rendered effectual in opening the way, by removing obstacles, and conquering opposition, that the word of God may prevail and grow mightily, would the Saviour have ever dictated so remarkable a prayer—one whose very terms are calculated to excite an expectation in Christians that, if it be made in faith, it will be heard and answered in the establishment of the kingdom of Christ as an everlasting kingdom, and in such a universal diffusion and cordial reception of religion in the spirit of its requirements, that the *will* of Christ shall be "*done in earth as it is in heaven?*"

In the power of prayer to open a "door of utterance" and to give the word of God "free course," we have another instance of the design of the Gospel to humble the natural pride and the arrogant sufficiency of man, and to show him in what his strength consists. But while prayer—fervent, effectual prayer—opening and smoothing the way for the propagation of the Gospel—leaves no room for glorying in an arm of flesh, it at the same time imparts a vigor and courage to Christian efforts which could be drawn from no other source. When Peter was immured in a dungeon, held by chains and guarded by soldiers to prevent his escape from the death to which he was appointed, "prayer was made without ceasing of the Church unto God for him." The result we know. The last night previous to the day appointed for his execution his deliverance was effected. So Christians, in view of the conversion of the world, have an unfailing resource in prayer. That which may appear to

be impossible with men, is possible with God. And they can never despair as long as they can approach with humble boldness to a throne of grace, and plead the fulfilment of those promises by which they are assured that *Jerusalem will be a praise in the earth*—that *righteousness* and *praise will shine forth before all nations.*

Do then Christians desire to see the word of God run? Do they wish to see it glorified, rapid and mighty in its progress, as it was at the beginning? If Christians wish to see—if they would see for themselves that the Gospel is not shorn of any of that power with which it commenced its career—let them rely confidently on united, patient, persevering prayer. He who dwelleth on high but hath respect unto the lowly, is never more pleased than when he sees his people thus relying upon him, in their most unceasing and untiring efforts to promote his cause. When we act—when we suffer for Christ, we feel the kindling impulse. The natural love of action may operate as a stimulus in many cases. But the prayer of faith moves none of these sympathies of our common nature. It is wholly an internal work. It is the soul's simple reliance upon the wisdom, the power, the goodness, and the faithfulness of God. With this God is well pleased. And the Church cannot exhibit a surer indication that the "set time to favor Zion" is indeed come, than when it is unitedly engaged in prayer as it was in an upper room in Jerusalem, with a depth and intenseness of feeling which human language cannot express, and with a faith which "staggers not at the promise through unbelief."

In conclusion, we observe that Christians do truly show the mind of their Master, and effectually subserve his cause, by promoting holiness in their own hearts. This cannot be accomplished without great personal effort and self-denial. In making, however, the most strenuous exertions for the promotion of the great work of holiness in their own hearts—in denying themselves for this end—Christians should also recollect that they are preparing themselves for greater usefulness in the Church of God. They who have the clearest views of the glory and beauty of holiness—who see that wherever this Divine principle is implanted the most deeply in the heart, there is to be found the nearest resemblance to the Deity—will feel the strongest desires that all men may become "partakers of the Divine nature." This will stimulate their activity; while, at the same time, what they do and say will produce the greater effect from the correspondence which exists between their own holy and unblamable lives, and their zealous exertions to advance the cause of their Divine Lord and Master.

In order to send the Gospel with greater speed throughout the world—to cause Satan's kingdom to fall like lightning to the ground—Christians should "lay righteousness to the line, and judgment to the plummet." They should see whether they show forth in life and spirit the laborious, the watchful, the prayerful, the self-denying mind of Christ, and are endeavoring to "perfect holiness in the fear of God." Let the Church but become "all glorious within"—let holiness of heart and life distinguish all its members—let their offerings, their personal services, their time, their talents, their influence, their prayers, all be employed in the conversion of the world—let not a few labor, while the great body remain in comparative inac-

tivity—let every member of the body of Christ, without a single exception, engage in this cause under a deep sense of his individual responsibility, and the work, already so well begun, will become *immediately* more general and powerful, and, still extending itself, will *quickly* "fill the whole earth."

PROMINENT CEREMONIES OF THE ROMAN CHURCH AT ROME.

BY W. FISK, D. D.

[Concluded from page 355.]

THERE were several other features and events connected with Holy Week, or occurring a little before and after, which are worthy of notice. I have omitted some of them in the order of time, that I might not interrupt the account of the great ceremonies of the Church. Some of them I will now notice.

The Flagellation.

Some friends informed us that a ceremony of no small interest was to be witnessed every night at a particular church, which they described to us. We mentioned the subject to our valet de place, and requested him to conduct us to the spot. He gave that peculiar shrug of the shoulders, which, to be understood, must be seen, and which none but an Italian, I believe, can fully enact—and said he was there once, and never wished to go again. It seems that some of the professedly self-inflicted penance had been misdirected, and had fallen upon poor Luigi, the bare recollection of which made him cringe. However, he consented to conduct us to the door, and wait for us there till the *fearful* devotion was over.

When we arrived we found one single light glimmering near the altar; the church itself seemed badly kept, compared with most Roman churches, and the worshippers appeared coarse and squalid. None but males were admitted for a very good reason, as the reader will presently see. Every thing around looked suspicious, and if some of our countrymen had not been there before us and described the scene, we might have supposed ourselves in dangerous circumstances. For myself, I passed back of some broken forms that lay near the wall, behind which I entrenched myself at a little distance from the theatre of action. The door was then bolted. The single candle was carried to a small temporary platform, beside which stood a crucifix, and a palmerlike gloomy ecclesiastic ascended and commenced an impassioned harangue, the tenor and burden of which were the sufferings of Christ, and an exhortation to the people to be willing to suffer with him; that, as Christ was chastised, and suffered for their sins, much more should they be willing to chastise themselves for their manifold transgressions. The solitary light was removed, and in the midst of Egyptian darkness the tragedy commenced. It was as though you had been suddenly ushered into one of the chambers of Pandemonium. The first thing we heard after the extinguishing of the light was the cracking of whips or thongs, and the sound of scores of simultaneous lashes

well laid on. Then followed the most bitter groans and wailings, as from miserable wretches writhing under the torture. The sounds became commingled—the strokes fell thick as hail—and groans and howlings filled the temple. It was an awful scene! After it had continued for several minutes there was a pause, and the same voice resumed the exhortations to the assembly. It was perfect darkness still, and the sharp voice of the preacher, keyed up almost to a falsetto, rung through the invisible arches of the church, and died away in the distance. He paused, and again the flagellation and the howlings were resumed. At the second pause the light was restored—a person went around and collected the thongs or ropes, to preserve them I suppose, for future penance, and the assembly broke up. Whether they lashed themselves, or each other, or the floor, I cannot say. I had intended, when the flogging commenced, to have put myself in a situation to have received some of the blows, being willing to run some risk of a lash or two, to determine for myself whether the blows were laid on with effect or otherwise. But the light was extinguished unexpectedly, and I had made no arrangements that would have enabled me, situated as I was, to make the experiment *satisfactorily*. I can only say that there were blows enough, and they were sufficiently loud to have done good execution; and they were accompanied by enough of wailing and of wo, to have indicated an indescribable amount of suffering —and this is religious worship! in a Christian assembly, and at the very seat of the infallible Church!!

The Pilgrims.

The Hospital of the Trinity is a place for the entertainment of the pilgrims who visit Rome on great festive occasions for religious purposes. Here they are washed, fed, and lodged for a term of time not exceeding three days for the greater portion, although those who come from a great distance, as from Spain, Portugal, &c., are entertained four or five days. The institution is a charitable one, and supported chiefly by donations and contributions from the more wealthy. A long list of names of the more prominent benefactors are recorded on public tablets at the hospital. There are two grand divisions to the apartments of the hospital, one section being set apart for the females, and the other for the males. In the male apartments alone they make up, as we were informed by one of the attendants, two thousand beds. On Holy Week, especially, great numbers of both sexes are expected at this hospital, and ample provision is made for their entertainment. One of the rules of the institution is, that all who come in the course of the day must have their feet washed at night, which washing is performed partly by the regular attendants, and partly by the nobility of Rome and of other countries, who volunteer their services on this occasion as a kind of voluntary humility, as well as a sort of religious rite, showing by this their readiness to "wash the saints' feet," and to serve their poorer brethren in the humblest offices of life. The pope himself, we were told, sometimes officiates in this menial service. The evening we were at the hospital, however, the highest dignitary that officiated at the tub was the ex-king of Portugal, Don Miguel. We had, also, Lord Gifford, of England, and a number of the Roman nobles.

As we brought no tickets we had a little difficulty at first in getting admittance. This being settled, I left Mrs. F., whom I conducted to the entrance of the female department, and went down into the bathing room of the males, where a number presented themselves to be washed, not as many, however, as on former occasions, for it was approaching toward the last of the week. There was a range of foot baths quite around the room, with pipes to conduct hot and cold water, and a rail extending quite around in front of the baths, to prevent spectators from crowding upon them. After standing until we were weary, the ceremony commenced by a short religious service read as usual. What followed was no more of an exhibition than any other case of washing dirty feet, except as to the number and quality of the actors and spectators. There was a large room full of gentlemen from all parts of the world to see kings and noblemen perform the work of ablution upon the lower extremities of some of the dirtiest, roughest looking subjects that Italy can produce. Some of them had sore feet from the badness of their shoes, and their pedestrian journey; for these, plasters were prepared and applied. The thick rough boots of some were drawn with great difficulty, and their stockings, when they wore any, looked as though they needed washing as much as the feet they covered, without which, to wash the latter would be of little avail. The Don had a hard case; however he scrubbed away with might and main, and when he got to the skin he wiped it, kissed the foot, and ensconced it again in its former sheath. All kissed the feet when they had finished washing them.

After the washing we ascended to the *Salle à manger*, to witness the feeding. Here the crowd of spectators was still greater, and here too were assembled all the pilgrims that had been congregated for several days. Truly they were a motley group, some with their long pilgrim's staves, some with shells of scallops and other sea-fish fastened upon their breasts and shoulders, many of them ragged and wo-begone, although the greater part are supposed to come from cities of Italy not far distant. They gathered around the long tables, and those who washed their feet prepared to serve them. I got a position near the ex-king. He is a middle aged man, of rather a small stature, and possessing a countenance by no means indicative of that cruelty and thirst for blood which seem to have marked his public life. He is as great a stickler for Romanism as his brother, Don Pedro, was an opposer. Their course in this matter has undoubtedly been shaped very much by their political interests. While Don Pedro was thwarted and opposed in all his plans by the priests, these have been the partisans of Don Miguel, and sustained his course, and he, in his turn, has sustained theirs. It is this that has led the pope to patronize the Don in his exile, by giving him a refuge and a salary of $3,000 per annum; and this, on the other hand, has led the ex-king to be very officious in matters of religion, and specially active during holy week in all the self-denying duties of the occasion. At this time he was very active in helping the pilgrims, in cutting their bread, and serving their fish, vegetables, and wine,* and at the same time was very social, now with the pilgrims, and

* It was still Lent.

now with one of the attendants, and then again with some of his *fellow servants*. He left, however, in time to be introduced into the ladies' apartments. When the company had satisfied their appetites, and some of these poor fellows ate as if they had eaten nothing for a long time before, they began to fill their handkerchiefs and sacks with the fragments and remains, and to pour their wine into their leather bottles. These were their perquisites, and they laid in liberally—sufficiently so, I should think, to last them a considerable distance in their homeward journey. They then all rose, and in single file, chanting or singing as they went, marched up to their lodgings.

Mrs. F. found the ceremonies in the female apartments much the same as above described, except that the ladies who waited upon the pilgrims were more minute and assiduous in their attentions than the gentlemen. The noble ladies, as they entered the room, went to a table on which lay a quantity of red and white aprons, the former with waists, and the latter without waists. The red apron was first put on; and then the other, which was furnished with two large pockets to hold their napkins, &c., was tied on over the former. They then proceeded to wash the feet, after which each lady took a pilgrim by the arm, and led her to the table, and waited upon her as before described, filling her wallet and her wine sack with what remained, and taking as they retired a large pile of plasters up to their lodging rooms, to dress their sore feet, &c. One old woman, who had the appearance of extreme old age, and was bowed down with the weight of years, had nevertheless walked fifty miles to witness this festival. For her, the ladies in attendance made up a purse to cheer her heart and relieve her wants.

In all this there is certainly much of kindness and Christian courtesy exhibited, that were well worth the imitation of Protestants. In the ceremonies before us, however, there is a drawback upon the credit we might otherwise be disposed to give to the parties concerned, from the consideration that the whole is a set form or kind of exhibition, and a stated public observance, which has in it much of show and ostentation, much of *fashion*, and perhaps of superstition.

There is much more of the spirit of our holy and benevolent religion where the meek Christian, unobserved and unattended by the pomp of form and ceremony, seeks out the poor and the squalid, and with his or her own hands washes the saints' feet, and cheers the heart of the fainting—a spirit which, to the reproach of our common Christianity, is too little prevalent both in the Catholic and Protestant Churches. I cannot, however, but concede that, in my opinion, the Catholic takes the lead in charities of this kind; and perhaps ceremonies, such as those I have already described, may have kept alive among them a sense of duty on this point. For such ceremonies cannot but have their influence, especially upon the young, who are thus trained, at times at least, to think of, and feel for the poor and the wretched. Here young girls of ten or fifteen years of age are seen bounding along with laughing eyes and mantling cheeks, bearing the large trays of refreshments to the tables, while their mothers and older sisters distribute those refreshments to the hungry and weary pilgrims. The impressions of one such scene upon the mind of the young might be as lasting as life,

and such scenes repeated might do something at least toward moulding permanently the character of the heart.

It should be observed that males are not usually admitted into the female apartments during these ceremonies except the priests, some of whom are present to lead in the religious observances, and to see, I suppose, that all things are done "decently and in order." Don Miguel, however, was on this occasion escorted in by four priests with lighted candles, for the purpose, I suppose, of showing himself to all the guests, and also, as it would seem, to be introduced to a princess, who was present and assisting at the supper.

Taking the White Veil.

The church of St. Cecilia in Trastivere, is situated on the south part of the city, on the right side of the Tiber, and is supposed to be built on the site of the house of St. Cecilia. This saint suffered martyrdom at the time of the Lombard invasion, in a bath appertaining to the house. For some time there was a doubt about the identity of the body, but at length she appeared in a supernatural way to St. Paschal, and gave him such instruction, as enabled him to find and identify the body. Whereupon it was taken and deposited in a sepulchre under the high altar of this church, which was erected to her memory, and for the edification of the faithful. All this I learned from a copy of a Latin letter sent to the pope from Paschal, and inscribed on a marble tablet in the wall of the church. Here over the sarcophagus is a beautiful horizontal statue of marble, with the head turned under, in the very attitude, it is said, in which she was discovered after her martyrdom. Connected with this church is a nunnery, in which are the order of St. Cecilia. Thither on Tuesday after holy week we went to witness the assumption of the white veil by two young females. On our arrival, we were invited into a private apartment adjoining the convent, where we and many others were generously treated with refreshments furnished by the friends of the candidates. This room was connected with the convent by doubly grated windows. The two sets of grates were distant from each other about eight inches, and the rods were so close as to render it impossible for persons to touch each other through them. We could see the sisters of the order, however, and also the candidates for the sisterhood. After refreshment we went into the church, and soon an aged bishop, with locks whiter than wool, entered with his attendants. A golden crosier was borne before him. He was then clad with his sacerdotal vestments, the principal of which was a robe of silver tissue bordered with gold, and a mitre studded with brilliants. Soon the candidates entered, dressed like princesses, followed by little girls with wings from their backs in the character of angels, holding up their trains. After some ceremony by the bishop and the candidates, a discourse was delivered by a priest, which seemed to be a defence of perpetual virginity, and a reference to the advantages of the monastic life. The novices then retired, and directly appeared at a grate communicating with the church. This grated window had an altar on each side, and a communication in the centre about eight or ten inches square. Here with the bishop and priests on one side, and the young ladies with their attendants on the other, the appointed

service was performed. By the kindness of the brother of one of the candidates, I was accommodated with a favorable position near the altar, and near the new vestments with which they were about to be clothed. These lay in two separate piles with the name of each upon her parcel. After a portion of the service, the candidates placed their heads by the window of the grate, and the officiating bishop with a pair of golden scissors, taken from a plate of gold, cut off a lock of their hair. They then underwent a complete transformation as to their garments. The rich head-dress and ornaments were taken off, the hair turned back, the fine tresses straitened, and a plain tight cap without a border put upon the head. The ornaments were taken from the arms, the ears, the neck—the rich dress, in short, was removed and left the candidates modestly blushing with only a close white underdress to cover them. The whole of this gay attire, and these princely ornaments were loosely rolled together, and put into the hands of the wearer, who with some sentence which I could not understand, but which was undoubtedly expressive of her abdication of the world and its vanities,—as if she should say:

> "I bid this world of noise and show,
> With all its flattering smiles adieu—"

cast them from her. Her new attire was then brought forward, and article after article was received through the grate, affectionately kissed and put on, an official nun standing by each candidate, and assisting in the investment. The order of the clothing was, as nearly as I can recollect, as follows: first, a scarf, with an opening for the head, was thrown over the shoulders, and hung down perhaps as low as the knees, before and behind—around this a white sash—over the whole a robe, which, like the other garments, was of fine white stuff like worsted—then a peculiar collar for the neck, which was turned down before, but turned up behind and pinned at the back of the head. And finally the white hood or veil, which was made stiff and fashioned somewhat, in the part for the head, like a peasant's sun-bonnet in our country, without, however, being gathered behind, for it extended down like a stiff veil over the shoulders. A crucifix, rosary, and prayer book, together with a lighted candle were given to each—all of which, as they were received, one by one, were kissed by the candidates, as also was the priest's hand who presented them. Last of all the head was surmounted by an armillary crown, either of silver, or tinsel resembling silver. The whole of this transformation was sudden, and the contrast most striking. It was as if a princess, by the touch of a Roman wand, had been metamorphosed into a meek-eyed, modestly appareled sister of charity.

Thus habited, the two novices threw themselves again upon the altar with their faces buried in the velvet cushions before them, when the venerable bishop, assisted by other priests, performed the most solemn part of the service, which consisted of short sentences and brief responses, in which all seemed to join with a good deal of spirit. The new sisters then arose and kissed their assistant officials, the other attendant nuns their attending cherubs, and their female friends who were within the grate. Up to that moment the

friends of the *buried alive** seemed to be cheerful, but now that the final separation was come, there was more apparent difficulty in concealing the emotions which, doubtless, they had all along felt; and I now noticed that the sister of one of them, who had been remarkably gay, drew back with swimming eyes. The candidates, on the contrary, through the whole scene manifested little emotion either of devotion or of excited sensibilities for friends, but seemed to pass through the ceremony with a self-possession and firmness that to me indicated either deep principle of duty, or the indifference of disappointment. Undoubtedly many persons take the veil from both of these causes; others from poverty, and others again, and perhaps of these there are not a few, from the solicitation of parents or brothers, who, not being able or willing to make genteel provision for the supernumerary female members of their family, find this a convenient and respectable way of disposing of them. What may have been the cause of the *seclusions* in the present cases, I of course am ignorant of, but I have left upon my mind the deep and indelible conviction that the Church which offers facilities and holds out motives for such moral *suicides*, has greatly mistaken her duty to the world, and must be held responsible for encouraging a system wholly unsanctioned, either by the Old or New Testament, and against the principle of which the entire economy of man's nature throws back the denial through every law of his physical and moral constitution.

A number of sonnets were composed on this occasion, and distributed to the spectators, and possibly some of them were sung; for the exercises were occasionally and pleasantly varied by the sound of sweet music. At the commencement we not only had the deep-toned organ, but the sweet notes of female voices dropped down in melting strains from the lofty latticed galleries, behind which the sisterhood were concealed. Here "through the loop holes of their retreat," they were permitted to look out upon the ceremonies below—a place which they doubtless often occupied at the time of public service in the church, and which so far screened them that nothing was seen, even when they stood the nearest to the net-work screen, but some undefined forms robed in white, which a lively imagination in the land of visions might easily transform into celestial visitants, who had come down to chant a dirge for the departing spirits, and then to accompany them to their future *abodes of rest*. And their sweet voices, softened by their passage through the lattice, fell gently down upon the company below, as if to say, in all the winning witchery of melody,

"Sister spirits, come away."

From the sonnets distributed on the occasion, we learned that the name of one of the initiated was, Teresa Gauttieri Romana, daughter of Signor Vincenzo, but her *new name*, (for all take a new name on entering the sisterhood,) was Donna Marianna. The name of the other was Teresa Gauttieri, but her assumed name was Donna Maria Benedetta. Their respective ages were apparently about

* I say *buried alive*, because, although these had only taken the white veil, and therefore may, it is pretended, at their option, come out at the end of a year, still, I believe, in most cases, having taken the first step, they are made willing to proceed.

28 and 28. They seemed to depart from this world in peace. May kind Heaven grant that no bitter disappointment blight their expectations, and no *passion* or *oppression* pollute or disturb the quiet of their prison house!

It may be proper to notice in this connection that, a day or two after this, a lady belonging to one of the noble families of England took the veil in Rome. Her conversion to Catholicism—for until recently she had been a Protestant—had with the attendant circumstances been a subject of considerable interest in the city, and was considered by the Catholics not only as a great triumph of truth, but as a great confirmation, also, of their faith. It seems, strange and simple as the circumstance may appear, that the first thing which staggered her Protestantism, was that phrase in the creed, "I believe in the holy catholic Church." How could she repeat this in sincerity, being a Protestant? For it seems she understood by this, not the universal Church, but the Roman Church! This put her upon an inquiry, which resulted in her conversion to Romanism, followed by an earnest desire to become a nun of the order of St. Theresa. But as the regimen of that order was rigorous, and her own health very delicate, her friends were unwilling she should come under the vows of the order. She then prayed to the virgin, who, in answer to prayer, miraculously healed her, not only as to her general health, but, as was affirmed, a lameness, which had rendered one of her limbs useless, was suddenly healed and entirely cured. This miracle not only satisfied her friends as to her duty in the case, but was the occasion also of converting her mother to, and confirming her in the Catholic faith. She, accordingly, took the veil. We passed the place of the ceremony, where we saw an immense number of coaches and a great gathering; but as the crowd was great, and the ceremony not new to us, we did not attempt an entrance. She appeared at the grated window for a number of successive days afterward, to converse with her friends. We saw some who conversed with her, and they represented her as appearing very cheerless and agitated. Indeed, it seems from all the information I could gain, that her mind as well as her body was of a sickly cast, and her temperament visionary and fanciful. It was a case, however, that gave great joy to the Papists, insomuch that the jesuit priest already alluded to, made it a subject of one of his public addresses to a popular assembly in Rome, to confirm their faith and confidence in the "Holy Catholic Church."

Chiesa Della Trinità de Monti.

This church stands on the Pinchean Hill, situated in the north part of the city, near the Porta del Popolo, and east of the Piazza di Spagna. It is one of the most prominent points in the modern city, and is rendered still more magnificent in its western aspect, by the splendid staircase by which it is approached from the Piazza di Spagna.

Connected with the church is a convent, all the inmates of which are said to be ladies of quality. The regulations of their order are in some respects peculiar, especially in that they take upon them no vows of perpetual seclusion, but hold themselves at liberty to leave whenever they choose. And yet it is mentioned, as a most extra-

ordinary fact, that no one has ever been known to leave the sisterhood after she has once entered. If this be a fact, there is at least one conclusion to which we may safely come, viz: that if it is not a violation of a positive vow, to leave the convent, and therefore an infraction of no written law, it nevertheless is a violation of common law, and of an implied engagement, to break which would show a disregard of all that is sacred in religion, and all that is respectable in character. These are considerations, therefore, that undoubtedly operate strongly and effectually to guard the egress from these monastic walls. In addition, the rules of the order, it is presumed, are not rigorous, their privileges, both social and religious, are great, and their company abundant and most respectable. At least, I have noticed that priests and ecclesiastics of a most respectable appearance were among their visiters.

Hearing that they had most enchanting music there, at vespers, on Sabbath evenings, we made several attemps to get admittance, in all of which we failed, save in one instance, in which I had wandered to the church alone, at an early hour, and happened to approach the private door just at the same time with two or three priests. The door on this, as on all other occasions, was locked, and as the priests were pulling the bell I informed them that I was a stranger, which they doubtless would readily perceive by my bad Italian; that I had a great desire to be present at the vespers, and if they would pass me in I should be greatly obliged to them. They bowed assent with the usual frankness and courtesy of the Italians, and especially of the priests. The door was opened by a nun of a most angelic countenance; who, at the intimation of the priests, admitted me, and showing me a side door into the church, conducted the clergymen into the convent.

It was early, and the church, as I thought, was perfectly empty. This gave me an opportunity of examining it leisurely. The chancel was separated from the nave by a very high and magnificent screen, consisting of beautiful iron balusters. This was to separate the nuns, who chant the service, from the congregation in the church. As I looked through the balustrade, I saw to the left a solitary priest with his prayer book in his hand, and so deeply intent upon his devotions that he did not observe me. I immediately recognized him to be the count of ——, to whom I had been introduced a few evenings before, at Mr. C———'s, in the Corso. Although a count, he was also a priest, and a gentleman of soft and winning address, and kindly manners. And here he was alone, in this lovely church, where silence reigned, where the sacredness of the place, the beauty of the edifice, the sweet breath and sweet light of an evening in which the setting sun gleamed faintly through the remaining mists of a recent shower, all conspired to melt the heart and mould the spirit into devout veneration of the God of the sanctuary. This it was, perhaps, which prepared me the more to enjoy what followed.

There is always a church, I believe, connected with every convent. And in every such instance there are private entrances to it from the convent. So it was with the *Chiesa della Trinità*.

As soon, therefore, as the vesper bell rang, the nuns began to enter. Those who led the music came into the high gallery by a

private passage, and seated themselves around and near an organ. Below, within the chancel, entered first the young ladies of the school, connected with the nunnery, two and two, paired according to their size, first bowing toward the high altar, and then seating themselves facing it;—then followed the nuns. They were all neatly dressed and had heavenly countenances beaming with cheerfulness and devotion. Indeed, it was evident that a habitual frame of mind of this kind had produced a permanent effect upon the features of the face, and the expression of the countenance. The services commenced—they consisted chiefly of music from the voices of the nuns and from the organ. And such an organ! and such voices! The organ seemed to have been constructed on purpose to symphonize with the sweet voices of the sisters; and sweet were those voices! sweet was that organ! The music was rather of a lively, cheerful cast, and was set to a hymn or song of praise, which, to the number of some twelve verses, I should think, was performed and sung on the occasion. I cannot describe it, much less can I describe the effect on my own feelings. It was not so overwhelming as the *Tenebræ* at St. Peter's, but it seemed to trickle down into the sentient chambers of the soul, and there diffuse itself to the extremities through all the conducters of feeling, until the whole system was exhilarated and enchanted. To this hour, whenever my mind reverts to the Church of the Trinity, I seem to hear those ravishing notes anew, "like the memory of joys that are past, pleasant and mournful to the soul." Never, perhaps, before or since, have I felt so much devotion in a Catholic church, as on that occasion. The benediction was pronounced, and I reluctantly retired from a spot that had afforded me delight as unexpected as it was refined.

While on the subject of music, I will add, that the common music in Italy fell far short of my expectations. I had supposed that in that musical country there would be much interest in the music of the streets and of the peasantry of the country. On the contrary, it is absolutely horrible: the braying of an ass is scarcely more repulsive. You will hear, especially in the evening, companies of young men walking the streets and singing—you will hear songs in the country, and your vetturino will sing to you perhaps from morning till night, but it is all utterly destitute of music. The same may be said of much of the music of the churches. As I did not attend the operas, of course I cannot speak of the music there. Doubtless it is of the most scientific kind. But so far as my opportunities of observing go, much of the music of Italy is bad. I heard one amateur in a private party in Naples, whose singing was admirable; and on a few public occasions, such as that at St. Peter's, and this at the Trinity, and some others, the music was splendid. Farther than this I cannot commend. Neither can I account for it that the popular airs and common singing are so bad, when those of other countries are often so superior. Switzerland, and Wales, and Scotland are not celebrated for their scientific music, and yet their native airs are the very melody of nature, and the singing of their peasantry is absolutely enchanting. Italy, on the other hand, is celebrated for music the most scientific and most refined, and yet the singing of her peasantry is rivalled by the braying

of her donkies. The inference seems to be, that the greatest refinements in scientific music avail to destroy the simplicity of nature in all classes; but as it is possible for none but a few to become successful, scientific performers, the great whole are left unskilled in the melody of sweet sounds.

Illumination and Fireworks.

These usually conclude the exhibitions of the splendid festivities of the Passion Week—*and if I had seen them I might describe them.* Unfortunately for us, however, the exhibition did not take place this year. The disappointment was felt the more because it was given out that it would take place; the fixtures were all placed upon the dome of St. Peter's; the rockets and other preparatives were all made for the fireworks; and the time appointed for the exhibition. The first night was rainy, and it was postponed—another excuse was given at another time, and thus the subject was delayed and suspended, till at length the report was circulated that the whole was indefinitely postponed, and that the money which it would have cost would be given to the poor. Whether the poor ever got the money I cannot say—I can only say, we lost a fee, which we paid in part, in advance, for our *window*, where we were to witness the exhibition; as doubtless did many others. For it is usual on these occasions for all who have houses advantageously situated, to rent their windows for the night, for from five to perhaps twenty, or even fifty dollars each, according to their situation and accommodations. Some of them have balconies and curtains over head. For a number of days the windows in the neighborhood were dressed and curtained, waiting for an exhibition which was finally suspended. The reason for the disappointment we could never learn. If there was any good reason it ought to have been announced, for as it was, there was much of surmising and hard sayings against the Romans and against his holiness. By holding out the expectation and postponing it, day after day, many persons were induced not only to rent their stands for the night, but to postpone their departure from Rome, some of them a week or ten days, waiting for the *great sight*, and were finally disappointed. Thus thousands of dollars were spent in the city by travellers, which would not otherwise have been spent; and some expressed their conviction that there might be some design in all this. For myself, however, I would not readily give credit to such an imputation, but I confess there was a kind of injustice in the procedure, which nothing but an important reason could excuse. If such a reason had existed, one would think it would have been made public. As to the plea, that the money would be given to the poor, that was worse than nothing—the situation of the poor was known before any such expectation was raised; and much more might have been saved for the poor, if no arrangements had been made for the exhibition. There is a great difficulty, however, not only in Rome, but throughout all Italy, of getting before the public the desired information on subjects of general interest. Instead of numerous periodicals and public newspapers, as in this country, they have nothing scarcely that deserves the name of a public periodical press. They have in Rome one or two little papers, published

perhaps weekly, about twice the size of a man's hand, containing some account of the functions and ceremonies of the cathedrals, the movements of the cardinals, &c., together with some of the leading events of Europe, provided these events do not savor too much of liberalism—and that is the extent, I believe, of Roman newspapers. It is, in fact, the most difficult thing to get information on subjects of public interest; and this may serve in part, perhaps, as an apology for the Roman court, for leaving the public in the dark in this instance, in respect to the reasons for the course adopted.

It may not be amiss to give a general idea of the proposed exhibition, such as it has usually been, and such as it was indeed this year, at the festival of St. Peter, which took place since we left Rome. Heretofore it has been usual to have this exhibition both on, or rather immediately after, Passion Week, and also at the festival just mentioned.

The illumination is on the dome and other parts of the outside of St. Peter's. It is effected by lamps, flambeaux, and various combustible matter, so arranged that every part of the church, to the very summit of the cross, over the dome, appears in a blaze. The fore part of the illumination is mild, and gleams like the light of the moon; but at seven o'clock it changes suddenly into a universal blaze, as if by magic; and it is said, nothing scarcely can be conceived of more splendor than this transition, and the brilliant spectacle which follows. There are between four and five thousand lanterns used in this illumination, and seven or eight hundred flambeaux. The lighting is effected by men on the outside, suspended by ropes, who are moved with pullies by men within; and so hazardous is the enterprise that the performers receive the sacrament before they commence, that they may be prepared for sudden death.

At eight o'clock the fireworks commence at the castle of St. Angelo, formerly Adrian's Mausoleum. The commencement is an explosion called the Girandola, which is effected by such an arrangement and discharge of four or five thousand rockets as to be, it is said, a very good representation of an eruption of a volcano. This is followed by various other modifications of pyrotechnical display, grand and beautiful; and the whole is closed by another magnificent Girandola.

I have thus just sketched this grand exhibition for the sake of those of your readers who may not have been made acquainted with its character, although we did not witness it. The pope himself gave us an animated description of it in an interview we had with him, but I should have abundantly preferred that he had let us see it. But fearing it might be contrary to *court etiquette* to question the sovereign pontiff on this subject, I did not inquire his reasons for disappointing us.

Religious Processions.

In describing the ceremonies of this festive occasion at Rome, it might be well to notice that religious processions were at this time unusually frequent. Companies of ecclesiastics and various religious orders marched through the streets, chanting religious services, and bearing a crucified Christ, or the image of some saint, before

which the multitudes bowed. This is more or less common, in fact, at all seasons, throughout Italy.

The consecrated host also, especially the day after Easter, was borne in procession through the streets in various parts of the city. The object, we were told, was to convey it to the sick, for their sanctification and comfort. Whenever it passed the people prostrated themselves; and why should they not? For this material substance, thus supported like any other portion of matter, was believed to be verily and truly GOD!

Holy Staircase.

I may not have a better opportunity than the present to mention the religious ceremony or penance of the holy staircase. This is not peculiar to holy week, although it happened more particularly to strike our attention at this time; and perhaps on account of the many strangers present at this festival, there may have been more votaries engaged in this penance than on other or common occasions.

This staircase is called "holy," because it is that up which, if we may believe the tradition, the Saviour passed, pending his trial at Pilate's bar. How it was preserved at the destruction of Jerusalem, especially as the Christians, who alone would be intrusted in its preservation, had previously left the city—or why even Christians should be solicitous to preserve a staircase belonging to the palace of a weak and wicked ruler, who gave sentence against their Lord, are matters which neither I nor, I presume, any one else can satisfactorily account for. However, it is believed to be that very staircase, and as such is not only an object of veneration, but is made meritorious in the forgiveness of sins—up it no one is allowed to pass, except upon his knees: and every time any one thus ascends it, *he has remitted to him two hundred years from the fires of purgatory!* This of course makes its ascent an object of great interest; insomuch that the marble steps have been so worn away by penitential friction as to make it necessary to cover them anew, to save them from complete destruction. Almost any time of day you may see more or less of these poor deluded votaries climbing up these steps, some of them upon their bare knees—the females dividing their attention between their devotions and the decent adjustment of their apparel; and all kissing the steps and muttering their prayers as they ascend!

When I first approached these round steps, not knowing their sanctity, I started to ascend them, to see what there was above—the ciceroni pulled me back with horror—and informed me of its character. Not choosing to ascend on our knees, we went up an adjoining flight of stairs and surveyed them above and below, with no other emotion than that of astonishment and disgust, at this new illustration of the *deep-rooted and all-pervading superstitions and idolatries of the Roman Catholic Church.*

HISTORICAL VIEW OF THE CALVINISTIC THEOLOGY OF NEW-ENGLAND.

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Of the New-England Conference.

TO TRUTH all men attach a valid importance. That which relates to religion is especially important, because it is at the foundation of our best interests—our rational hope of immortality, and all the present consolations which such a hope is calculated to inspire. The interest men feel to know the truth is sufficiently exemplified in the history of their untiring researches—their noonday toils and midnight lucubrations—all aiming at a satisfactory answer to this one important question, "What is truth?" A history of the exercises and efforts of the minds of men in this pursuit, could they be truly and faithfully written, would be far more interesting than a record of all the splendid achievements of physical force since the beginning of the world, by as much as our intellectual is more noble and interesting than our animal nature. But such a chronicle of thought does not exist. There are fragments, however, in given cases where thought exerts its energies for the accomplishment of particular objects, which may be seized and safely adopted as sure indications of the true character of the more hidden source whence they emanated. Hence it is that in the philosophical, political, and religious theories of men, and the changes which those theories from time to time undergo, we trace the workings of those minds which first brought them into being, as well as those which afterward modify and mould them into different shapes.

In the following sheets an attempt is made to trace the history of that theory which is, by common consent, denominated Calvinism, as it has existed and now exists in New-England. This work is not without its difficulties, and it may have its advantages.

As the subject of this essay is the Calvinism of New-England especially, little is required to be said of the origin and existence of it in Europe. It may be proper to observe, however, that it was formed out of the unorganized elements of the theology of St. Augustine, by the plastic hand of that eminent divine, John Calvin, whose name it bears. Simultaneously with the Reformation, it was spread over a large portion of Europe, and was adopted as the basis of the creeds of many of the reformed Churches, and the subject matter of the preaching of many of the clergy.

When our Puritan fathers cruised for an asylum where they might enjoy religious freedom, they brought with them to the rock of Plymouth the strong prejudices they had imbibed for the Calvinistic creed, from which they never swerved. Under the instructions of the first religious teachers of New-England, the principles of Calvinism became more deeply rooted in the minds of the people, and were interwoven in all their habits of thinking and forms of expression. Though there were a few who were branded as heretics, not many had the courage to doubt of the infallibility of Calvinistic theology, and by far the greater portion were sincere Calvinists of the purest order.

At that early period, however, no specific creed, in the form of articles of faith, had been settled upon as binding on the Churches, by any convention, civil or ecclesiastical. The first successful attempt at any thing of this kind was by the synod which met at Cambridge in 1648, in which the one denominated the "Cambridge Platform," was adopted.

The "Platform" they adopted, it is true, was intended principally as a rule of Church discipline; but the preface affords valuable information respecting the subject of doctrines. In this the synod thus expressed themselves:—

"For this end, having perused the public Confession of the Faith agreed upon by the reverend assembly of divines at Westminster, and finding the sum and substance thereof in matters of doctrine to express, not their judgment only, but ours also; and being likewise called upon by our godly magistrates to draw up a public confession of that faith which is constantly taught and generally professed among us; we thought it good to present unto them, and with them our Churches, and with them to all the Churches of Christ abroad, our professed and hearty assent and attestation to the whole confession of faith, (for substance and doctrine,) which the reverend assembly presented to the religious and honorable Parliament of England; excepting only some sections in the 25th, 30th, and 31st chapters of their Confession, which concern points of controversy in Church discipline, touching which we refer ourselves to the draught of Church discipline in the ensuing treaties.

"The truth of what we here declare, may appear by the unanimous vote of the synod of the elders and messengers of our Churches, assembled at Cambridge, the last day of the sixth month, 1648, which jointly passed in these words:—'This synod having perused and considered, with much gladness of heart and thankfulness to God, the Confession of Faith published of late by the reverend assembly in England, do judge it to be very holy, orthodox, and judicious in all matters of faith, and do freely and fully consent thereunto, for the substance thereof.'"

This appears to have been the earliest attempt at a formal agreement upon articles of faith in New-England. Of the nature and import of the creed thus adopted, there can be no ground for misapprehension. The Westminster Catechism has been before the public so long, and its contents are so generally known, that no one can attempt a misrepresentation of them, without laying himself open to an easy detection. Its principal distinguishing doctrines are:—

1st. That God has, according to the counsel of his own will and for his own glory, foreordained whatsoever comes to pass.

2d. That all sinned in Adam, and thus brought upon themselves an entire want of original righteousness, together with a complete corruption of their nature.

3d. That God has, from eternity, chosen out of this state a portion of mankind to obtain eternal life, and passed by the others, ordaining them to eternal death.

4th. That Christ died for the elect only.

5th. That all the elect are effectually called, justified, and sanctified, and none but they.

6th. That the elect shall certainly persevere to the end, and be saved.

This general and rather indefinite acknowledgment of faith, was not altogether satisfactory, and therefore the synod which met at Boston, in 1679, of which the Rev. Increase Mather was moderator, held a second session, commencing on the 12th of May, 1680, at which was adopted the creed (for the main) of the Savoy Confession. As this creed differs in some respects from the Westminster Confession, it may be proper to notice some of its prominent features.

1. *Of God's Eternal Decrees.**

"God from all eternity did by the most wise and holy counsel of his own *will*, freely and unchangeably ordain whatsoever comes to pass; yet so as thereby neither is God the author of sin, nor is violence offered to the *will* of the creatures, nor is the liberty or contingency of second causes taken away, but rather established.

"Although God knows whatsoever may or can come to pass upon all supposed conditions; yet hath he not decreed any thing, because he foresaw it as future, or that which would come to pass, upon such conditions.

"By the decree of God, for the manifestation of his glory, some men and angels are predestinated unto everlasting life, and others foreordained to everlasting death.

"These angels and men, thus predestinated and foreordained, are particularly and unchangeably designed, and their number is so certain and definite, that it cannot be either increased or diminished.

"Those of mankind that are predestinated unto life, God, before the foundation of the world was laid, according to his eternal and immutable purpose, and the secret counsel and good pleasure of his will, hath chosen in Christ unto everlasting glory, out of his mere free grace and love, without any foresight of faith or good works, or perseverance in either of them, or any other thing in the creature, as conditions, or causes moving him thereto, and all to the praise of his glorious grace.

"As God hath appointed the elect unto glory, so hath he by the eternal and most free purpose of his will foreordained all the means thereunto. Wherefore they who are elected, being fallen in Adam, are redeemed by Christ, are effectually called unto faith in Christ by his Spirit working in due season, are justified, adopted, sanctified, and kept by his power, through faith unto salvation. Neither are any other redeemed by Christ, or effectually called, justified, adopted, sanctified, and saved, but the elect only.

"The rest of mankind God was pleased, according to the unsearchable counsel of his own will, whereby he extendeth or withholdeth mercy as he pleaseth, for the glory of his sovereign power over his creatures, to pass by, and to ordain them to dishonour and wrath for their sin, to the praise of his glorious justice.

"The doctrine of this high mystery of predestination is to be handled with special prudence and care, that men attending the will of God revealed in his word, and yielding obedience thereunto, may from

* Confession of Faith, chap. iii.

the certainty of their effectual vocation, be assured of their eternal election. So shall this doctrine afford matter of praise, reverence, and admiration of God, and of humility, diligence, and abundant consolation to all that sincerely obey the Gospel."

2. *Of the fall of Man, of Sin, and of the Punishment thereof.**

"By this sin they, and we in them, fell from original righteousness and communion with God, and so became dead in sin, and wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body.

"They being the root, and by God's appointment standing in the room and stead of all mankind, the guilt of this sin was imputed, and corrupted nature conveyed, to all their posterity descending from them by ordinary generation.

"From this original corruption whereby we are utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil, do proceed all actual transgressions."

3. *Of Free Will.*†

"God hath endued the will of man with that natural liberty and power of acting upon choice, that it is neither forced, nor by any absolute necessity of nature determined to do good or evil.

"Man, in his state of innocency, had freedom and power to will and to do that which was good and well pleasing to God; but yet mutably, so that he might fall from it.

"Man, by his fall into a state of sin, hath wholly lost all ability of will to any spiritual good accompanying salvation, so as a natural man being altogether averse from that good, and dead in sin, is not able by his own strength to convert himself, or to prepare himself thereunto.

"When God converts a sinner, and translates him into the state of grace, he freeth him from his natural bondage under sin, and by his grace alone enables him freely to will and to do that which is spiritually good; yet so as that by reason of his remaining corruption, he doth not perfectly nor only will that which is good, but doth also will that which is evil.

"The will of man is made perfectly and immutably free to good alone in the state of glory only."

4. *Of Effectual Calling.*‡

"All those whom God hath predestinated unto life, and those only, he is pleased in his appointed and accepted time effectually to call by his word and spirit out of that state of sin and death in which they are by nature to grace and salvation by Jesus Christ, enlightening their minds spiritually and savingly to understand the things of God, taking away their heart of stone, and giving unto them a heart of flesh. Renewing their wills, and by his almighty power determining them to that which is good, and effectually drawing them to Jesus Christ: yet so as they come most freely, being made willing by his grace.

* Conf. of Faith, chap. vi. sec. 2, 3, 4. † Ib. chap. ix. ‡ Chap. x, sec. 1.

*5. Of the Perseverance of the Saints.**

"They whom God hath accepted in his Beloved, effectually called and sanctified by his Spirit, can neither totally nor finally fall away from a state of grace, but shall certainly persevere therein to the end, and be eternally saved.

"This perseverance of the saints depends not upon their own free will, but upon the immutability of the decree of election, from the free and unchangeable love of God the Father upon the efficacy of the merit and intercession of Jesus Christ, and union with him, the oath of God, the abiding of his Spirit, and the seed of God within them, and the nature of the covenant of grace, from all which ariseth also the certainty and infallibility thereof."

These quotations contain the more prominent distinctive features of the Boston Confession.

Soon after its adoption by the synod, that is on the 19th of the same month, it was presented to the general court then in session in Boston, and the following order was passed respecting it, viz.:— "This Court having taken into serious consideration the request that hath been presented by several of the reverend elders, in the name of the late synod, do approve thereof; and accordingly order the Confession of Faith agreed upon at their second session, and the Platform of Discipline, consented unto by the synod at Cambridge, in the year 1648, to be printed for the benefit of the Churches in present and after times." By the official adoption of the creed, the faith of the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth was clearly defined and settled, and the Boston Confession became the established system of these colonies.

In Connecticut the Churches considered themselves under the government of the Cambridge Platform, which they, by their representatives, had assisted in forming; and for sixty years their disciplinary and ecclesiastical operations were conducted according to its provisions and regulations. It appears, however, that they did not continue to be perfectly satisfied with it, and therefore the synod which met at Saybrook, in May, 1708, on the 13th of that month, adopted one which has since been known and designated by the title of the "Saybrook Platform." In connection with the adoption of this Platform, the following agreement respecting doctrines was entered into and declared by the members of that body, namely:— "We agree that the Confession of Faith, owned and assented unto by the elders and messengers assembled at Boston, in New England, May 12th, 1680, being the second session of that synod, be recommended to the honorable general assembly of this colony, at the next session, for their public testimony thereto, as the faith of the Churches of this colony."

By this act, that which had before been the established creed of Massachusetts and Plymouth, was made the creed of Connecticut also. Thus was New-England brought under the Boston Confession. All subsequent acts of Church and State went to establish more firmly this system of faith, in the adoption of which, there was so much unanimity, until at last the superstructure seemed to be based upon a rock.

* Conf. of Faith, chap. xvii. sec. 1, 2.

The creed, thus formally and solemnly adopted and sanctioned by both the Churches and legislative bodies throughout the principal New-England colonies, *has never been disannulled;* nor has it, by any legitimate official act, lost aught of its primary authority. *It yet remains in full force, and is at this day to be esteemed the established creed of the Calvinistic Churches in New-England.* If we find, therefore, a system differing in any respect from the Boston Confession, all such difference is evidently a departure from the pure Calvinism of New-England, and such it undoubtedly ought to be considered.

By examining the various theories, however, which have been brought into being since the general adoption of the Boston Confession, and comparing them with it, we shall perceive many very important and strongly marked discrepancies. Unexceptionable as the original Confession was supposed to be, perfect as was deemed the wisdom of the reverend synods which had adopted it, and sanctioned as it had been by the enactments of the representatives of the people; it was in time subjected to the ordeal of investigation and animadversion by men of inquiring minds. Bold innovators, while they admitted it in general as a whole, and retained the name of Calvinists, assumed the task, one after another, of explaining and modifying different parts of it, in a way to conform it to their particular views and tastes, until, in the multiplicity of changes, scarcely any thing of the old system was left by which it could be identified.

The first writer of any considerable note, who rose up in New-England, to explain and defend Calvinism, was Dr. Edwards, a man, on many accounts, admirably fitted for such a work. Dr. Edwards was possessed of a deeply metaphysical mind, and his education and habits were admirably calculated to foster his natural inclination for metaphysical pursuits. The Calvinistic theory, whose very elements originated in the mazes of abstruse and metaphysical speculations, afforded ample scope for the exercise of his peculiar genius. The principles of the creed, as they were understood, were gradually losing credit in the estimation of the public, as a general spirit of investigation prevailed among the people; and it was only for Dr. Edwards to throw around it the trappings of his inventive powers, by giving to the terms and propositions of which it was composed, such constructions and explanations as his metaphysical skill enabled him to weave to preserve it. No man ever succeeded better in so difficult a work. Pressed as he was by the powerful arguments of Whitby, (whom Dr. Griffin calls the prince of Arminians,) and others of the same school, perhaps no other man then living would have been able to succeed so well. But Dr. Edwards, having enlisted in a work for which nature and education had peculiarly fitted him, and constitutionally pertinacious of adhering with perseverance to whatever he had deliberately adopted, firmly stemmed the torrent of truth, which opposed him in all his course. If he failed by this effort to render the system he defended generally acceptable, he at least gained for himself an enviable reputation as a profound scholar, an acute metaphysician, and an amiable man.

The system advocated by Dr. Edwards differed in only a few

particulars from the Boston Confession. The following are the principal. The Confession held that effectual calling was, by "almighty power, determining men to that which is good." By this we understand a *direct* exertion of almighty power upon the will irresistibly constraining us to come to Christ. Dr. Edwards, on the contrary, taught that the will of man is like the balances of a merchant, and the weights used in turning the scales are by him made to consist in *motives*, the strongest of which, according to him, always and irresistibly prevails. To him, also, belongs, perhaps, the honor of binding the garland of "disinterested benevolence" around this mouldering system—a garland whose flowers were destined to wither long before its supporting column should fall.*

Dr. Bellamy was Dr. Edwards' principal coadjutor in his work, a helper by no means to be despised, or lightly to be set aside. These reverend divines succeeded in quieting, for awhile, at least in some degree, the feelings of opposition which were gaining in the public mind against the prominent doctrines of the dominant creed, by the new and less exceptionable dress in which they clothed them. But a spirit of investigation was abroad among the people; and encouraged as it was by these attempts at innovation, it soon found means to rend the veil, and bring to view the true characteristics of the new theory, which, with the more observing, were little, if any, less exceptionable than those of the old.

Not long after the death of Dr. Bellamy, Dr. Samuel Hopkins, of Newport, Rhode Island, wrote and published a "System of Divinity," in which he boldly left the old paths, abandoned the old chart and compass, and struck for himself and his adherents, a new course. Dr. Edwards had undoubtedly prepared the way for this new enterprise; as it appears that many of the materials from which Dr. Hopkins formed his system were obtained from him.

The distinctive features of this new system were:—

1. That all virtue or real holiness consists in disinterested benevolence. The object of benevolence is universal being, including God and all his intelligent creatures.

2. That all sin consists in selfishness, or an interested affection, by which a person sets himself up as the supreme or only object of regard, and nothing is lovely in his view, unless suited to promote his private interest.

3. There are no promises of regenerating grace made to the acts of the unregenerate.

4. That the impotency of sinners, with respect to believing in Christ, is not natural but moral; or that every man has a natural ability to do God's will, and that his inability consists wholly in disinclination, or not being willing.

5. In order to faith in Christ, the heart must approve all God does, though it were to cast off the soul for ever.

* We do not fully understand the import of this figure. But if the writer intends to say that the doctrine of "disinterested benevolence" is destined to be generally rejected by those professing themselves to be Calvinists, long before the distinctive principles which have always been considered as at the foundation of the Calvinistic creed, it must be deemed altogether problematical. In listening to the preaching of some of the new-divinity men of the day, one would think this garland is, in their estimation, just coming into bloom.

6. God is directly the cause of all sin.
7. Sin is, on the whole, a benefit.
8. Repentance is before saving faith.
9. Though men become sinners by Adam's sin, according to a Divine constitution, yet they are accountable for no sins but personal; for, 1. Adam's act was not the act of his posterity, and so they did not sin in him; 2. there could be, then, as there can be now, no transfer of sinfulness: therefore Adam's act was not the cause, but only the occasion upon which God brings men into the world sinners.
10. Christ's righteousness is not transferred to believers, but is so imparted that they are justified for Christ's sake.
11. God regenerates the heart by a direct action of the Spirit upon it, and not by means of light, or the word of God.
12. The atonement is universal.

In other points Dr. Hopkins agreed with the Confession; but in these it will be perceived that he departed widely from the old landmarks. With the Boston Confession they can never be made to harmonize. That Confession said nothing—knew nothing—of disinterested benevolence. This Roman relic, rejected by the Boston divines, was reserved to occupy an important place in the temple of Hopkinsianism. It was quarried in 1681, by Michael de Molinos, a Spanish priest, then in Rome, and imported into France by Lady Guion, to be wrought for her purposes by the hand of the amiable Fenelon, Archbishop of Cambray. Thence it was brought by Dr. Edwards into America, and formed and shaped for a distinguished place in the edifice reared by Dr. Hopkins.

On the doctrine of the atonement there was a disagreement between the Boston Confession and the theory of Dr. Hopkins; the former asserting that it was limited to the elect, the latter affirming that it was made equally for all. The Confession also declared that God is not the author of sin, while the doctor as explicitly asserted that he is. The doctrine maintained in the Confession was, that we sinned in Adam, that of Dr. Hopkins, that we did not. On many other points there was a wide difference between them.

Notwithstanding the bold strides of this new scheme—notwithstanding it struck, in some of its peculiarities, at the very vitals of a system long cherished, and by some very nearly adored, it gained admirers and became popular. While Dr. Hopkins was busily engaged in the propagation of his faith, then called "new divinity:" a helper appeared in the person of Dr. Emmons, of Franklin, Mass. With a genius and discrimination which would not suffer by a comparison with those of Edwards or Hopkins, he wrote in a much more interesting style than either, and he won, by the flowing elegance of his diction, those whom he did not convince by the soundness of his arguments. The work was now fairly commenced, Hopkins and Emmons labored like brethren in the same field, and every thing for a time conspired to give promise of a bountiful harvest. The pulpits rang with the peculiarities of Hopkinsianism. The groaning press sent out its swarms of publications to elucidate and amplify them. And multitudes of young men, candidates for the ministry, flocked to Dr. Emmons, the Gamaliel of New-England, for instruction in the mysteries of this new theology.

True, they had difficulties neither few nor small to contend with. They were charged with departing from pure Calvinism, and of introducing heresy into the Church. Opposition met them on every hand; but it did not arrest the spread of their tenets. They continued daily to make proselytes, and gain new acquisitions to their party. Among the causes of this success may be reckoned the fact, that the advocates of the new divinity strenuously insisted that it was Calvinism, explained, of course, according to its true import; and the people had been taught that whatever bore this image and superscription, was to be heartily received. People, too, delight in new and strange things, and will not startle at the marvellous, even in religion, if it bear an old and familiar name. Dr. Hopkins was understood to have made wonderful discoveries in the deep mysteries of Calvinistic theology; and while the multitude were amazed at what they saw and heard, the inclinations of curiosity, which had been highly excited, prepared them for an easy adoption of whatever might be presented for their acceptance. The principal thing, however, which gave the system footing, was the prevailing supposition that it furnished a solution for many of the difficulties with which the old creed had been charged, while it was not yet understood that that which professed to explain every thing needed itself to be explained.

Whatever was the cause, such was the fact, that very many of the Churches fell in with this new theory; and it seemed at one time like a mighty tide sweeping all before it. Hope beat high in the bosoms of its friends, and the smile of triumph sat upon their countenances when the sun of its glory had reached its meridian.

But a darker day awaited the Calvinistic Churches of New-England. Our Puritan fathers were unfortunate in bringing with them those peculiar religious sentiments, and their sons were no less so in their attempts to reduce them to form by their adoption of the Boston Confession. They were unfortunate, not barely because they were opposed alike to the common sense of mankind, and the better feelings of the heart, and could not, therefore, long be popular, but also because their practical effect was in time to produce a cold and heartless formality in the Churches. Had they, with their strong masculine integrity and manly enterprise, connected those evangelical principles, whose tendency is to superinduce constant watchfulness and steady perseverence in all the departments of religious duty, such as the rational understanding will approve and the word of God sustain, results much more beneficial to the cause of piety and to the world at large would undoubtedly have resulted from their pilgrimage to the new world. But it was certainly not well calculated to stir up the spirit of faith, and inspire the ardor of love, to teach men that all events are brought to pass by the will of God; so that we effect, in the circumstances which surround us, no change from the purpose of God, which was fixed before all worlds,—that the salvation of a certain number of mankind is unalterably fixed by the same purpose, and the inevitable ruin of all the rest is equally sure,—and that, consequently, let men do what they will, they can accomplish nothing toward altering or changing their fate. Such views of the Divine economy have surely

little in them calculated to lead men to seek and serve God fervently.

But, little as these views were adapted to the purposes of spiritual instruction and edification, those of the new school were scarcely better. They were well calculated to gratify the curious and metaphysical, but not to feed the flock of Christ. In the confusion of thought which ordinary minds must have experienced in following such writers as Edwards, Bellamy, Hopkins, and Emmons, through the labyrinths of their philosophical disquisitions, they could not but be ill qualified for an exercise of those rational feelings of experimental piety which characterize the truly devout. And even to those who could follow them through their reasonings, and readily connect their deductions with their premises, what was to be gained on the score of piety? What resulted in any respect other than a disposition for contentious disputations—the very reverse of the spirit of Christianity? However it is to be accounted for, the Churches had become cold, and, in many instances, scarcely any thing remained but the form of godliness.

The old system, together with its various modifications and amendments, had another evil attending it. It obtained credit among a certain class with extreme difficulty. This class consisted of the more wealthy and influential, many of whom had too much in this world to occupy their minds to pay much attention to the next. With hearts unhumbled by the truth of the Gospel, they cherished strong feelings of opposition against being considered not only dependent, but dependent reprobates. When the spirit of inquiry was awakened by Edwards and others, all the objections which they had secretly entertained against the system were called forth to bear openly upon it. Those who had taken the lead in rousing the spirit of inquiry were unable satisfactorily to answer these objections. Success emboldened the objectors to press the investigation; and the spirit of discontent increased and spread, until a rupture was inevitable.

When this commenced, it was seen how far the leaven had extended. By many of the Churches, Calvinism, in every form, was renounced; and the houses of worship, with their owners, passed to another denomination. The venerable Harvard was transferred in like manner. Blow after blow was struck; and when the conflict ceased the former possessors of this goodly heritage found that it was wasted and desolate, while a mock Christianity looked out from her palace of security on the wild ruin she had wrought, and smiled in unholy triumph over the wide-spread desolation.

Nearly at the same time that Unitarianism gained the ascendency in Massachusetts, a new system sprang up out of the elements of Calvinism, in Connecticut. The Rev. Mr. Huntington, of Coventry, left a work which was published after his death, entitled, "Calvinism Improved." The main point aimed at in this work was, that the election of God, instead of embracing a few only, extended to the whole human family; and that, consequently, all would finally be saved. The reasoning was specious, and precisely of the kind suited to the inclinations and feelings of multitudes who were wedded to their sins, and were pleased, therefore, to be furnished with so admirable a mantle to cover the enormity

of their transgressions, and quiet the agitations of their consciences. This doctrine of universal salvation was accordingly received with much applause and loud rejoicing. On this generic principle of a certain and final salvation to all, several theories have been founded, differing slightly in the minuter details, but all vindicating the broad ground that God will not suffer any of his intelligent creatures to be eternally miserable. To this standard thousands have flocked, under the comprehensive name of Universalists. As it is natural for man to pass from one extreme to another, it is clearly perceived with how much ease those who had become disgusted with the peculiarities of Calvinism passed over to the opposite extreme; armed as they were against every sober consideration of the true medium, by the prejudices they had imbibed from hearing it perpetually disparaged and repudiated, as the grossest and most dangerous heresy. Tired, as many evidently were, of the old system and the endless metaphysical essays to amend it,—sick to loathing of the dogmas of the more bigoted and supercilious to force it upon their belief and acceptance, the new schemes of Unitarianism in Massachusetts, and Universalism in Connecticut, afforded them the relief and protection, at least in their estimation, which they anxiously desired; and to these they resorted the more readily, and, we may add, especially, as they were in perfect accordance with the unrenewed feelings of the heart, and laid them under no severe restraints with respect to the indulgence of those feelings.

Under such circumstances, it is not to be wondered at, that the falling off from the orthodox party was so great. The more wealthy, learned, and influential went over to the Unitarians; and the lower classes—the more ignorant and corrupt—to the Universalists. Thus were the operations and influence of the orthodox Calvinists extensively narrowed down in New-England. Experience is a hard schoolmaster; but if the lessons it imparts are not purchased at too dear a rate, they are often of the most serviceable kind. It is a fact, we believe, now generally acknowledged, that the style and manner in which the peculiarities of Calvinism were enforced upon the people, were imperative and dogmatical to a degree calculated to give offence. The result of these evolutions in the Church taught those concerned the propriety of adopting a more conciliatory method of propagating their faith. This evidently followed. Greater caution was observed in speaking of the more objectionable features of the old Orthodox creed. They were entirely kept out of view, or shrouded under an obscure and ambiguous phraseology, which rendered them less offensive, while those which were generally approved, were set out in bold relief; and all possible pains were taken so to accommodate the system to the state of the times as to render its acceptance general. The new light of disinterested benevolence proved too faint and dim to satisfy the public mind. The revolting dogma, that God is the author of sin, was rejected, or held in a modified form. Upon the "horrible decree" of reprobation, as Calvin very properly called it, men instinctively frowned. All these were so modified, and held out in such terms, as tended much to conciliate public opinion and public feeling. We cannot indeed say that ten years since any essential alteration had taken place in the principles which had in former

times been strenuously advocated by the Calvinistic churches; but certain we are, that the mode of explaining them had been materially changed, and that in many particulars the system had received a new dress, if not a new body.

Things were at that period becoming more settled. The people had consented to receive an enlarged and improved edition of Hopkins' Universal Atonement, as containing the true Bible doctrine; and they seemed content to believe, as they were taught, "that the sinner could repent if he would," teachers not feeling themselves bound in their ordinary administrations to inform them that none would until God made them willing. The angry wave of contention between the parties of Orthodox and Unitarian into which the Churches had been divided, were fast subsiding, and all was becoming calm and peaceful, when a new storm broke upon them.

A controversy had been carried on for some time between Dr. Woods of the Andover school, and Dr. Ware, professor of divinity at Harvard. It was during this controversy that the peculiar sentiments of Dr. Taylor, then pastor of a Church in New-Haven, Conn., began to be known. He was understood by his friends to take the side of Dr. Ware, on the doctrine of original sin, and the moral character of infants. It was not long before Dr. Taylor's sentiments on these points began to be broached in New-Haven. Soon after the plan of a theological seminary in connection with Yale college was projected, which was finally carried into effect, and Dr. Taylor placed at the head of it. From the circumstances under which this institution was brought into existence, some have been led to conclude that it was designed as a stage to elevate Dr. Taylor, for the purpose of giving him the better opportunity to exhibit and defend his peculiar sentiments to advantage. After this institution went into operation, the tide of this new divinity daily rose, until its streams were sent out to water the Churches of Connecticut, and cause them to bring forth their increase. It was not, however, until the 10th of Sept., 1828, that Dr. Taylor's sentiments were fully and distinctly set forth in a tangible form. In a "concio ad clerum," preached by him at that time, are contained his remarks on Eph. ii, 3; the two main pillars of the system now dignified by the title of "New Divinity," an appellation once given to Hopkinsianism only. A review of Dr. Spring on Regeneration soon followed, in which the new-divinity mode of conversion was laid down as consisting in "desperate efforts," and a "suspension of the selfish principle." Those who had suspected that all was not right in New-Haven, now became fully convinced that their fears were well founded. The sentiments of Dr. Taylor were too distinctly avowed to be misunderstood, and their wide departure from Calvinism was too evident to be mistaken. Anxious, however, that all might be done that consistently could be, to retrieve the reputation of so eminent a divine, calls for explanation, retraction, &c., were made and echoed from every quarter. His positions were examined, arguments incessantly urged against them, and every opportunity given him to show himself a consistent Calvinist. In his attempts to do this, however, he utterly failed. It is true, he charged his opposers with misunderstanding his doctrine, and mis-

representing his arguments, but has failed in making out either; and he must be considered as departing from the old paths of Calvinistic theology until he can place his theory in a light in which he has not yet exhibited it. In a letter to Dr. Hawes containing a statement of his faith, he has indeed adopted a phraseology very similar to that we find in the old Calvinistic creed; but in the notes subjoined, he has so explained and modified these expressions as to make them mean what, to the common sense of a plain reader, they would hardly be supposed to mean. After all his explanations and modifications, to place his views before the public, in the light in which it is presumed he wishes them understood, we think we are warranted by various authorities, in saying that Dr. Taylor teaches—

1. That God has not foreordained the existence of sin, as foreordination is generally understood; but that he determined to create a world to which he foresaw sin would be incidental, and that so far as a determination to create under such circumstances is foreordination of sin, so far God has foreordained sin, and no farther.

2. That sin, as such, is not the necessary means of the greater good; and God does not, all things considered, prefer it to holiness in those cases where it exists.

3. That election is the purpose of God to save all who comply with the terms of salvation, connected with the certainty to the Divine mind, of the number and persons who will comply.

4. That depravity consists in unholy action. This is natural, because such is the nature of man that he will in all the appropriate circumstances of his being sin and only sin. Yet that nature which thus becomes the occasion of sin, is not itself sin, because this would be to make the cause of all sin itself sinful.

5. As there is no specific tendency to sin in the human mind, distinct from the natural appetites implanted in man at his creation, so regeneration does not consist in a change of constitutional propensities, but in the change of the choice or governing purpose.

6. The inability to comply with the terms of salvation, on the part of the sinner, consists wholly in disinclination, all having a natural ability to do the will of God.

7. Until conversion, the grace of God is resisted successfully by the sinner, and *in* conversion the selfish principle is suspended, and God's grace is not resisted; the sinner looking upon God and self, the objects of choice, chooses God as his governor, and his service as his supreme good.

Such are some of the peculiarities of the New-Haven theology. Against this theory, Dr. Griffin, of Williamstown college, Dr. Woods, of Andover, and Dr. Tyler, of the East Windsor school, arrayed a powerful opposition. In this they were aided by the Rev. Mr. Harvey, at present editor of the Watchman, a paper established at Hartford, Conn., in opposition to the doctrine of the new-school divinity. These gentlemen have made a united and firm stand against the New-Haven innovations, with how much success remains to be seen in after times.

On reviewing the brief sketch above, it will readily be perceived that there is a wide difference between the doctrines adopted by Dr. Taylor, and those set forth in the Boston Confession. In his

views on predestination, Dr. Taylor approaches very near to Arminianism. The only matter of surprise is, that the abettors of the scheme persist in calling that Calvinism which accords so nearly with what was taught by Arminius, Wesley, Whitby, and others of the same school; and which distinguishes the Arminian from the Calvinistic creed by one of the strongest points of difference between them. Dr. Taylor, however, probably has his object in view, and it may be deemed impertinent in us to interfere.

On the subject of depravity the New-Haven theology is undoubtedly Pelagian: and, as such, we cannot of course account it evangelical. It is calculated, in its very nature, to subvert the doctrines of the atonement and regeneration; and, thus far, at least, makes a deadly thrust at the very vitals of Christianity. The views set forth in this system on the subject of human depravity, when thoroughly imbibed, naturally prepare their advocates for farther departure from evangelical truth, until they land in the mazes of universal doubt, or downright infidelity. Dr. Taylor's views of regeneration in particular, appear to us singularly anomalous, and incapable of classification with any thing we ever saw in the shape of systematic theology. On these points we have noticed an inveterate warfare has been carried on between Dr. Taylor and his brethren above named; while on others, as the final perseverance of the saints, &c., they appear to be agreed.

What will be the end of these disputes it is difficult to predict. Whether Dr. Taylor and his adherents will go back to old Calvinism, (of which, by the way, there is little prospect,) or settle on the medium ground of consistent Arminianism, or whether they will adopt some newly modified theory, or finally push their speculations beyond all systems which are deemed in any wise evangelical, it is impossible, at this period, to tell. The probability, however, appears to be in favor of the latter. When we begin to sip at error's fountain, each draught prepares us for a larger one, until, like Behemoth drawing the waters of Jordan, we quaff the turbid fountain to its dregs. Such, there is reason to fear, will be the course of the New-Haven theologians. Separating from the old path, as they have, on the doctrine of depravity, it is hardly to be expected that they will steer clear of other errors which stand in intimate connection with this.

The principles of this new divinity are already widely spread through the country, and are exerting a strong influence in gaining adherents. We cannot but look with fearful apprehensions upon the result, if these views of depravity be carried out in their legitimate bearing to form a systematic consistent whole, and the theory become popular among the Churches. Then may it indeed be said, "What the locust hath left the palmer worm hath eaten." Already has the world been presented with a view of some of the results of the new theories and new measures of the day, in the distorted and misshapen creed of the Perfectionists—a creed far more worthy to have for its author Peter, the hermit, or one of the fanatical French prophets, than men theologically educated in the nineteenth century. Who, but such wild adventurers in theological speculations, could have put forth a creed which declares that the world came to an end and eternity commenced eighteen hundred years ago; that we

are free from all law; that sin in believers is absolutely impossible; that the apostles were not Christians; and that Christ himself did not live to see the latter-day glory—a creed which by its very terms is calculated to overturn all order, and swallow up in the vortex of mad confusion every guardian principle ordained by the Author of our social existence to protect whatever is lovely and to be loved? It must be left to time, however, to develope the results of this division—for a division it really is, and bids fair to increase in its extension—among the Churches which range under the Calvinistic name in New-England.

The following quotation, from Dr. Fisk's Calvinistic Controversy, will show how they are classed at present, from the advocates of the parent, the old Boston Confession, to the youngest branch of the family. The language of the quotation is:—

"The present advocates of predestination and particular election may be divided into four classes. 1. The old school Calvinists. 2. Hopkinsians. 3. Reformed Hopkinsians. 4. Advocates of new divinity. By Reformed Hopkinsians, I mean (says he) those who have left out of their creed Dr. Hopkins' doctrine of disinterested benevolence, Divine efficiency in producing sin, &c.; yet hold to a general atonement, natural ability, &c. These constitute doubtless the largest division of the 'class' in New-England. Next, as to numbers, the new school; then Hopkinsians; and, last, the old school."

Such, then, are the subdivisions into which this great body is broken. Time was when they were one. But a confusion of tongues has come among them, and they are scattered, and scattered probably never more harmoniously to unite. We cannot withhold our expressions of regret that this body of vigorous and enterprising Christians and Christian divines adopted at the first a creed containing elements so obnoxious—embracing, as many believe, the essence of fatalism—and subjected themselves to the task of expending their energies in endeavoring to sustain its peculiarities. Had it been a consistent Arminian creed, the ills the Church has been called to suffer might, we must be allowed to think, have been averted. But circumstances, it seems, were such, that there were, perhaps, no just grounds, at the time, to look for any thing other than an adoption of the Boston Confession.

That the evils which have followed could not, by some means, have been avoided, is matter of regret, on many accounts. It is painful to see things in operation calculated to sweep away the fair inheritance of the Churches in Massachusetts, and the very means which first caused these things employed to arrest their progress. It is painful to see bickerings and eruptions in a sister Church, and secessions from it. And it is especially painful to contemplate this state of conflict and strife, and to see that there are so many who love to have it so.

While the Calvinistic Churches have been passing through these scenes of commotion, those of the Arminian faith have had peace in their borders, and increased rapidly. To their influence, in part at least, is to be attributed the fact that Universalism has not prevailed as extensively as its sister error Unitarianism. The former came into being under circumstances in which the influence of Ar-

minianism could be brought to bear upon it, and that influence was rendered evident, in checking the tide and arresting its progress; while the latter was kept at such a remove from this influence, that it could not sensibly affect it, and the flood has rolled on resistlessly. In every view of this subject the Arminian Churches are admonished of the importance of standing by the old landmarks. Let their system be placed before the public, and its distinctive peculiarities exhibited in a clear and explicit manner, so as to be examined and understood by all, and its efficacy will be felt in staying the desolation which seems so fearfully to threaten us. The time undoubtedly hastens when truth will prevail, and its benign influences be poured out like ointment upon the hearts of men. There may be years of darkness first. But that period will eventually arrive, bright and glorious, when men shall know the truth, and the truth shall make them FREE.

RELIGIOUS ANNIVERSARIES LATELY HELD IN LONDON.

A Review of the Proceedings at the Annual Celebrations of a number of Benevolent Institutions, held in London, during the months of April and May, 1836.

THE effect of the operations of benevolent enterprises upon the various states and conditions of society generally—uprooting inveterate prejudices and overturning institutions long consecrated to error and superstition—is so silent and gradual, that it is difficult to perceive at once the precise extent of it during any given period of time. Hence it is that efficient agencies are put in operation, and great moral enterprises carried on, while the multitude are scarcely sensible of any movements of the kind among them. Even those who are interested in them are not affected by the strong emotions of animating feeling, or impulses of inspiring hope, by observing steadily the slow and gradual progress of their labors, which a view of sudden and palpable changes is calculated to produce. But there is a method by which we may bring before the mind's eye a distinct view of the amount of good effected by any system of benevolent operations, during a given period, in a way calculated to produce all the effect of a sudden change. It is by comparing the extremes—the end with the beginning—the condition of the people before, with what it was after such means had been employed for their benefit. The difference, in that case, will show the extent of the influence, as well as its character and tendency.

It is an interesting fact, that the institutions of benevolence—that benevolence which corresponds in its characteristic features to the spirit of the Gospel, as developed in the Acts of the Apostles and the conduct of primitive Christians—are of recent origin. The

earlier efforts to carry the Gospel among the heathen, with few exceptions, were carried on under the sanction and control of civil rulers, and many of them for political purposes. But that system of benevolence which has it source in individual piety—in that love to God and man which seeks to expand itself in doing good to the most wretched and needy—and which manifests itself in the spirit of self-consecration to the service of God, and an enlarged liberality in supporting his cause, is traceable to a late period—a period since the commencement of the great revival of evangelical piety under the labors of Wesley, Whitefield, and others; and it may be justly set down as one of the fruits of that remarkable work. The spirit of benevolence, as it appears in the institutions of the day, is peculiar in almost all respects, and shines eminently in comparison with every thing which has passed under that name, excepting only that of the earliest ages of Christianity. It aims not at human aggrandizement. It is not narrowed down to the contracted limits of a sectarian bigotry, or to sectional and local prejudices. It comes not to the objects it proposes to bless, carrying the cross in one hand and the sword in the other, demanding at once faith in Him who is represented by the one, and a servile submission to the dreaded despot who enforces his mandates by the other. Such abuses of the precious cross have begotten in the breasts of many of the poor heathen a just abhorrence of all who came to them in the name of missionaries of Christ. But it comes to them breathing good will—and thereby dispelling all fear and suspicion—and it finds in them a readiness to receive it, and a desire to share in its benefits, so soon as they are brought to appreciate its heaven-born excellences.

In this light we are constrained to view the benevolent institutions which have been gotten up within the last half century; and a single view of what has been effected by them in different parts of the world, and what from their nature and tendency they promise to effect, within the same period to come, affords much reason for thankfulness to God, and encouragement to his people.

To these reflections we have been led by a perusal of the doings of several benevolent societies, whose annual celebrations were held in the city of London, during the months of April and May last. A full account of these proceedings may be found in the Wesleyan Methodist Magazine, for June, 1836; from which we copy. Believing that it will be both interesting and profitable to our readers, we proceed to lay before them such extracts from the proceedings of these meetings, as may serve to give a consecutive view of the whole.

1. THE WESLEYAN METHODIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—The proceedings preparatory to the anniversary of this society are stated by the editor of the Magazine, as follows:—

"We discharge a duty highly gratifying to ourselves, and equally interesting, we are persuaded, to our numerous readers, by putting on permanent record the favor and blessing with which it has pleased God to accompany the proceedings of the Society, during the recent celebration of its anniversary.

"The religious services connected with this occasion commenced very appropriately and profitably, by a public meeting for prayer, held in the City-road chapel, on Tuesday evening, April 26th.

"On Wednesday evening, April 27th, the annual meeting of the Auxiliary Society for the London district was held in Great Queen-street chapel. Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart., M. P., kindly presided, and was most cordially welcomed by a crowded and highly respectable assembly, who testified, in no equivocal manner, their deep and unabated interest in that great subject with which the name and parliamentary exertions of the honorable baronet are so laudably identified. An able report was read by the Rev. P. C. Turner, one of the district secretaries. The several resolutions were moved and seconded by the Rev. Egerton Ryerson, of Upper Canada; Joseph Carne, Esq., of Penzance; the Rev. Peter M'Owan, of London; the Rev. Samuel Young, late missionary in Caffraria; G. B. Thorneycroft, Esq., of Wolverhampton; the Rev. Robert Wood, of Manchester; the Rev. John Hannah, of London; Mr. Alderman Pawson, of Leeds; Lancelot Haslope, Esq., of London; and J. S. Elliot, Esq., of Denmark-hill, Surrey. The collection, which very considerably exceeded that of the preceding year, was liberally aided by a donation of £5 from John Ryle, Esq., M. P. for Macclesfield, accompanied by a letter, in which Mr. Ryle stated his regret that he was unavoidably prevented from being present at the meeting.

"On Thursday evening, April 28th, the first of the three annual sermons, usually preached before the general society, was preached in the City-road chapel, at the special request of the committee, by the Rev. Jabez Bunting, D. D., of London. The text was Rom. xv, 15–21.

"The second sermon was delivered in Great Queen-street chapel, on the forenoon of Friday, April 29th, by the Rev. Theophilus Lessey, of Liverpool, who pleaded the cause of the society, which has long recognized him as one of its most laborious and eloquent advocates, in a powerful discourse founded on Malachi i, 11.

"On Friday evening, April 29th, the Rev. Robert Wood, of Manchester, preached before the society in the Spitalfields chapel, on Rev. vii, 9–17. 'The subject,' says one of the public journals, 'formed an appropriate sequel to the preceding discourses, and furnished an appropriate opportunity of glancing at the final results of the missionary enterprise.'

"On no former occasion, it is believed, were the religious services preparatory to the general meeting of the society, more distinctly marked by a feeling of hallowed zeal and renewed devotedness to the great cause of God, and of the world's salvation, than that which appeared to influence the congregations of the present year.

"On Sunday, May 1st, the annual sermons for the Wesleyan missions were preached in all the chapels of the connection in London and its immediate vicinity, by the Rev. Robert Newton, the Rev. Theophilus Lessey, the Rev. Robert Wood, the Rev. Thomas Waugh, of Belfast: the Rev. William Shaw, who is expected shortly to resume his successful missionary labors in Caffraria; and the preachers of the London district. To all the ministers thus employed, the best thanks of the society are respectfully and affectionately tendered.

"On Monday, May 2d, the general meeting was held in Exeter Hall; and continued from eleven o'clock till nearly six. The chair was most ably and

acceptably filled by Sir Oswald Mosley, Baronet, M. P. for North Staffordshire; and, at a later period, when Sir Oswald was obliged to vacate it, by the call of urgent parliamentary duties, by the Right Honorable Lord Mountsandford. So numerous was the attendance of members and friends, from almost every part of the town and country, that the large hall was quite inadequate to their reception, and many hundreds were unable to obtain admission. On the platform there was the usual gratifying assemblage of ministers and gentlemen of other religious denominations, who kindly embraced this opportunity of evincing the catholicity of their spirit, and their generous interest in every department of the cause and work of our common Lord and Saviour. To the Wesleyan society, whose maxim and endeavor it has always been, to prove themselves 'the friends of all, the enemies of none,' it will ever be a subject of the highest exultation and thankfulness to see their anniversary meeting thus distinguished by the presence of those who constitute a sort of practical representation of the various sections of the universal Church of Christ.

"The collections and donations received during this anniversary, or in immediate connection with it, were unusually liberal; and our readers will, we are persuaded, find abundant reason, on the review of the whole proceedings, to 'thank God, and take courage.' Yet, let it not be forgotten that the expenditure of the society, as was to be anticipated from the extended and diversified field which its operations now embrace, and from the very large additions lately made to the number of its missionaries, schoolmasters, and other agents, has increased, during the last year, in a proportion far exceeding even the large and glorious increase of its income. Many of our existing stations absolutely require a farther reinforcement of laborers. British India, in particular—which, we have rejoiced to perceive, has at length begun to attract, in a more just and adequate degree than heretofore, the attention of the various missionary societies of this country, and which furnished, perhaps, the most prominent topic of their recent anniversaries—imperatively demands from us all, and from our own society among the rest, more vigorous efforts on behalf of the more than one hundred millions of its wretched and idolatrous inhabitants. Our missions in Caffraria, and in other parts of Southern Africa, must be immediately resumed and enlarged. In the West Indies, 'more missionaries, more chapels, more schools,' are importunately requested, and are essential to the completion and final success of that great work of mercy which our country has so nobly commenced for the benefit of the negro population, to whom our debt is so large, and chargeable with arrears so peculiarly obligatory on our justice, as well as on our benevolence. New openings, too, present themselves in every direction; 'for the field is the world.' 'There remaineth very much land to be possessed.' An annual income even of one hundred thousand pounds might, by the promised blessing of God, be usefully expended by our own society alone. Let our friends, therefore, account nothing done, while so much remains undone. Let rich and poor, ministers and people, renew and redouble their exertions in this holy cause. Let the steady and regular efforts of the auxiliary and branch societies during the year correspond to the high feeling and noble enthusiasm which have been displayed at the public meetings of the parent society, and of other anniversaries recently celebrated. Let prayer—earnest, united, and believing prayer—for the success of the Gospel, be made continually, in every closet, in every family, in every Christian circle and congregation. Let the true and most appalling case of the perishing heathen be more distinctly and continually brought under the notice of the people of this country, in all the height, and depth, and length, and breadth of its enormous wretchedness and peril, by ministers in their pulpits, and by the speakers on our platforms. Let every anniversary sermon and speech be more strictly missionary, in its leading character, and topics, and tendency; avoiding, for the most part, minor and merely incidental subjects and illustrations, lest they should injuriously divert public

attention and feeling from those stirring facts and solemn duties which are directly relevant to the occasion, and which alone can effectually awaken the Church from the slumber of ages, and arouse it to a practical sense of its long neglected duties. The following account of the proceedings at the late meeting in Exeter Hall is taken, with some abridgments, corrections, and additions, from that excellent weekly newspaper, 'The Watchman,' of Wednesday, May 4th.

"At eleven o'clock, the Rev. Richard Reece, president of the conference, gave out the psalm, 'From all that dwell below the skies;' and called upon the Rev. Robert Newton to engage in prayer.

"Lancelot Haslope, Esq., one of the general treasurers, then announced that Sir Oswald Mosley, Bart., had most kindly accepted the invitation of the committee to preside on this occasion, to which announcement the meeting responded by unanimous cheers."

Sir Oswald Mosley, on taking the chair, made the following frank and ingenuous avowal of the feelings he entertained toward the society, and the motives which induced him to comply with the invitation he had received to serve them as chairman of the meeting.

"I owe it, my friends, in justice to myself, and also for your satisfaction, perhaps, to make a few observations upon the reasons that have induced me to accept the elevated position which I have now the honor of filling. A sincere and devoted member, as I am, of the established Church of England, and an ardent admirer of her doctrines and discipline, I did, I confess, at first, feel some degree of hesitation in identifying myself, as it were, with a society that differed from her, in however slight a degree. But my friends, when I considered that your great founder was a most eminent and bright example of excellence in our established Church—when I also knew, that many of my friends around me—indeed, I might almost say, I hope, all belonging to the Wesleyan society—have most fearlessly and manfully stood forward in advocating the cause of our established Church, at a period when it is surrounded by no common dangers; above all, when I recollected the labor of love in which you are engaged, and the extent of your operations in every part of the world, every shadow of a doubt was dissipated from my mind; I at once cordially embraced the invitation that was offered to me; and I here tender my poor services in aid of a society whose desire is to evangelize the whole world. Happy am I to perceive, my friends, from a perusal of some of your past reports, that general success has attended your efforts. Happy am I to perceive that new stations are called for in the most remote parts of the world; that stations already occupied by your missionary societies have increased doubly and trebly their members within a few years; and that you have now some thousands of children under your care, of benighted heathens, educating them in the pure principles and doctrines of Christianity. But, my friends, the Lord has thus far been pleased to crown your labors with success; and I would humbly ask, *why* he has been graciously pleased to do so? Because the plan of your operations is founded upon the 'Rock of ages;' because you preach to the distant nations of the world 'Christ Jesus and him crucified;' because you, like the great apostle of the Gentiles, step forward to tell the heathen nations, that both Jews and Gentiles are poor sinners by nature—that none of them can be justified before God by any works of the law; because, moreover, you tell them that no one can come to Christ Jesus to be saved, except through the operations of the Holy Spirit. It is, my friends, on these purely scriptural doctrines, that you have planted your standard on a foundation that cannot be shaken; your good cause will go on prospering and to prosper, until, in the words of the hymn you have just sung,

"Suns shall rise and set no more."

My friends, armed in this way, your missionaries go forth from their native land; they take the word of God, that sword of the Spirit, whose Divine power is able to overcome all difficulties. They traverse alike the dark dense forests of North America, and the arid plains of Southern Africa; they brave the rigid cold of the high Alps, and the oppressive heat of a West Indian climate; they go forward in their Christian course, sowing the seeds of Gospel truth in the remote islands of the Pacific Ocean, in Van Diemen's Land, in New-Zealand, and in all the most remote corners of the earth. The fields are already white to the harvest; and you have only to send forth more laborers into the harvest to collect the fruits of what has been so auspiciously sown. Many difficulties have already been overcome. There was one great difficulty which the labors of the society had to encounter; I mean the diversity of languages—that permanent proof of the past presumption of rebellious man; but now the diversity of languages forms no longer an insuperable barrier to the labors of the missionaries. Aided by the benevolence of this society, and that of kindred societies also, they have been enabled to overcome that great difficulty. The press, that powerful engine for good or for evil, has been introduced into distant climes. The fruits of that press are able either to make men wise unto salvation, or, on the other hand, they are able to taint with polluting poison the inmost recesses of the soul. Thank God, you have employed the press for the legitimate use of magnifying the great God who made us. My friends, thus armed with the powers of the press, and above all with the energy of an almighty power, what is there to oppose your progress? I feel that it would be an act of impertinence, on my part, farther to trespass on your time; particularly when I know that you will have a most able report read to you, in which the operations of the society, during the past year, will be fully exhibited; and when I know that the subject will be farther elucidated by the powerful speeches of many gentlemen who are about to address you from this platform. I shall no longer intrude upon your time than to request the secretary to be kind enough to read the report."

Dr. Bunting, one of the secretaries, read an extract of the report, upon which,

Sir Andrew Agnew, Bart., M. P. for Wigtonshire, arose to move the following resolution, viz:—

"That the Report, of which an abstract has now been read, be received and printed."

The speaker commenced by commending the report, particularly that feature of it which represented the missionaries as going to the heathen with "the simple story of the cross." "I venture to prophesy," said he, "that if they are but faithful in that one truth, the noble design of your great founder will one day be realized." After noticing some of the facts detailed in the report, he added, "Your report contains nothing but that which is gratifying;—a large increase of missions, if I understand right,—a large increase of missionaries,—and an increase of funds." In alluding to some opposition with which one of the missionaries had met in Spain, he said, "I am pleased with that portion of the report; opposition is absolutely necessary to stimulate us to exertion; it is required to call out our energies, and to drive the lukewarm from their strongholds." As one of the warm advocates in parliament, of reform

respecting an observance of the Sabbath, it was natural that he should give his remark, a turn to embrace this cognate topic, which he accordingly did.

"Sir, said he, I beg pardon for alluding to a subject not particularly before the meeting—the recent effort made to obtain legislative protection for those who are anxious to enjoy without interruption or annoyance the privileges of the Christian Sabbath; but I am so desirous of expressing a peculiar gratitude to the Wesleyan body, for assistance given elsewhere, that I really cannot restrain that desire. Sir, you mentioned, in your excellent opening address, the feelings or the motives which influenced you in taking the chair, being, as you are, a member of the established Church of this country. I am, sir, also a member of that established Church; but the feeling which passed through your mind is not new to me. I went through it last year; and, therefore, this year I had not a shadow of hesitation in coming to this meeting; being well convinced that the established Church of this country, and its sister Church in Scotland, with which I am closely connected, have not any better friends than the friends I now see before me. Sir, I look forward with pleasure to seeing in this room to-morrow another crowded meeting for the Church Missionary Society; but that society cannot find a better coadjutor than the present; and I do trust that, year after year, they will run thus side by side, provoking one another to love and to good works. I may perhaps mention one other inducement which I have to look with peculiar affection upon the Wesleyan missions. The remarks, so frequently made in the course of that report, respecting one, amid the many other beneficial influences produced by this society's missions upon different sorts of men, in various parts of the world, have been such, that I cannot denominate your society otherwise, in my own estimation, than one great universal Lord's-day Society. I feel myself incompetent to pursue the subject farther; but I am quite sure it is not by the competency of the speakers today that this society will prosper, but by the simple statement of facts: however able may be the speakers who plead, they cannot alter the facts. It is for the tokens and proofs of the blessing of God upon your society, that you should this day raise your hearts in gratitude to almighty God. One fact I will notice. I think it is fully admitted; and I believe every-day experience seems to impress men more and more with the truth, dwelt on in the report, that the true way to civilize the world is to evangelize it, and to evangelize the world is to tell the simple story of the cross."

John Hardy, Esq., M. P. for Bradford, in Yorkshire, was announced by the secretary as chairman last year. He said,

"Sir, though a member like yourself, of the Church of England, I can sympathize with you in all those feelings for the missionary exertions of a society of fellow Christians so nearly allied to us; a society whose doctrines and whose discipline are separated from us by points so evanescent, that they are below the notice of any real Christian. I, therefore, shall always rejoice with unfeigned joy when I see Christ preached, be it even of envy or of strife; but when I see him preached of good will, along with the missionaries of our own Church, as he is by the members of this society, my joy is unspeakable."

In seconding the resolution previously offered, he proceeded in a speech of considerable length, to express the interest he felt in the missionary cause, and to commend it to the prayers and favorable regards of the Christian public. He supported his remarks by appropriate allusions to Scripture examples, designed to show the importance of having good works accompany good wishes, in order

to the success of any benevolent enterprise. In conclusion he said:—

"I can only add that I shall ever witness the prosperity of this society with a feeling tantamount, I will say, to that which I feel for the prosperity of the one that meets to-morrow, because, with my honorable friend, the member for Staffordshire, who is in the chair, I know and feel, that if there be any evangelical spirit, if there be any real religion, (not only reviving, but revived,) in the Church of England, and spreading itself through every part of it, it is owing to the example set by Wesley, and the followers of Wesley. It was from that quarter that the impetus came: I hope it will ever be continued, and that each will act upon the other with reciprocal energy and effect, while we go on increasing the dominion of our God in every part of the world."

EDWARD BAINES, Esq., M. P. for Leeds, said:—

"I feel highly honored by having been intrusted with a resolution to move in this meeting; the object of which is to diffuse the knowledge of the truth within no boundaries but the boundaries of the world. I cannot, like your very excellent and honorable chairman, say, that I am a member of the established Church. I am not a member of the established Church: I am a member of another Church, but of a Church, I hope, that will always feel the affection toward religion, and toward the friends of religion, that all Churches ought to feel toward each other. I am, and have always been, since I have had the influence of religion upon my mind, fully convinced, as the honorable member who spoke last has said, that if there be any sect or any party in this country to whom the country is deeply indebted for the revival of religion, certainly, (I will not say to that sect alone, but I will say to that sect pre-eminently,) the cause, the great cause of religion in our native country, and in all the countries, almost, in the civilized world, is deeply indebted to Methodists and to Methodism. There is no body of men to whom, with more cordiality, I would hold out the right hand of fellowship; they have entitled themselves to it by every consideration, and especially by kindness toward their brethren of all denominations: I will say, by increasing kindness; for it is one of the characteristics of this age, that we do not distract ourselves by minor religious disputes; but, instead of that, we labor, each in his vocation, to extend the knowledge of the truth as widely as the waters cover the mighty deep. That I take to be a distinguishing characteristic of the present age; and, I hope, instead of diminishing, that characteristic will go on increasing till we all attain to the temper of heaven, where there is no feeling but the feeling of affection for the Divine Redeemer and for his kingdom."

He then offered the following resolution, viz:—

"That this meeting devoutly acknowledges the goodness and condescension of almighty God, in vouchsafing his sanction and blessing to the several missionary societies, in their endeavors to extend the kingdom of Christ in the world; and that, while it offers more especially its thanksgivings to God for the success which has crowned the plans and operations of this society during the past year, the meeting dwells with peculiar feelings of grateful delight on the beneficial results of the labors of the missionaries in Jamaica, and on the extraordinary work of grace which has been effected in the Friendly Islands, and the adjacent groups."

After taking a survey of the beneficial effects of the missions under the care of the society in different parts of the world, and especially in the West Indies, and a most respectful notice of several other kindred institutions which had co-operated in the great plans in operation for the purpose of rescuing the world from

the thraldom of darkness and error, he proceeded to show the beneficial effects of these labors of love upon the poor, especially when contrasted with all their opposers had ever done, or proposed to do, in this Godlike work.

"It has been charged upon those who are the advocates for a more strict observance of the Sabbath, that they are hypocrites, and that they are the enemies of the poor. Sir, I disdain to reply to the charge of hypocrisy: it is not for a man, feeling the consciousness of his own integrity, to defend himself against such an imputation. But, sir, talk of being friends to the poor: look at that report. Are not the men who have sent forth missionaries, who have accumulated funds for benevolent exertions, who have spread the knowledge of truth, of Christianity, and of civilization, over the world—are not they the friends of the poor? and yet they are the petitioners for the observance of the Sabbath. I should be glad if any of those gentlemen—those 'honorable gentlemen,' I believe I ought to call them—I should be glad if any of those gentlemen, honorable or otherwise, would exhibit before me, or exhibit before you, sir, a list such as that which we have had read to us this morning. Has their support of the cause of the poor brought poor benighted heathens from darkness into light? Have they to boast such a phalanx, and such a multitude of persons—formerly cannibals, men-eaters, debasers of themselves by every possible means, and under the influence of every base passion—elevated to the standard of Christian men? Can they exhibit the array you have had exhibited before you this morning? No. They may be, and I do not doubt that many of them are, philanthropic; many of them are well disposed; but it is a philanthropy narrow, almost to a point; while yours is a patriotism wide as the globe, and that will terminate only in heaven. I would not weary your attention, but this really is a subject upon which—perhaps from having been among the hypocrites—I felt a sort of ebullition that almost boiled over; and I did not see a better opportunity of letting it empty itself than in this great assembly. I have only farther to say, because it really is an observation I do not wish to pass over—that civilization is by no means to be accomplished in half so permanent and excellent a way as by evangelizing the heathen. I believe every other civilization, if you do not teach the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, will degenerate again into heathenism. But it is your great province to give instruction that will tend to the happiness of the heathen and of the semi-barbarians in this world; and which, under the Divine teaching of the great Master whom we ought to honor, and whose precepts we ought principally to be anxious to obey, while it increases their comforts in this world, also points their way to another and a better state of being. But it is not merely for the present generation that the missionary societies are laboring; they are laboring for generations yet unborn. Take an island or a continent where the Gospel is now preaching, and where the knowledge of Divine truth is disseminating, and follow it in its ramifications through ages yet to come; and see then what will be the benefit of the instruction you are imparting. It will be a benefit that no mind is sufficiently capacious to comprehend; it will be a benefit that no human power, I had almost said that nothing short of Divine power, can adequately appreciate. But it is a benefit that you are spreading widely through the globe; and I hope your exertions will never terminate till it has been spread to every continent and every island of the earth."

Colonel Conolly, M. P. for the county of Donegal, seconded the resolution. He also announced himself a member of another communion, but expressed a friendly regard for all Christians, and the high respect in which he held the Wesleyan Methodists, in terms similar to those employed by previous speakers. His remarks

throughout breathe a spirit of deep and ardent piety. Of his confidence in the society he addressed, as particularly calculated to succeed in the missionary work, he expressed himself thus:—

"I confess that I know no body of persons in society more calculated to diffuse the pure principles of the Gospel than the Wesleyan body. Their primitive character, their pure doctrine, the unaffected simplicity of their habits, all afford them a facility in approaching the hearts of men. It is not contention, it is not the support of any miserably limited theory of religion, which they make their object; but it is the sending forth the word of God in all its purity which forms the height of their ambition; it is doing the great business of every man who presumes to call himself a Christian. No man can arrogate to himself that name who is not impressed with the duty of propagating the doctrines he professes; not only on account of the blessings they convey in relation to another state, but as they point out the only certain road to present happiness. In every way of viewing it, I may say, 'The exertions of the missionaries of England surpass the glories, the triumphs, the victories of England.' However greatly I may value the prowess of England, her sustentation of liberty, and every thing with which the British name is so intimately and honorably connected; yet I honor her over and above all these, ten thousand times, for her diffusion of Christian doctrine, that originates in benevolence, and terminates in charity. There is a great source of exultation in the task which you have so gloriously undertaken, and in which, under the auspices of the Almighty, you have prospered; which is this—that it is his work. This is not a theory of the creature; it is the direction, the mandate, of the Creator. We are but fulfilling his will, we are but extending his glory. We have every assurance in Scripture that God's word shall not be sent forth in vain;—that has been fully proved to us in the blessings which have accompanied the exertions that have already been made, and in the success of those persons who have gone forth. For, undoubtedly, it requires singular devotion in a person to go out to Cape Coast Castle, for example, with death staring him in the face, to preach Christ to a heathen people, with no other motive than that of propagating Christianity, and no other strength than that derived from the Most High. When an individual faces such perils, we see to what a pitch of energy the Christian doctrine, thoroughly understood, may raise the human mind; how it will exalt a man above every risk; how it will cause him, while looking forward to those blessings which are the result of religion, to prepare to encounter every difficulty, even to the loss of his life!"

The Rev. Thomas Waugh, of Belfast, in supporting the resolution, made a long and soul-stirring speech. He introduced various topics, and made them all subservient to the grand object of moving the feelings of a popular assembly. It was one of those efforts of which no single abstract can give a just idea, while it is altogether too long to be inserted entire. Among other things he brought before the meeting the deeply affecting condition of his own country, poor bleeding Ireland, in a way to tell upon their feelings, and excite their sympathies. In adverting to this subject he said:—

"During the middle ages, we had little else in Ireland than scenes of darkness and blood. For generations all was turmoil and confusion. But even then the Church of Ireland was unshackled, and remained so until your second Henry made a bargain for us, and, like chattels, handed us over to the pope of Rome. On that ground, my friends, I now come forward to claim your interference. You shackled us;—set us free! You contributed

to enslave us;—contribute to that which is likely to enlighten our land, in the full length and breadth of it; let us have your assistance, in order that the torch of God may illumine our country, and that it may become what God and nature designed it should be. Subsequently, sir, there was very considerable apathy throughout Ireland. During the days of William, there was a strong political effervescence; and the spirit of true religion, to an awful extent, evaporated. This, I trust, has been a lesson to us. When our venerable father, Mr. Wesley, first visited our land, he found all in a state of apathy. There was darkness pervading it from the one extremity to the other. There were few who appeared to care for the souls of their neighbors. There were, indeed, numbers who heard him, received the Gospel, and became obedient to the faith. But even then, sir, the leopard was not asleep; it only slumbered. Its paws presented the appearance of velvet, and no weapon was apparent. But when Wesley was heard proclaiming the word of life, the animal soon began to open its eyes, and to show that it was only waiting to do that which was instinctive to its nature; and persecution assailed our venerable father in his progress in Ireland. I know it is the practice to charge all the evil of that day on an irreligious clergy. But why should the class of persons who use this language find fault with them? So long as the clergy of the established Church of Ireland were comparatively quiet, and were good fellows with those who were the friends and advocates of a gross and degrading superstition, there was not a tongue moved against them; but when quickened by the growing zeal of the day,—when a larger portion of the Spirit of God was transfused into that body, which, thank God, there has been,—then there was a hue and cry raised by their enemies, and it was said, 'O, these people cannot attend to their own concerns, but they must disturb the public peace.' It reminds me of a countryman of my own, though I think, from his conduct in respect to a female, he could not have been a true Irishman; who, having taken more whiskey than he ought, when staggering homeward, was overheard to say, 'If my wife be in bed, I'll *bate* her; and if she be out of bed, I'll *bate* her; if the supper's ready, I'll *bate* her; and if it's not ready, I'll *bate* her.' So that he was determined to *bate* her under any circumstances. Thus nothing will please these modern purifiers of men and manners. When the clergy were quiet, ruin was brought upon the country through their apathy; and now, when they bestir themselves, they deserve just as much to be flogged as before! But, sir, a holy zeal increases in the clerical bosom of Ireland at this day,—a temperate and well qualified zeal, a Christian zeal; and there are many men of that Church at this moment who would be an honor to the apostolic age. They are found 'instant in season, and out of season,' and God blesses their labors. And shall we look with jealousy upon such as those? No, far be it from us; we wish them prosperity in the name of the Lord. They have been actively engaged in endeavoring to do good; schools have been introduced; and many things have been done by them to ameliorate the sufferings of the people of that country; but then plans have been laid to interrupt their proceedings, and to upset all that was done for the establishment of truth."

The chairman being called by his duties in parliament to leave the chair, it was taken by the Right Honorable Lord MOUNTSANDFORD.

ANDREW JOHNSON, Esq., M. P. for St. Andrews, moved the following resolution, viz.:—

"That while this meeting rejoices in the growing spirit of liberality in support of the missionary cause, as evidenced in the increased income of the society for the last year, it at the same time expresses its solemn conviction, that a much larger augmentation of funds is necessary, to enable the society to re-establish and extend its interesting missions in Caffraria, to

meet the expenses which will be incurred in promoting the important work of negro education in the West Indies, to execute the plans which have been formed for extending the society's sphere of operations in India, and, in short, to maintain in a state of vigor and efficiency all the existing missions of the society, and to embrace those opportunities for usefulness which are presenting themselves in various parts of the world."

After expressing his satisfaction in the excellent Christian principles advocated by the reverend gentleman who preceded him, and ably supporting at some length the several points embraced in the resolution, he adverted with much interest to the influence which the labors of the missionaries had exerted in support of the great principle they had heard advocated, viz., that Christianity is the best mode of civilization.

"Have we not heard that in the rebellion which took place in Jamaica, before the general emancipation, the negroes of this connection, to a man, were not engaged in that rebellion? Have we not heard that, when the Caffrarians made an irruption into South Africa, many of the tribes were prevented from joining in the invasion of their neighbors by the labors of the missionaries? and have we not had a most interesting detail of the fact, that when two hostile tribes were drawn up in array against each other, by the timely approach of the missionaries, and the blessing of God on their interference, these two large and influential tribes of human beings were prevented from imbruing their hands in each other's blood? These are great and mighty triumphs of the missionary cause. And does it not become us all to assist in the spreading and the working of this great and glorious cause? When we look abroad, we find that our missionaries, who have been exposed to perils and indescribable dangers, (I allude to those, particularly, in Caffraria, and in the West Indies,) have not been left without protection; but that, while their chapels and houses were burned, and their persons exposed to brutal violence, underneath and around them were the everlasting arms of the Most High, so that they have not been suffered to perish. Nor would I omit to notice the melancholy fact, that so many of your excellent and valuable missionaries have fallen as martyrs in the great and good cause; but they have gone to their reward, and I trust that many more will stand up to take up what they have left undone, following the bright example which they have left, and looking forward to partake of that reward which they now enjoy."

The farther proceedings of this interesting meeting, being carried into a subsequent number of the Magazine, which we have not at hand, we cannot insert. But if we had it, we ought not, perhaps, to occupy a larger portion of this paper with it. The Wesleyan Methodist Missionary Society employ more than three hundred missionaries at foreign stations; and they are providing greatly to extend their labors among the most destitute and degraded portions of our race.

2. The Church Missionary Society.

"The thirty-sixth anniversary of this society was held on Tuesday, May 3d, at Exeter-Hall: the earl of Chichester, the president of the society, in the chair. The speakers were, the bishop of Winchester; the Rev. Dr. Duff, of the Church of Scotland's mission, at Calcutta; the bishop of Chester; the marquis of Cholmondeley; the Rev. John W. Cunningham; the Rev. Professor Scholefield, of Cambridge; the dean of Salisbury; the Rev. Hugh Stowell; Captain Gardiner; and the Rev. Peter Roe, of Kilkenny.

"The aggregate receipts of the year were stated to be £68,354 10*s.* 6*d.*,

The Rev. Dr. DUFF, in advocating the cause of the society, made a long and exceedingly labored speech. "In searching for the most marvellous proofs of the fall of man, we must not go," he said, "to the outskirts of the globe, to New-Zealand, or to Labrador; but visit the vast regions of the east, the cradle of the human race, of religion, of science, of patriarchal faith." He drew a dark and dreadful picture of the moral and religious condition of the people whom he called the subjects of Christian Protestant Britain, trained up in all the abominable and bloody rites of an idolatry which recognizes more than thirty-three millions of deities,—

> "All monstrous, all prodigious things,
> Abominable, unutterable, and worse
> Than fables yet have feign'd, or fear conceived
> Gorgons and hydras, and chimeras dire."

To convey the lamp of life to this dreary region, and illuminate all parts of this mass of darkness and idolatry, he alleged that fifty or sixty thousand missionaries would be necessary, forgetting, probably, that the fruit of a small portion of that number in raising up native teachers would do much toward supplying the work.

Of the state of the country, as favorable to missionary operations, and the description of missionaries which ought to be sent into it to ensure success, he spoke as follows:—

"Formerly the government of India, from what motives it was not for him to say, established colleges, which were the depositories of the antiquated stores of knowledge, wrapped up in Sanscrit, and astronomy, and Arabic, and false systems of geography, and history, and theology. They salaried their professors of idolatry and superstition; they granted stipendiary allowances to students of idolatry and superstition. But that policy was now at an end; a better day had dawned. The decree had gone forth, that henceforward the pure fountain of English literature and science should be opened, at the expense and under the patronage of government, to the national mind of India. As light cannot coexist with darkness, so surely must the false systems of Hindooism vanish before the torch of modern science. Already had the floodgates of knowledge been thrown open, and who would now dare to shut them up? Already had the means of information begun to pour in upon the thirsty land, and who would now venture to arrest their progress? As well might they exclaim with the poet:—

> 'Shall burning Etna, if a sage requires,
> Forget her thunders, and recall her fires?'

But here was the appalling consideration. All trained up under this system, when tossed by the power of superior knowledge out of the errors of Hindooism, and having no better system of religion substituted instead, would inevitably become infidels—quick, versatile, learned infidels. And these would pounce on our simple-hearted, sincere, but ignorant and illiterate Christians, like so many harpies on their prey. What then is to be done? What else can be done, but by combining in holy alliance our own literature and science with our true religion, endeavor, through God's blessing, to raise up a race of men who would be able to enter the territory of the enemy, grapple with him on his own ground, hurl back upon him his own weapons, and, driving him out of his own fastnesses, rear the citadels of grace over the ruins. In this way, instead of keeping down the preaching of the Gospel, we might secure, through the blessing of God's Spirit, a superior race

of preachers, who might diffuse a knowledge of it throughout the land with a power which would prove mighty in pulling down the strong holds of Satan."

After showing at length the political vicissitudes through which the country had passed for a thousand successive years, during which time idolatry, with its concomitant darkness and degradation reigned triumphantly, he exclaimed,—

"Ah! how different the scene now. About two hundred years ago, a band of needy adventurers issue forth from this our native land, from this, one of the remotest islets of the ocean; and they sit down in peaceful settlements on India's fertile shores. By a strange and mysterious dispensation of Providence these merchant subjects were destined to become sovereign princes. In opposition to their own expressed wishes, in direct contravention of the imperative mandates of the British parliament, district was added to district, and province to province, and kingdom to kingdom, till at length all India lay prostrate at the feet of Britain. And now, for the first time during the last thirty centuries, universal peace does reign in India; and if there were a thousand temples of Janus there, the thousand temples might now be shut. O, then, who could resist the inference which analogy supplied? Were the Roman legions commissioned by an overruling Providence to break down the barriers of intercommunion between the kingdoms of the world, to prepare the way for the ambassadors of the cross to announce the advent of the Prince of peace? And had not the British legions been commissioned in our day by the same overruling Providence to break down the barriers of intercommunion between the tribes, and states, and principalities of Hindostan? Had they not levelled mountains and filled up valleys to prepare a highway for the heralds of salvation to proclaim the message that ought ever to fall upon the sinner's ear more enchanting far than the softest, sweetest strains of earthly melody? Would they then shut their eyes, and steel their hearts against an opportunity so favorable for extending the boundaries of the Redeemer's kingdom? Say not that ye have not the means. The wealthy have the means in abundance, and to spare, if they had only the Christian heart to communicate. The poorest have something; even the widow has her mite; and if she has not, she has her closet; and thence, in communion with all the saints on earth, may thousands of prayers be made to ascend into the ears of the Lord God of Sabaoth, more grateful and more acceptable far than the incense of a thousand sacrifices. Would they, then, neglect the golden opportunity of extending the principles of the cross in India?"

The Rev. J. W. CUNNINGHAM, in speaking of the grounds of encouragement to hope for a successful introduction of pure Christianity in China, said:—

"Mohammedanism had scaled the walls of China; Judaism had penetrated into China; the Roman Catholic religion had gained access to the empire, and had reached the very throne and court. Mr. Abeel had declared, what had been confirmed by Mr. Gutzlaff, that Budhism was not indigenous to China, that it was not as the tea tree of that country; but that it was an apostacy from the ancient faith. That circumstance was not a little encouraging; for if Mohammedanism, with no evidence, not even that of a straw, could convert China, surely Christianity, with its long train of prophets and apostles, with its holy and cheering truths—truths written in blood—with an influence sufficient to bear down every barrier—surely Christianity, with the book of God in her hand, would not fail, under the Divine blessing, to penetrate with effect the deepest recesses of China. But look at the difficulties connected with a mission to China: the first was its language. He supposed that there was not a person in that large audience who had not been

puzzled while learning the letters in the English alphabet. He had asked three persons who were seated near him how many letters there were in the English alphabet: one had replied, twenty-four, another twenty-six, and a third twenty-five. Now, if persons were puzzled in learning those twenty-six letters, what was to be said of the Chinese alphabet, which contained not fewer than fourteen thousand characters? If wonders were not achieved in China so rapidly as some might expect, they must remember that the missionaries had first to learn the alphabet. But were they also aware that that difficulty was already, in a considerable degree, overcome? It could not be forgotten that Morrison, whom they must ever remember with lively gratitude—that Morrison had written a Chinese grammar, a Chinese dictionary, and that he had, almost alone, translated the Scriptures into the three dialects spoken all along the line from Canton to Corea."

To this he added that the Chinese language was becoming more known, and mentioned a Mr. Kidd and lady, who, having learned that and the Malay languages, while residing in that country, were now employed in teaching them to a missionary and his wife.

He noticed, as an obstacle to the ready reception of the Gospel by the Chinese, that they are a peculiarly self-conceited people.

"Men must come as children to the feet of Christ, or they could not receive his salvation. Now, how was that self-conceit to be overcome? Force would not destroy it; acts of parliament would not destroy it; schools of mere human learning would not destroy it. But the Gospel would achieve the mighty work. That Gospel which taught men that they were poor, vile, unworthy, sinful creatures, and which brought them humbled to the foot of the cross, to seek mercy and salvation there through Jesus Christ alone—that would effectually destroy all self-conceit. And that Gospel they hoped soon to give to the millions of China. He would name another encouragement. He believed they would all concur in the feeling that there was no greater proof as to what was the will of God in reference to any people, than where attention was directed peculiarly to them, and when their condition awakened, simultaneously, sympathy in the bosom of the whole Church. That was the case at present in reference to China. There was a general movement in reference to that country. All along the line of Christians, the impulse seemed to be felt. Who was Dr. Morrison? They might perhaps imagine that he was a sort of Hannibal, devoted from his infancy to fight against China until China fell. But it was not so: if he understood rightly, Dr. Morrison was of comparatively humble circumstances. While yet a stripling his heart was set by a Divine impulse upon China. To China he went out, an unbearded youth, alone. He made a grammar of a language which had never been reduced to grammar before. He completed a dictionary of the same language. He secured a translation of the whole Scriptures into the three dialects of China. Then there was another person whom he must mention. He (Mr. Cunningham) had a brother in the country, who was always looking out for opportunities of doing good. He happened to hear that in his country there was a young man, the son of a farmer, who had some skill in learning languages. He sent for him, and asked him how many languages he knew? Mr. Borrow replied that he could read, speak, and write twenty-seven languages. But his brother knew well that human learning alone would not make a good missionary, and that certain physical powers also were necessary. After having satisfied himself as to Mr. Borrow's personal piety, he questioned him on those points, therefore; and received satisfactory answers. He asked him as to his health, and if he could walk pretty well? His reply was, 'that he had walked from London to Norwich but two days before.' Mr. Borrow had since been sent out by the Bible Society to St. Petersburg. He had a perfect acquaintance with the three dialects of China, and had completed the correction of the

Scriptures in the court language of that country. The Bible, therefore, was gone to China, and no reason was to be assigned why the Gospel should not be made known to its teeming millions."

3. The British and Foreign Bible Society.

"The thirty-second annual meeting of the society was held at Exeter-Hall, on Wednesday, May 4th: Lord Bexley, the president of the society, in the chair. The speakers were the bishop of Winchester; Lord Glenelg; the bishop of Chester; the Rev. Mr. Breckenridge, of Baltimore; Dr. J. Pye Smith; the Rev. William Jackson, of New-York; the Rev. William Shaw; the Rev. Mr. Keuntze, of Berlin; Josiah Foster, Esq.; the Rev. William Ackworth; the marquis of Cholmondeley; and the Rev. Dr. Longley, bishop elect.

"The report stated that in the colonies the circulation of the Scriptures during the past year had been 43,523, being 16,921 more than in the previous year. In France great numbers of the Scriptures had been circulated. In Paris, in particular, great efforts were made by the French Bible Society, and schools were there established in aid of the object. Belgium had also afforded a new opening for the extension of their labors; as had both Spain and Portugal. In the latter country there was now no legal impediment to the introduction and circulation of the Bible. The accounts from the laborers in Italy, Malta, Bucharest, Wallachia, Smyrna, Constantinople, Calcutta, Madras, and other parts of India, were of a most encouraging and cheering character. From China the accounts were of a mixed character, but on the whole encouraging. Although the little Christian band there laboring had been disturbed, still they wrote for greater numbers of copies of the Holy Scriptures, saying that if they had fifty thousand or even one hundred thousand, they could dispose of them. From New South Wales, Van Dieman's Land, New-Zealand, the Mauritius, the Cape of Good Hope, Grahamstown, Sierra-Leone, Tunis, Barbary, Tripoli, and from the different islands of the West Indies, the accounts were of a most gratifying character, and proved that the Lord had poured a blessing on their labors. In one part of Jamaica the Maroons alone had ordered two hundred Bibles at £1 1*s.* each. Turning to their domestic operations, they had to lament the death of a most pious, zealous, and cordial supporter of the society, the late Right Rev. Bishop of Litchfield and Coventry, upon whose memory the committee felt bound to pronounce a high but just eulogium. Among the persons added to their vice-presidents, were the lord bishop of Madras, Dr. Longley, (bishop elect,) the earl of Burlington, and Sir W. W. Wynne, bart. The report, after enumerating a variety of legacies and donations received during the past year, contained the following statement of the receipts and disbursements during that period. The amount received by the society from all sources during the year has been £86,819 8*s.* 7*d.*: of this sum, £45,856 10*s.* 4*d.* have been obtained for the sale of the Scriptures; which sum, compared with the sales of the preceding year, shows an increase to the extent of £3,591 16*s.* 3*d.* The free contributions to the society, together with legacies, donations, &c., applicable to the general objects of the society, have amounted to £38,902 7*s.* 9*d.*, being a sum less than that of the preceding year by £10,922 10*s.* 7*d.*; but if the legacy of the late H. Cock, Esq., which fell in last year, be deducted, (alone amounting to £11,695 12*s.* 9*d.*,) it will be found that there has been an increase of £773 2*s.* 2*d.* in this department. The negro fund has been augmented by farther contributions, amounting to £967 7*s.* 6*d.*; making a total for that special object, of £15,975 6*s.* 1*d.* The total expenditure of the society has amounted to £107,483 19*s.* 7*d.*, being £23,445 19*s.* 5*d.* more than that of the preceding year; and its present engagements exceed £24,000. The following was the issue of Bibles, &c., during the last year:—558,842 copies, including Bibles and Testaments, and integral portions of the Scriptures; making a total from the commencement of the society of 9,751,792.

"In moving the adoption of the report, the bishop of Winchester said

he wished to remind himself and the meeting of the tone of Christian humility and piety which had marked the opening address of their president, and which had been so well responded to in the report. It was cheering to find that the same spirit which actuated the committee in former years, and which induced them to give praise to him to whom all praise was due, God the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit—that the same spirit of humility, and gratitude, and dependence, still marked their conduct, and that it was responded to with delight by all who heard it expressed. So long as that spirit marked their operations at home and abroad, and influenced the language of its advocates and the exertions of its agents, might the blessing of God be expected to rest upon the society. There was enough in the report which they had heard, to induce them to 'thank God and to take courage.' No fewer than half a million copies of the Holy Scriptures had been distributed during the past year; and the proceeds of the year, deducting a legacy which in the preceding year had been received from a friend of the society, had considerably exceeded those of the former year. Another pleasing fact was, that the expenditure had been increasing also; £23,000 more had been expended during the past year than had been expended the year preceding. Now, when they considered that in proportion to the expenditure of a society was its activity and its probable usefulness, it must be regarded as an object for congratulation."

The speaker then proceeded to notice the many new encouragements to which, he confessed, he had always been in the habit of looking. The new openings of the last year had exceeded those of any former year. In China, it was declared that one hundred thousand copies of the Scriptures were immediately wanted. Another fact with respect to that country, which a few years ago would have excited astonishment, if not ridicule, was, that the Mandarins themselves, were assisting in the distribution of the Scriptures. He noticed also that most interesting field, the East Indies. The bishop, he said, of its chief diocess had declared that India waited for their labors.

Similar openings and encouragements were presenting themselves in Spain, Portugal, the West Indies, &c., in most of which countries there was manifested an increasing thirst for Scripture knowledge. One individual was mentioned, who made a journey of ninety miles in order to obtain a single Bible—a zeal, said the venerable bishop, which some in Christian lands would do well to imitate—a zeal which should lead them to send without delay to that individual his solitary Bible—a zeal which should stir them up to greater activity, which should teach them the value of those Scriptures to themselves which had proved so precious to that individual.

But was there no reverse to the medal? he inquired. The secretaries had said little of the six hundred millions of human beings who were yet without the Scriptures, and their concomitant blessings—the report had told them nothing of the twenty millions who were yearly passing into eternity, without a knowledge of the truth of the Bible. These were considerations which should induce to increased efforts.

The Rev. WILLIAM JACKSON, of New-York, said:—

"Many years have elapsed since I quitted the shores of England to settle in America. After an absence of twenty years, it was natural that on my return to my native land I should be struck with the difference between the state of things which I left and that which I perceived on coming back. I shall confine my notice to those which occurred with respect to this society. At that time the whole amount of your subscriptions from the commencement had not exceeded £400,000. They now have gone beyond £2,000,000. Up to that period the total number of copies of the Bible and Testament circulated by your society did not exceed two millions and a half; and unquestionably the distribution of that number at that period was a mighty effort. But it has been exceeded by what you have since done, as the amount of copies distributed up to this time has reached the incredible number of ten millions. Up to that time the Bible had been translated into forty different languages; it may now be read in one hundred and sixty. How or to what shall I compare this wondrous increase? I can compare it then only to the great angel mentioned in the Revelation with one foot upon the sea and the other on the land; with pity in its eye, charity in its heart, and conviction on its lips, extending its arms as though it would encircle the whole human race, and offering life, and light, and happiness to all the nations of the earth. This may convey some idea of the mother; now let me inquire how your American daughter has prospered—she whom you some twenty years ago very properly portioned off with a sum of £500. How did she apply that sum? Did she squander it? No. Did she bury it in a napkin? No. Did she put it out to usury? No. She traded with it; and with what result? About this time that I speak, her committee is reporting that her annual income exceeds one hundred thousand dollars; that she has already distributed two millions of copies of the Holy Scriptures. There has been no station in society, from the mansion of the rich down to the most humble cottage, that she has not visited. She has extended her labors to the most distant lands to which her commerce reaches; she meets the emigrants from your country on their arrival on her shores, and presents them with a Bible as the only true travellers' guide: she places an ornament of gold around the necks of children by giving to them an early knowledge of the truth. Her labors extend from Labrador to the Main; and in that vast extent she is seen spreading her branches, bringing the faint and the weary of all classes under her shadow, and ministering to their wants with her fruit. Here, then, was one great effect of the bright example that had been set by the mother institution."

JOSIAH FOSTER, Esq. took a rapid view of the operations of the society, with others in the same interest, in France, Sweden, Norway, Greece, Belgium, Frankfort, Lithuania, &c. He noticed the interesting fact, that the Bulgarian, Amharic, and other versions of the Scriptures, which have been prepared for the semi-barbarous countries of the north-east were in rapid circulation. After calling up in review a few other facts which other speakers had noticed, he concluded by saying:—

"The committee asked with confidence for an increase of the regular, permanent income of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Early, faithful, and long-tried friends were removed one after another; and it was necessary that new friends should come forward, depending on the Divine blessing for the success of their labors."

The Rev. WILLIAM ACKWORTH, one of the agents of the society, detailed a number of facts which had come under his own observation while on the continent.

The following is the account as given in the Wesleyan Magazine:—

"He was asked, he stated, when in Paris, if he wished to see the house in which Voltaire had resided; he said, Yes; and was about to take his hat, thinking he had to go into the country, but he was told that he had only to step over the threshold of the next room, which he did; and then his informant said, 'This is the room in which Voltaire had his plays acted for the amusement of himself and his friends.' What was his surprise on observing that the room had been turned into a repository for Bibles and religious tracts! O, he wished that the professor of infidelity had been there to witness the holy use to which that room of infidelity and irreligion had been turned. At Lausanne he had been shown the house in which Gibbon had written his 'Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire,' and that too he found occupied by a zealous advocate and supporter of the Bible society. On arriving at Rome he proceeded to look for a book which he was anxious to have with him—the Bible; but he could not find one. A gentleman whom he met there asked him how it was that the English who travelled abroad could afford to spend so much money; observing that those who came there generally spent as much in a week as any inhabitant could afford to do in a year. He replied that he supposed it was owing to the liberties which Englishmen enjoyed in their own country; to their industry; but, above all, to their religious habits and strict observance of the doctrines of the Bible. He then complained of the difficulty of procuring one; when his acquaintance informed him that he could easily show him where one might be purchased, and they sallied forth for that purpose. On coming to a shop, Mantinus' Italian edition of the Bible in thirteen volumes was produced, with the Latin Vulgate on the opposite page; the price he found was seventy-two francs. He observed that this was dear, and that few of the inhabitants could afford to purchase it; adding, that in England he could procure a stranger a copy of the Bible for a tenth part of that sum, or under peculiar circumstances, under a twentieth part of it. 'O but, my friend,' said my informant, 'the circulation of the Bible is prohibited here.' He had derived much pleasure in hearing the address of the gentleman from Berlin; for no one who had ever visited Rome, and known the Prussian ambassador there, could help feeling a respect for an inhabitant of that country. That ambassador had erected on the spot formerly dedicated to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, a hospital, to which a certain society here had sent six hundred copies of the Scriptures, in order that all therein might have an opportunity of reading God's holy word. He proceeded to Naples, and there he found a great scarcity of books, particularly of the Bible. His own book had been taken from him, and had only been restored on his representing that he would write home on the subject. And here he would mention an anecdote which perhaps might be useful to future travellers. A friend of his, who travelled a good deal abroad, always took several Bibles with him; and visiting France on one occasion, he, to prevent annoyance, placed over them a book which was not any the worse for having been written in captivity—it was John Bunyan's 'Pilgrim's Progress.' The custom's officers, when they came to examine the books, knew not what to make of that title. 'Bun—Bun—Bunan!' said one, 'what is that?' 'O,' replied the other, 'you see it is some work recommending the pilgrimages.' Now that, he ventured to say, was a better passport for the Bible than any other which could be obtained on the continent. From Naples he went to Vienna. A Jew had brought there one hundred copies of Martini's Bible, of which he sold sixty. A friend of his (Mr. Ackworth's) bought two copies; but he soon received a visit from the police, who demanded that he should give them up. This he refused to do, observing that they were valuable books which he kept for the instruction of his children, and would not part with. The police then proceeded to thirty lawyers who had also been purchasers, and made a similar demand; but they refused to give up their Bibles, alleging that it was

necessary they should know both sides of the question; and if the book was so bad as it was represented, they ought to acquaint themselves with the extent of its impropriety. There were, however, found some persons who, from want of firmness, gave up their Bibles; and those Bibles were burned. But what was the consequence? Why, a spirit of inquiry arose, out of which was made a request to that society to furnish a thousand copies of the sacred work. It was his determination to cease receiving a salary from the society; but did it thence follow that he was about to retire from it? O, no! He would say in the language of a late Right Rev. prelate, 'When I forget the Bible society, let my right hand forget its cunning, and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth!'"

4. The London Missionary Society.

"The forty-first anniversary of this institution was held at Exeter-Hall, on Thursday, May 12th: Thomas Wilson, Esq., the treasurer, in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. Professor Vaughan; C. Lushington, Esq., M. P.; the Rev. J. Williams; the Rev. R. W. Hamilton; the Rev. W. Campbell, missionary from Bangalore; the Rev. G. Gogerly, missionary from Calcutta; the Rev. Henry Grey, of Edinburgh; the Rev. Henry Townley; the Rev. John A. James; the Rev. John Leifchild; and the Rev. Dr. Bunting.

The report contained a mass of the most interesting and encouraging information. The following is the number of missionary stations and out-stations, belonging to the society, in different parts of the world, missionaries laboring at the same, &c. &c.:—

	Stations and Out-Stations.	Missionaries.	Assists. Native, &c.
South Seas,	49	22	70
Beyond the Ganges,	5	7	6
East Indies,	163	33	123
Russia,	3	4	1
Mediterranean,	1	1	—
South Africa,	28	23	12
African Islands,	2	3	3
West Indies,	21	18	8
	272	111	223

making, with upward of 450 schoolmasters and assistants, nearly 860 persons, more or less dependent on the society, exclusive of families. The directors have sent forth, during the past year, to various parts of the world, missionaries with their families amounting, exclusively of their children, to 28 individuals. The number of churches is 74, and that of communicants 5,239; of schools the number is 443, and that of scholars 29,601. With respect to funds, it stated that there had been, during the past year, a decrease in the legacies, an increase in the ordinary contributions. The amount of legacies was £1,132 6*s.* 5*d.*; the contributions, to ordinary and special objects, £51,732 16*s.* 6*d.*, being an increase, over the past year, of £2,093 2*s.* 9*d.*, and making, with the legacies, the total amount of receipts, £52,865 2*s.* 11*d.* To that might be added the sum of £3,000, granted by government, toward the erection of schoolhouses in the West Indies; making the sum received by the directors for the year, £55,865 2*s.* 11*d.* The expenditure had been £60,627 8*s.* 5*d.*; being an excess above the income of the year, of £7,762 5*s.* 6*d.*, and an increase above the expenditure of the previous year, to the amount of £15,016 14*s.* 8*d.*"

The Rev. Mr. Williams called the attention of the audience to what he had witnessed of the triumphs of the Gospel in the South Sea Islands. In describing one of the missionary meetings he had attended, he said:—

"It was one of those cloudless mornings, so frequent in the Pacific, just when the sun was gilding the sky with his glory, that the people were assembling in multitudes to supplicate the Divine blessing on the proceedings of the day. A day thus commenced could not be otherwise than interesting. At midday, a multitude not less numerous than that which he had the honor of addressing, assembled; and not having a house large enough to contain the audience, we adjourned to an adjoining grove of cocoanut trees. Picture to your imagination, sir, a multitude thus assembled, shielded from the piercing rays of a tropical sun by the entwining plumes of the cocoanut tree, whose tall, cylindrical trunks gave it the appearance of a sublime rustic cathedral, reared by the hand of an Almighty architect. The king, with his consort and family, surrounded by the chiefs and nobles, dressed in their splendid native costume, were seated near to our esteemed brother Nott, who was standing upon a tub—for we are not particular whether on a tub or in a pulpit, if we may but tell the simple, yet wonderful story of God's having loved the world. Mr. Nott had addressed the people near half an hour, when the king said in his native language *Atira e Noti*. 'Mr. Nott, that will do; leave off.' Mr. Nott proceeded a few minutes longer with his address; and when Pomara repeated the injunction, 'That will do; let me speak now!' Mr. Nott took the admonition, and the king rose, and in a most powerful address contrasted the advantages of their present condition with their former heathenish state; he told the people to whom they were indebted for those blessings, and stated to them how the people of England raised funds to spread the Gospel over heathen countries; and then concluded by saying, 'We have no money, but we have pigs, cocoanuts, and arrow root, with which we can buy money; and I propose that we should form a society which we may call 'The Tahitian Society for causing the word of God to grow.' All who agree to this proposition will hold up their hands.' In a moment a forest of naked arms was extended in the air—arms that had scarcely ever been uplifted before except to inflict the blow of death upon the head of some devoted enemy. The people returned to their homes to carry into execution the proposition of the chief; but he must state, that the chief impressed it earnestly, he might say six times, that it must be entirely voluntary. They immediately commenced making cocoanut oil, and in a short time a shipload was sent out to England, which was sold, after all expenses were paid, for the sum of £1,400; and this being the first cargo imported into this country from those islands, his majesty was graciously pleased to remit the duty upon it, which increased its value by £400. It was thus he desired to see kings becoming nursing fathers, and queens nursing mothers, to the Church. He would just remark that this chieftain, some years ago, was one of the most savage despots on the face of the earth; and, had it not been for a cloud that was very distressingly shed over his closing years, he would have been one of the most illustrious monuments of the power of the Gospel the world ever beheld. It might be interesting to his friends to know, that in his dying moments, he gave three specific charges:—1. To maintain the laws; 2. To be kind to the missionaries; 3. To lay fast hold on the Gospel."

The speaker then presented the chairman with a copy of the New Testament, printed in the language of a people inhabiting an island which he himself had discovered. He found them all heathens; he left them all professing Christians. He found them without a written language; he left them reading, in their own tongue, the wonderful works of God. And the latest intelligence informed him that in one of the schools there were 1,034 children, the morning the letter was written.

Mr. CAMPBELL made an interesting speech, mostly in reference

to the state of British India; in which he sharply rebuked the countenance given to idolatry, by British officers. "So long," said he, "as European magistrates are obliged to be present at the festivals, and spread the golden cloth over the image, as the representatives of the state, and European officers are obliged to present a salute to the abominable thing, and European functionaries are obliged to collect the wages of iniquity, the curse of the Almighty rests upon India, and an invincible barrier is raised against the progress of the Gospel, and the extension of truth; a burden of uncancelled guilt lies upon the government and people of Great Britain; and in the skirts of our garments is found the blood of souls." He pointed out the difficulties which prevented the availableness of the measures which had been adopted to remedy these evils, and earnestly recommended others which he thought might subserve the best interests of the nation and the cause of religion. He concluded by saying,—

"I wish not to throw cold water on the subject of China, by any means; but if you wish to enter China, if you wish that the way may be opened for the introduction of the Gospel into that vast empire, what do I advise you to do? Fulfil your obligations to India, the country which God has put into your hands, and then he will give you China as a prize and reward. I am ready to hide my head with shame before this assembly, and in the presence of my Master, for my countrymen, for our seats of learning, and for the Church of the living God. Had you been called to defend the rights and liberties of your country, and had failed to display the courage and magnanimity which characterized your ancestors, I should deeply have deplored it. Had you been called upon to go to the extremities of the earth, to explore regions comparatively unknown, and to add to the triumphs of science and philosophy, and had been found wanting in the spirit of enterprise to accomplish the undertaking, this I should have deeply deplored. What, then, shall I say, when the call has been reiterated from the heavens above, and from the earth beneath—from the sanctuary, and from the press—from the Christian Church—from the lips of the missionaries—and from perishing millions; inviting you to the post of honor, of danger, and of sacrifice; to stand on the ramparts of depravity, and contend with principalities and powers, and the rulers of the darkness of this world, and spiritual wickedness in high places; and to tread in the steps of prophets and apostles, of confessors and of martyrs? and that call is so little regarded?"

5. The Lord's Day Observance Society.

"The annual meeting of this society was held at Exeter-Hall, on Friday, April 29th: the bishop of London in the chair. The speakers were, Sir Oswald Mosley; the Rev. Dr. Dealtry; William Roberts, Esq.; the Bishop of Chester; the Rev. George Cubitt; the Rev. Christopher Benson, master of the temple; John Hardy, Esq., M. P.; the Rev. J. H. Stewart; and Sir Andrew Agnew.

"The report stated that the committee, not expecting to bring their undertaking to an easy or an early conclusion, were grateful for the success which they had met with. Perseverance was necessary; and in dependence on the blessing of God, they had been enabled to hold on thus far. The Sabbath was of infinite value to man; and the committee, by addresses, appeals, arguments in print, and oral communications, had pressed forward to their great ultimate object in the face of a powerful current of hostile influence, aided by the formidable force of the public press. Every step in

their progress proved that the end could not be accomplished without a strong simultaneous co-operation of the whole body of Christians. The committee had gone through a painful inquiry into the vast amount of profanation under which the Lord's day may be said to groan, and which would appear incredible to those who keep themselves within the bounds of order and decorum. The committee had determined to make Scripture the arbiter between the demands of the world and the privileges of the Sabbath, and to insist upon the whole Sabbath, and not an abridgment of it; it must be entire and unmutilated. It was the duty of a Christian government to promote the glory of God and the best interests of the community, by providing for the due observance of the Sabbath. Adverting to the apathy of the legislature on this question, the report remarked, 'Our railroad adventurers are so busy with the earth, that they seem to have forgotten that there is a heaven.' Several bills which had passed the house of commons with a clause prohibiting the employment of the road on the Lord's day, had had that clause struck out in their passage through the lords. The Islington market bill experienced a similar fate, the evils of Sabbath-breaking, as far as regards trading, amusement, the transit of goods and passengers on public roads, canals, and rivers, were not abated; though, with respect to travelling by stage-coaches, a small decrease in the number employed had taken place. Out of 3,000 coaches licensed in 1832, no less than 1,633 were licensed to run on the Lord's day. The number licensed this year is 2,950; of which 1,521 travel on the Lord's day, performing thereon 8,294 journeys. This calculation did not include glass coaches, hackney carriages, and cabriolets. The pestilential evil of Sunday newspapers was spreading; and considering the malignant form it had assumed of late, it might be a question whether the enemy of souls wielded any more destructive weapon. This society, however, was gaining strength. The movements in the north of England, and especially in Derby, were very gratifying. Auxiliaries had been established in Yorkshire, Cheshire, Lancashire, Buckinghamshire, Devonshire, Salop, Norfolk, Northumberland, and Sussex. No one year had been so productive of interesting correspondence as the last, during which the committee had circulated 15,000 copies of the tract containing portions of the evidence on Sabbath breaking, given before a committee of the house of commons; and 113,250 copies of the society's own publications. A Sabbath Observance Society had been recently formed in the Canton de Vaud, Switzerland; and the minister (the Rev. C. Recordon) was engaged in translating into French the bishop of Calcutta's sermons on the Lord's day. The committee expressed their acknowledgments to the Wesleyan and Calvinistic Methodists for their zealous co-operation in this cause. The receipts of the year, December, 1834, to December, 1835, amounted to £812; the payments to £740; but against the balance of £72, there were engagements to the amount of £363."

6. Religious Tract Society.

"The thirty-seventh annual meeting of this society was held in Exeter-Hall on Friday, May 6th: Samuel Hoare, Esq., the treasurer, in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. T. S. Grimshawe; the Rev. Dr. Burder; the Hon. and Rev. Baptist W. Noel; the Rev. H. Townley; the Rev. H. Stowell; the Rev. William Jackson, of New-York; the Rev. J. Cumming; the Rev. Dr. Cox; the Rev. R. W. Sibthorpe; the Rev. F. Cunningham.

"The report commenced by adverting to the opposition which is still made by the Chinese authorities to the circulation of religious tracts. From all other parts, with the exception of Madagascar, the accounts were of an encouraging nature. In reference to domestic proceedings, it was stated that the new publications within the year were 193. The publications circulated during the year had amounted to 15,914,148. The total circulation of the society, in more than eighty languages, had been about 235 millions. Several new societies had been formed. The total receipts had been £63,934 13*s.* 8*d.*; being an increase of £6,708 6*s.* 10*d.*

"Mr. Noel said he was glad to hear that the committee had thought it right to allot £2,000 in the course of the last year to India and to China. This sum, however, was a small contribution, compared with the £54,000 expended upon the sale of small publications at home. England, with all her ministers, with her widely diffused education, with her reverenced Sabbaths, with her multiplied institutions for ameliorating in every way the moral and spiritual condition of the population, had £54,000 worth of tracts diffused among the people, while the vast regions of Hindostan and China had but £2,000. Yet it was cheering to notice that year by year these grants were enlarging. Not only did religious men now direct their attention to our intercourse with China, but since the trade had been opened, there were many accounts on which men generally wished to see that intercourse extended. Although the experiments which had been made were not many, yet it seemed impossible to deny a full assent to the proposition that China was perfectly accessible. Mr. Gutzlaff had made five voyages along the coast; and it had only led him to describe each voyage as more successful than the one before; and an American missionary had found the people at Canton ready to receive his books. With such opportunities offered to them for distribution, would it not be in the highest degree neglectful not to employ them? The people were ready to receive and to read copies of Christian books: not, however, that he meant to say that there was a disposition to receive Christianity. But they were a reading, a curious, and a friendly people; and were ready to receive whatever books were offered them. According to the last census, the population of China was said to be 350,000,000; more recently, however, the number had been reduced to 250,000,000; but still the population was so dense that they were obliged to emigrate to other lands in great numbers. In spite of the most rigid laws of the Chinese government, the necessity of the case was forcing thousands of the inhabitants into the Chinese Archipelago, in which there were European residents and European commerce. The Chinese mingled with the Europeans, they caught their language, knew something of their superiority; and was it conceivable that it would not operate in producing a most important change in the opinions of those ignorant people regarding the western nations? By that slow operation a preparation was made for communicating the Gospel. At this moment there were hundreds of thousands to whom Christian tracts had immediate access; and some of those books might be taken by the sailors into the heart of their own families. Let them follow, in imagination, one of those sailors thus taking a book into his family, and there reading one of those strange publications from a foreign nation, and the people of the village, simply from curiosity, listening to the communication. Did they not see what a preparation was made for the Christian missionary whenever, in the good providence of God, an opening should be made for him to establish himself among them? It was just before the advent of the Saviour that the civilized world was prepared for the diffusion of Christianity, by the extension of that empire which broke down the barrier between rival nations. So the vast population of the east, amounting altogether to not far short of half the population of the earth, was only under two governments. India was already open to Christian publications; and if, in the providence of God, the bigotry of China should berelaxed, then would the whole of that vast empire be prepared to receive the communication of the Gospel from Canton to Corea. But if there were those facilities for distribution, was there any agency prepared? In that point of view the prospect was most cheering. Morrison, Milne, Medhurst, and Gutzlaff, had, with energy, perseverance, and devotion, given themselves to that work, and had mastered the difficult language. Morrison and Milne were gone to their rest; but here was a proof of the value of a society like this. Their publications would live after them, and might communicate a knowledge of Christianity to millions, when their tongues were silent in the grave. Death might carry away Medhurst and Gutzlaff; but

their publications might be hailed with delight, by men of the greatest understanding and of the most devoted hearts. It was much to be deplored, that the liberality of this country, among all denominations of Christians, had not raised a sum of money that should be adequate to the demand. Every publication issued by this, as well as the Bible society, simply bore the stamp of the truths of the Gospel; and that gave them a vast advantage. The Catholic missionaries had been so opposed to each other, that more than once they received an intimation from the emperor that they should live in brotherly love. Still, however, the operations of that body had been so well sustained, that in 1810 they presented a report to Sir George Staunton, from which it appeared that there were six bishops, twenty-five missionaries, eighty priests, and 215,000 converts, within the heart of that empire. When the meeting recollected that at this moment the prevalent religion of China was Budhism, and had been introduced without oral instruction, but was communicated by writing, they had a pledge of what the publications of the society might do when circulated among that thinking people. Only let Christians be more and more zealous in the work. That immense population was involved in ignorance, superstition, and despotism; and, therefore, let the superior privileges of those whom he addressed animate them to great and renewed exertion."

7. THE SUNDAY SCHOOL UNION.

"The thirty-third anniversary of this institution was held at Exeter-Hall on Thursday, May 5th: Edward Baines, Esq., M. P., in the chair. The speakers were, the earl of Roden; the Rev. A. Tidman; the Rev. John Leifchild; the Rev. C. Stovell; the Rev. Dr. Morison; the Rev. William Thomson; the Rev. J. P. Haswell; the Rev. William Beal; and W. B. Gurney, Esq.

"Mr. W. F. Lloyd read the report, which commenced by detailing the society's foreign operations. It stated that the most earnest desire for instruction was manifested in various parts of the world, particularly in the West Indies. With regard to home proceedings, sixteen grants had been made toward the erection of schools, amounting to £295. The labors of the travelling agent, since the last anniversary, had resulted in the formation of seven unions, and in the visitation of twenty societies. The home grants during the past year amounted to £72 0*s.* 8*d.*; the colonial grants, to £30 4*s.* 1*d.*; and the cash grants, to £55. A summary of the returns of the four London auxiliaries presented 551 schools, 7,866 teachers, 80,631 scholars; being an increase on the last year of 17 schools, 245 teachers, and 1,927 scholars. The benevolent fund account showed the income of the year to be £676 19*s.* 1*d.*; the expenditure £542 19*s.* 2*d.*; leaving a balance in hand of £133 19*s.* 10*d.*"

8. THE LONDON SOCIETY FOR PROMOTING CHRISTIANITY AMONG THE JEWS.

"The twenty-eighth anniversary of this society was held on Friday, May 6th: Sir Thomas Baring, the president of the society, in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. Edward Bickersteth; the Rev. T. S. Grimshawe; the Rev. Peter Roe; the Rev. Daniel Wilson; the Rev. Hugh Stowell; the Rev. M. Keuntze, of Berlin; the Rev. T. Woodroffe; the Rev. A. Thomas; the Rev. John Hall; and the Rev. Michael Solomon Alexander.

"The Rev. J. Davis read the report, from which it appeared that the contributions in the present year had amounted to £14,395 14*s.*; being an increase of £2,291 12*s.* 2*d.* over the subscriptions of the previous year. Of that sum, £1,731 had risen from the enlarged contributions of auxiliaries, an occurrence which, coupled with the circumstance of an increase of £1,200 in the last year beyond the preceding, showed that the very great interest which the public took in the institution was increased and extended from year to year. The committee had last year diminished its expenditure by

limiting its operations in certain parts; but in this year it had resumed that expenditure without any derangement to its finances, or without any necessity of going into debt. The report then went on to detail the operations of the society in foreign countries, which were altogether of a most encouraging character. It was stated, on the authority of an eminent German professor, that there had been more converts from the Jews in the last twenty years, than there had been during all the previous time from the commencement of Christianity."

9. The British and Foreign School Society.

"The thirty-first anniversary of this society was held at Exeter-Hall, on Monday, May 9th: Lord Morpeth in the chair. The speakers were, Sir Cullen Eardly Smith; the Rev. Sanderson Robbins; J. I. Briscoe, Esq.; Sir Harry Verney, M. P.: the Rev. Richard W. Hamilton; the Rev. T. Smith; the Rev. Henry Wilkes; the Rev. J. Breckenridge, from America; Captain Young, R. N.; and the Rev. Dr. Schwabe.

"Mr. Dunn, the secretary, read the report, which stated, that, during the past year, the society had lost its valuable friend, Joseph Foster, Esq., of Bromley. The model schools continued to sustain the high character they had so long enjoyed. The number of children educated in the borough schools alone had now amounted to 33,710. In the training establishment, from April 1835 to 1836, the unusual number of 173 candidates had enjoyed the benefit of attendance. Of the 173 candidates, 92 had been trained for the boys' schools, 81 for the girls' schools. Of the former, 38 had been appointed to new schools, 28 had succeeded other teachers, 14 had left England for foreign stations, and 12 had, from various causes, withdrawn from the institution. Of those which had been trained in the girls' schools, 48 had been appointed to schools in England and Wales, 9 had been sent out under the superintendence of the society for promoting female education in India and the east, 9 had proceeded to foreign stations, under the care of different missionary societies, and 15 had either withdrawn, or, at the time referred to, were unprovided with stations. The number of new schools opened during the past year had fully equalled that of any preceding year. The schools throughout the country were, for the most part, proceeding satisfactorily. In reference to foreign operations, the report stated that education in the West Indies was steadily advancing. The accounts from Greece, Athens, and Spain, were highly encouraging. In conclusion, the committee made an earnest appeal for increased pecuniary assistance. From the treasurer's account it appeared, that the total income of the society during the past year amounted to £3144 1*s.* 4*d.*; the expenditure to £3,631 15*s.* 10*d.*; leaving a balance against the society of £487 14*s.* 6d."

10. The Naval and Military Bible Society.

"The fifty-sixth anniversary of this society was held on Tuesday, May 10th: the marquis of Cholmondeley in the chair. The speakers were, J. P. Plumptre, Esq., M. P.; General Tolley; the Rev. Peter Rod; Captain Pakenham, R. N.; the Rev. William Clayton; Captain Elliott, R. N.; Captain V. Harcourt, R. N.; Captain J. W. Bazalgette, R. N.

"Colonel Le Blanc read the report. It commenced by stating, that the exertions made in both branches of the service to promote the objects of this society had been unabated in the last year; and described the increased value which attached to the moral conduct of the soldier and the sailor, when that conduct was regulated by religious feeling. The number of copies of the Scripture which had been circulated last year amounted to 7,878, of which 995 were distributed for the use of seamen on board his majesty's ships; and the report observed that the captains of his majesty's ships had on all occasions received the grant of Bibles for the use of their crews with the greatest thankfulness. It then adverted to the case of his majesty's cutter, the Quail, which, on its way to Lisbon, encountered a

most violent hurricane. So great was it, that by one sea that struck them in the bay of Biscay, twenty-four of the crew were swept off the deck; of these, eight were fortunate enough to regain the vessel, but the others sank to rise no more until that day when the sea shall give up its dead. After enduring the severest trials, the Quail at length succeeded in reaching St. Hillier, in Jersey, but almost in a sinking state. When arrived there, the agent of the society went on board, with a view of supplying any loss they might have sustained, with respect to their Bibles, and wished to give them some in exchange for those which were damaged; but the crew requested to be allowed to keep those that remained as memorials of those comrades who had been taken from them, and who, it appeared, had made good use of them, up to the last day of their lives. It was a most gratifying sight, to see that portion of the crew who had been spared proceed to the nearest church on the succeeding Sunday, to thank God for their deliverance. In the last year there had been distributed among forty-one regiments, 2,933 Bibles, exclusive of those which had been distributed for the use of hospitals and regimental schools. The total number of Bibles and Testaments distributed during the last year was 11,211; making the distribution since the formation of the society, 308,249 Bibles and Testaments. The report expressed the regret of the committee, that the funds in the last year had not been commensurate with the demands of the society, and, with all their exertions, they had not been enabled to make their income equal to their expenditure; and that therefore they were in advance, £347. The receipts of the last year had amounted to £2,570 9*s.* 1*d.*; and the payments to £2,561 8*s.* 7*d.*"

11. The Protestant Reformation Society.

"The ninth annual meeting of this society was held at Exeter-Hall on Friday, May 13th: Mr. Finch in the chair. The speakers were, J. E. Gordon, Esq.; the Rev. P. Roe; the Rev. Mr. Seymour; Dr. Holloway; the dean of Ardagh; the Rev. E. Tottenham; the Rev. J. Cumming; the Rev. John Harding; and Nadir Baxter, Esq.

The report and speeches contain little that is new or interesting. Most of the facts detailed are generally circulated through the periodical press, as well in this country as in Europe. It is affirmed that in Ireland Popery is on the decrease, and Protestantism on the increase—that a spirit of inquiry and investigation is abroad among the Catholic population, so much so, that they take much pains, travelling in some instances thirty and forty miles, to hear the relative merits of Popery and Protestantism discussed. There is also an evident desire for the Scriptures. In one instance six families subscribed a shilling each to purchase a Bible, which is now itinerating from house to house among them.

On the other hand it was stated that there had been great increase within the last year in the numbers of Roman Catholic colleges, chapels and convents, and that many persons in England had been seduced from the Protestant faith to join the Roman Catholic Church. It was hoped, however, that the zeal which the clergy were expected to exert in favor of the objects of the society, when they should come to be enlisted in its favor, might augur better results. This will depend much upon the manner of their employing it.

"The society had last year issued above 400,000 sheet tracts; and there was going on an issue of nearly 2,000 tracts weekly from the society's repo-

sitory. The receipts of the society during the past year were £2,876 9s. 6d.; the expenditure, £2,633 6s. Beyond this, the report added that the society was in debt to the amount of £1,388."

12. THE NEWFOUNDLAND AND BRITISH NORTH AMERICAN SCHOOL SOCIETY.

"The annual meeting of this society was held at Exeter-Hall on Wednesday, May 11th: Lord Mountsandford in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. Dr. Dealtry; the Rev. E. Sidney; the Rev. H. Budd; the Rev. J. Hall; Captain the Hon. F. Maude, R. N.; Perceval White, Esq.; Thomas Lewin, Esq.; and the Rev. P. Roe.

"The Rev. J. Haslegrave, B. A., read the report, which announced that the king had taken the society under his special patronage, and that it continued to enjoy the countenance of the governor and other high official characters in Newfoundland. There were thirty-eight principal and branch schools in operation. The loan libraries in connection with them continued to be very useful. The teachers also employ themselves in distributing tracts; an important occupation, when it is considered that during the year 1834, there arrived at Newfoundland from sundry ports 848 ships, and that about 374 ships were employed in the seal fishery, which latter carried upward of 8,000 men; many of which were visited, and tracts left on board. There were many parts entirely destitute of instruction, which cannot be supplied for want of funds. The remittances last year from donations, subscriptions, and the various associations, excepting £120 received from Newfoundland for books, were only £1,251 18s. 5d. This year they amount to £1,769 19s. 9d., beside £100 specially for the debt of 1835; leaving a clear increase of £518 1s. 4d. But the receipts in Newfoundland for the past year amount only to £324 13s. 10d., reduced to sterling money; being £152 8s. 5d. less than the receipts of the preceding year."

13. THE HIBERNIAN SOCIETY.—Having noticed this society in a former number, to which we refer the reader for information respecting it, we insert it here barely to preserve the order in this paper.

14. THE CHRISTIAN INSTRUCTION SOCIETY.

"The eleventh annual meeting of this society was held at Finsbury chapel on Tuesday, May 3d: J. Labouchere, Esq., in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. A. Tidman; the Rev. R. W. Hamilton; the Rev. Dr. Cox; C. Lushington, Esq., M. P.; the Rev. J. Young; the Rev. T. Smith; and the Rev. George Clayton.

"The report stated that, in connection with the society, there were eighty-two associations, with 1,862 gratuitous visiters, having under their care 46,938 families, and holding 115 prayer meetings; being an increase of seven associations, 232 visiters, 5,759 families, and twenty-four prayer-meetings, during the last twelve months. Within the same period 766 copies of the Holy Scriptures had been circulated; 1,814 cases of temporal distress had been relieved; and 3,572 children had been obtained for Sabbath and day schools. The local prayer meetings, preaching stations, and schools, had been increased from 91 to 115. The income of the society amounted to £1,061 17s. 9d.; the expenditure to £1,045 19s. 4d."

15. THE PROTESTANT SOCIETY FOR THE PROTECTION OF CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS LIBERTY.

"The twenty-fifth anniversary of this society was held at the City of London Tavern on Saturday, May 14th: Lord Ebrington in the chair. The speakers were, the Rev. R. W. Hamilton; George Bennet, Esq.; J. Mellor, Esq.; Edward Baines, Esq., M. P.; the Rev. J. Sibree; the Rev. T. Morell;

Dr. Brown; Josiah Conder, Esq.; C. Lushington, Esq.; the Rev. T. Russell; Dr. Bennett; Mr. Edwards, of Brighton; the Rev. Dr. Ross; J. Green, Esq., of Birmingham; the Rev. Dr. Morison; the Rev. Mr. Castledine; Rowland Wilks, Esq.; the Rev. Mr. Beard, from America; the Rev. Mr. Ainslie; the Rev. Dr. Cox; and J. Brown, Esq., of Wareham."

The report contains nothing of general interest. The objects of the society are no doubt benevolent, and may be serviceable in many cases, if not abused. It appears to be a sort of association designed to interpose the weight of its influence in cases where it is conceived the rights of the weaker party are contravened by the more powerful and influential.

16. The British and Foreign Temperance Society.

"The general meeting of this society was held at Exeter-Hall on Tuesday, May 17th: the bishop of Chester in the chair. The speakers were, Lord Teignmouth; Basil Montague, Esq.; the Rev. Hugh Stowell; Mr. John Hockin; Mr. G. Thomson; Mr. Hall, of Maidstone; J. S. Buckingham, Esq., M. P.; the Rev. D. Kelly; and the Rev. William Blood.

"The report stated that the temperance societies of England, Scotland, and Ireland had united; and many country societies, which had hitherto been independent, had declared themselves auxiliaries of the parent institution. Other societies had been formed on the total-abstinence plan, whom they could not but regard as friendly coadjutors. Many excellent and influential clergymen of different denominations, as well as many private Christians of eminence, had inscribed their names in the books of the society, and had become successful advocates of its claims. Nearly all the parochial clergy of the city of London had espoused the cause; and many dissenting meeting houses had been opened to its advocates. In St. Dunstan's and St. Bride's large associations had been formed. The Society of Friends had passed resolutions in favor of temperance at their last yearly meeting. Some cases were mentioned of spirit-dealers having abandoned the trade, from a conviction of its pernicious results. Many families had begun to act systematically on its principles. The agents of other religious and benevolent societies had lent their aid, and had distributed, with much success, the tracts of the society. The committee, having determined to obtain the opinion of the medical profession respecting the results of the use of ardent spirits, had succeeded in obtaining the signatures of 700 medical gentlemen, in London, including the most eminent practitioners in the hospitals. The following was the 'declaration' to which those gentlemen had affixed their names:—'We, the undersigned, declare our conviction, that distilled spirit is not only unnecessary, but injurious to persons in health; that it contains no nutritive quality; that its daily use is a strong temptation to drunkenness, occasioning many severe diseases, and rendering others difficult to cure, leading to poverty, misery, and death; and that its entire disuse, except for purposes strictly medicinal, would powerfully contribute to the health, morality, and comfort of the community.' One hundred and eight new societies had been formed in the past year; and 200,000 persons had evinced their attachment to temperance principles. Some juvenile associations had been formed under proper superintendence. One gentleman in Cornwall was stated to have distributed 60,000 tracts, and to have obtained 7,573 members; he had employed 53 agents, and his labors had extended over 75 parishes. A lady in London also had succeeded in obtaining 155 members. The reports from Scotland and Ireland had been highly important and encouraging. The principles of temperance had been successfully advocated in New South Wales, Southern Africa, and New-Zealand, among the Moravian missionaries, in the East Indies, on the continent, France, Prussia, Sweden, and in the empire of the Czar. The number of tracts distributed

during the year had been 680,050; making, from the commencement of the society, 3,865,750, including the circulation of monthly publications to the extent of 403,120. The receipts had amounted to £1,631; the expenditure to £1,471; but the engagements under which the society was placed would leave a balance of nearly £400 due to the treasurer.

"Basil Montague, Esq., said he had long been connected with the Mendicity Society, in which they had seen the effects of that most horrible vice of drinking ardent spirits. He had meditated on the important subject for many years. He had himself abstained from fermented liquors for more than thirty years; and, from the knowledge which he had gained, he had endeavored to diffuse through the community the benefits which he had himself experienced. He had rarely seen the evil traced to its source. Few would accuse him of being, in the vulgar sense of the word, a 'radical reformer;' but, on the present subject, God forbid that he should not be an advocate for 'radical reform.' There were two points to which he would chiefly direct attention:—Was the drinking of ardent spirits an evil? And if an evil, how was it to be remedied? It was most decidedly an evil. First, it was injurious to health. Here Mr. Montague quoted the opinions of Dr. Cheyne, Dr. Rush, Dr. Darwin, and others, in proof; referring also to his own experience. In the next place, it was injurious to strength. He had inquired of several eminent boxers, and among the rest, of Mr. Jackson; as also of several celebrated walkers; and he found that they abstained from fermented liquors. He had obtained nearly the same testimony from soldiers and sailors. It was injurious also to intellectual excellence. Lord Bacon, Milton, Dr. Johnson, and others equally eminent, were remarkably temperate. It was, above all, injurious to moral excellence. It induced obduracy and hardness of heart, a distaste for labor, and a great waste of time; it was of an infatuating character, and there was a great difficulty in breaking it off; it led to a contempt of religion and of religious truth, to carelessness as to the distinctions between right and wrong, to irascibility of temper, to insensibility and inhumanity. Mr. Montague here introduced some quotations from the evidence given before the committee of the house of commons, by Mr. Poynder; from which it appeared that some of the most notorious murderers had fitted themselves for the perpetration of their horrid crimes by the use of ardent spirits. Such was the evil, an evil which in many had become an established habit. And how was it to be remedied? He answered, by abstinence. Let them abstain at once. Let them but persevere for a short time, and he could assure them that the pleasure would more than counterbalance any seeming evil."

In reviewing the transactions of these benevolent associations, all holding their annual celebrations in one city, and, within less than a month of each other, it is natural to institute a comparison between the state of the Christian world now, as indicated by the spirit which has prompted to these benevolent enterprises, and that which existed before. It is a trite remark, that the present is a benevolent age. But do we always realize what is implied in it—how much that must evidently be referred to the extraordinary impulses of the Divine Spirit—that has its origin in God alone, in whose hands are the hearts of all his people, to direct them to such leading tendencies as shall best subserve his wise and benevolent purposes? When the courage of a martyr was necessary, with the spirit of a martyr he armed his faithful ones. Now the spirit of a burning zeal for the salvation of the world will better subserve his

cause, and the spirit of such a zeal is imparted. It is evidently of God.

On examining the reports of these several societies, it will be perceived that they raised, during the last year, more than a million of dollars. Did all Christendom, from the days of Constantine to the Reformation, raise such an amount for purely benevolent purposes? These institutions, let it be recollected, with one exception only, have all sprung up within a half century. The Naval and Military Bible Society was instituted fifty-seven years ago; all the rest are of more recent origin. In England, where taxes and tithes, and the necessary means to support the gospel at home, among dissenters, place the people under an oppressive pecuniary burden, a spirit of benevolence has been gradually enkindling in the hearts of Christians, until the combined liberality of a few of the associations influenced by it exceeds a million of dollars in one year! The same spirit of zeal and benevolence prevails in other Protestant countries, as well as England, and in other societies in that country. Has God inspired it without an object? Does it not indicate that he is about to put in operation an agency for the conversion of the world? What then is the duty—let every friend of the Saviour seriously ask himself—what is the duty of all who profess to be influenced by a Saviour's love, in regard to this great and growing work? We then, as workers together with him, saith the missionary apostle, beseech you also that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.

For the Methodist Magazine and Quarterly Review.

THE DIVINITY OF CHRIST PROVED BY HIS WORKS.

A Sermon on John xx, 30, 31.—By Rev. J. Floy.

"And many other signs truly did Jesus in the presence of his disciples, which are not written in this book; but these are written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God, and that believing ye might have life through his name."

By the word "signs," in the text, we understand miracles, both words being indifferently used in the Old and New Testament. "Thou shalt take this rod in thine hand," said the Almighty to Moses, "wherewith thou shalt do *signs*:" and Jesus said, "Except ye see *signs* and wonders, ye will not believe."

But what is a miracle? The definitions of the word are numerous, some giving it too great a latitude of meaning; and others, perhaps, needlessly contracting it. A miracle is any action, event, or effect, contrary or superior to the established laws of nature. For admitting that there is a supreme Being—and our argument, at present, is not with those who deny one—a Being who has all

power in heaven and on earth, it is evident that no action can be performed—no event can take place—no effect be produced, contrary to laws he has established, only by an exertion of his own power, immediately or through the instrumentality of another. Will it be said, in opposition to our definition, that miracles were wrought in olden time by magicians, by soothsayers and the whole race of false prophets? we answer: either those performances were not miracles, but mere deceptive impositions; or, if they were, the power by which they were wrought must have come from God; or else we shall run into the absurdity of imagining some being more powerful than the Deity.

It falls not within our design, at present, to discuss those wonders or signs wrought by others, whether from a good or evil purpose, or to spend time in pointing out the difference between real and pretended miracles. The doctrine deduced from the text, to an elucidation of which we shall confine our attention, is this:—

THE MIRACLES WROUGHT BY THE LORD JESUS ARE A PROOF OF HIS DIVINITY. "They were written that ye might believe that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God."

But why attempt to establish his divinity from his recorded acts merely? Are there not stronger arguments? Did he not claim all the prerogatives of Deity? Did he not say—I and the Father are one? Yes, verily. It is a doctrine that has not been left to conjecture, or to the mere force of inference. We contend that it has been clearly and explicitly revealed; and yet, how often is it the case that the most positive declarations are so interpreted as to mean any thing or nothing—that men admitting, in its full extent, the truth of the revelation which God has given us will, nevertheless, so interpret that truth as to favor their own preconceived creed? We pass by the positive declarations of the Bible on this subject, not because they are not sufficient, but because we esteem the miracles of the Saviour as affording strong *circumstantial evidence* of his divinity. We contend that his miracles, even had we no other arguments, are sufficient to prove what the text tells us they were recorded to establish, that Jesus is the Christ, the Son of God—the Son of God in such a sense as no other being ever was or claimed to be—the WORD that was in the beginning—that was with God—that was God. In doing this we have a two-fold object. We would, if it were possible, induce those whom we believe to be in error—in fatally delusive error on this subject, calmly and carefully to re-examine it—to weigh impartially the evidence we shall bring forward. We would, instrumentally at least, inspire a feeling within them similar to that which actuated Thomas when, addressing this same Jesus, he exclaimed, My Lord and my God! Whether successful in this object or not, we shall at least strengthen the faith and increase the confidence of those who have believed in his name. It is an object worthy of our highest concern, to add, in ever so small a degree, to the stability and firmness of that faith upon which, like a rock in the midst of a boisterous ocean, the humble disciple may rest secure when the winds blow, and the rains beat, and the floods threaten to ingulf him.

I. With reference then to the miracles of Christ, we remark, in

the first place, that *they were numerous*. Had we said innumerable, we should perhaps be warranted in the assertion, by the declaration of the author of our text, in a subsequent chapter. "There are also," says he, "many other things which Jesus did, which, if they were written, I suppose the world would not contain the books that should be written." This saying of the evangelist, of course, is not to be understood literally; but, understand it in what way we will, it undoubtedly implies that but a very small part of Christ's miracles were recorded. Probably not a day, perhaps scarcely an hour of his ministerial life passed away, in which he did not exhibit some exertion of his miraculous power. He went about doing good. That his recorded acts are immensely disproportionate to the miracles which he actually performed, is evident from many incidental expressions in the gospels. There went out a fame of him through all the region around about. Great multitudes followed him—and he healed their sick, and he healed them all. "And *in the same hour* he cured *many* of their infirmities, and plagues, and of evil spirits; and unto *many* that were blind he gave sight." We need not dwell at farther length on this point. It leads naturally to our second remark, which is,

II. *The miracles of Christ were wrought publicly; in the presence of immense numbers of people.* There was no mysterious privacy —no studied ceremony to make them appear wonderful, or to provoke the attention of the people. Crowds followed and surrounded him; what he did was not done in a corner, but openly before the world, in the immediate presence of enemies as well as friends. Surrounded by the captious infidel, the self-righteous pharisee, and the scoffing scribe. Indeed it seems as if the evangelists selected rather those miracles which were wrought before the greatest number of people, as if aware that in after times objections might be raised to the truth of their testimony. Hence, among the vast number of miracles from which they had to select, we find some recorded by two, and others by three of the evangelists; and those which are so recorded are generally the miracles which were wrought before the greatest multitudes. We find, moreover, that there is one which each of the four has transmitted to us at full length, viz., the miracle of the loaves and fishes. How happened it that each should have chosen to record that one? It did not manifest greater power or more goodness than many of the others. The simple fact that it was witnessed—that it was seen and felt and realized by an immense concourse—probably by as many as fifteen thousand, (for there were five thousand men beside women and children,) seems to have been the only reason why each evangelist should so particularly have recorded it, and its attendant circumstances. The Founder of Christianity has disappeared—says the caviller—ye say that he has ascended into heaven, and this book is given to the world as evidence of his superhuman powers, of his transcendent goodness; but who saw any of these miracles? Where is he that was born blind? Where is the paralytic that was healed? Where is he that ye say was raised from the dead? Alas! Death hath again summoned him and he is gone. Then, indeed, might the scoffer have railed, and the skeptic doubted, and infidels of

every name, like their legitimate successors of the present day, enjoyed a fancied triumph. But stop: who is this bending with the weight of years? Who is this with his head bowed, and silvered with the frosts of seventy winters? Hear him:—"I saw Jesus break the bread, and lift his eyes to heaven—I heard him give thanks—I fed upon the bread his power created; and, though it was threescore years ago, yet shall I never forget that hour. What is written here is true, for *I was there.*" Thus for a long time after the ascension of Christ, living witnesses were not wanting to testify to the reality of the miracles that had been wrought—to bear evidence that there had been no deception—no fraud. It was reserved for later ages, when centuries had elapsed, for man in the plenitude of his self-sufficiency to hazard the opinions, eagerly swallowed by those who feared the truth, that, after all, the evidence of the divine authenticity of Christianity is doubtful. Thus, onward, step by step, one *conceives* the evidence to be weak; the next proclaims that it *is* weak, that it is inconclusive and insufficient; and, eventually, so rapidly and with such splendor does the light of reason, as it has been called, diffuse its beams, that in the opinion of its votaries there is no longer room for doubt itself—'tis a whole system of barefaced falsehood and unblushing deception! Strange that none of the *contemporaries* of the evangelists should have exposed the deception and proved the falsehood of the inspired penmen!

III. To proceed with our subject. It has been observed that man, finite in intellect, and seeing only through a glass darkly, is unable to comprehend God, an infinite, essential spirit; that he cannot, by searching, find out the Almighty to perfection. Hence it became necessary in the revelation of himself, that man might form some idea of the incomprehensible, to unfold unto us his *attributes.* It was not enough to say, "God is a spirit,"—an eternal spirit. And in prosecuting our inquiry we ask, What are the attributes of Jehovah? For if He who wrought these miracles were really and truly God, they will undoubtedly manifest the attributes of God. In other words, if God were their author we shall find his attributes displayed in them.

The peculiar glory of the Deity is *goodness.* "I beseech thee," said Moses, "show me thy *glory.*" "I will make," said the Uncreated,—"I will make my *goodness* pass before thee." Search then the record of the deeds of Jesus, and what do we find but instances of goodness throughout his whole career? Is there in his whole history one solitary act recorded—one deed wrought—that was not a proof of his love to the children of men? Of his forbearance, his longsuffering, his goodness? Indeed there is only one which at the very first sight does not bear the most convincing evidence that they were wrought for the special good of man. I allude to his cursing the barren fig tree which he passed on his way to Bethany, and which withered at his malediction. Now let it be borne in mind, that this tree was not any man's private property. It grew by the wayside. No individual was therefore even temporarily injured by our Lord's conduct; and his design was evidently to do good. He not only gave evidence of his power, which tended to strengthen the faith of his disciples, but he also gave to all who saw the transaction—yea, to all who might hear of it to the latest

period of time, an awful warning against *unfruitfulness*. "Herein is my Father glorified, that *ye bear much fruit*."

See him, on his way through the towns and villages, cleansing the leper and healing the palsied—unstopping the ears of the deaf, causing the dumb to speak, casting out devils, and

> "From thick films behold him purge the visual ray,
> And on the sightless eyeball pour the day."

Hear him, in accents of the tenderest compassion, when he meets the aged and desolate widow following to the tomb her only son, her last hope—hear him say unto her, "Weep not." At the grave of him who had been dead four days, behold him shed the sympathetic tear with the afflicted sisters of him whom he loved. These, however, are but small portions of his manifested goodness. It extended not merely to his friends: it reached, it embraced, even his bitterest enemies. When Peter, with characteristic rashness, smote off with his sword the ear of the high priest's servant, he reached forth his hand and healed it, either by creating a new one, or, what was scarcely less miraculous, by restoring the one that had been cut off to perfect soundness.

Once, and once only, did he refuse to exert his wondrous power. It was when his disciples, not knowing what spirit they were of, besought him to call fire from heaven to destroy his enemies. He came not to destroy but to save.

Indeed to notice all the evidences of his *goodness* would be to transcribe the greater part of his eventful history. Follow him to his last hour. Hear him, with his last breath, surrounded by those who had lacerated his body and nailed him to the accursed cross—when with a word, a gesture, a look, he might have overwhelmed them with utter destruction—hear his cry—"Father, forgive them, they know not what they do."

I am aware that more than this is necessary to establish the doctrine of the text. More is at hand. I know it will be said, goodness is a *communicable* attribute of Jehovah. Let us go a step further.

IV. One peculiar attribute of the Deity is *ubiquity* or *omnipresence*. "Am I a God at hand and not afar off?" saith the Lord, "Do I not fill heaven and earth?" Whither shall I flee from thy presence? And although this is beyond our depth, and the manner of it inconceivable by finite minds, yet it is a truth which he himself has condescended to reveal, and one that is a source of constant comfort and joy to the believer. Let us look, then, at the recorded acts of the Lord Jesus. Do we find any evidence that he possessed this attribute? Surely no mortal—no creature, of whatever rank in the scale of being—ever possessed this attribute; no *good* being ever claimed it. It is absolutely incommunicable. Should we, then, find ample evidence in the recorded acts of Jesus of Nazareth—in the signs which are written in this book—that he was actually present in more places than one at the same time, what will it prove? Will it not establish his Divinity beyond the possibility of an *honest* doubt? establish it in defiance of the recklessness of the *dishonest* skeptic?

Matthew informs us of the case of a Canaanitish or Syrophenician woman, who, with great earnestness and importunity, besought the Saviour to heal her sick daughter. For the trial of her

faith, Jesus, at first, paid little attention to her entreaties. "I am not sent," said he, "but to the lost sheep of the house of Israel"—and "it is not meet to cast the children's bread to the dogs." "Truth, Lord," she replied; "yet the dogs eat of the crumbs which fall from their master's table." "Then Jesus answered and said unto her, O woman, great is thy faith: be it unto thee even as thou wilt. *And her daughter was made whole from that very hour*," Matt. xv. 22–28. So again with the centurion's servant—at home—sick of the palsy—grievously tormented. "I will come," said Jesus in answer to the request of his master, "*I will come* and heal him." But the centurion answered, "I am not worthy that thou shouldest come under my roof: speak the word only, and my servant shall be healed."—"And Jesus saith unto him, *Go thy way*,"—and "his servant was *healed in the selfsame hour*," Matt. viii. 5–13. Let it be observed here with what particularity of emphasis the evangelists dwell on the fact that those who were healed were healed in the *selfsame hour: from that very hour*—Jesus spake and it was done. The healing power was communicated by a word of his, though at the distance of miles from the grievously tormented sufferers.

But the case of the nobleman's son, as recorded by John, is still more explicit. "When he heard that Jesus was come out of Judea into Galilee, he went unto him, and besought him that he would come down to Capernaum and heal his son: for he was at the point of death." "Sir," said he, "come down ere my child die." "Jesus saith unto him, Go thy way; thy son liveth." And as the nobleman was on his return homeward, his servants met him, bringing the joyful news—"Thy son liveth." Then inquired he of them the hour when he began to amend. And they replied, "Yesterday, at the seventh hour," the very hour in which Jesus spake the word—he did what? began to amend?—no, but "the *fever left him*," John iv, 46–53.

Now as it is impossible, even in imagination, to conceive of a mere man performing any act, much less a miraculous cure, at a distance from where he is—as it is impossible even in idea to separate the power exerted by any individual from the individual himself—for it is an established axiom, where an individual acts, there he is—it follows that Jesus must at the same moment have been at Cana in Galilee with his disciples, and at Capernaum by the bedside of the sick man. Does not this indicate ubiquity? By what power other than that which fills all space could such acts be performed? Do they not attest the *omnipresence* of him who wrought them? It would seem from the narrative of the case last referred to, that at least one family thought so; for it is added that the nobleman believed and his whole house. Believed what? That the sick man had been cured?—That he who healed him was an extraordinary *man*? It would appear little better than trifling, had this been all, to give so much prominence to his *believing, with his whole house.*

Let it be observed, with reference to these miracles, that there was no appearance of any thing like *delegated* power—that there was no *intermediate* agent invoked or instrumentality employed—

no prayer to, or acknowledgment of, a superior Being. "Thy son liveth:" "Go thy way:" "Be it done even as thou wilt."

V. Again, Omniscience is an attribute of Jehovah. Great is the Lord, and his understanding is infinite. The darkness hideth not from him, but the night shineth as the day. "He that formed the eye," saith the Psalmist, "shall he not see?" that is, granting that the eye was formed by some being, shall he not see? "He that formed the ear, shall he not hear?" Doth not he who gave all these pleasing and wonderful faculties to man possess them in the highest degree of perfection?

Let us examine, then, the recorded acts of the Lord Jesus. If we find in them any evidences of omniscience, our faith in him as very God will be abundantly strengthened. "Lord," said the Galilean fisherman, "we have toiled all night and have taken nothing," Luke v, 5. "Let down the net, on the right side *of* the ship," said the Saviour. Having done this, their net was so full that it came near breaking. "Take a hook," said he, to one of his disciples, "and cast it into the sea, and in the mouth of the first fish that cometh up, when thou hast opened his mouth, thou shalt find a piece of money," Matt. xvii, 27. Now shall we ask, how came the money there? or, how came it that *that* fish, of all the myriads that sported in the waters, should at that time take hold of Peter's hook? Nay, but we ask, how knew Jesus to what particular spot the fisherman would go?—how knew he that in that fish's mouth money just sufficient for their purpose would be found?—how knew he that *that* fish would be taken?

Who is this whose eye penetrates the abyss of the dark waters? Who is this so intimately acquainted, even with the lowest class of living creatures, as to know when and where they are in their wild gambols and chance-directed sports?

But the evidences of his omniscience rest not here. His knowledge extended to the depths of the human heart. "The heart is deceitful above all things, who can know it?" Surely none but he that created it—none but God. It is man's province to look on the *outward* appearance, but "God looketh upon the heart." "Thou," said Solomon in his dedicatory prayer, "even thou only knowest the hearts of the children of men." In such truths as these, how are we to account for the frequent instances in which Christ *replied to the thoughts of his hearers*, otherwise than by attributing to him this prerogative of the Deity? In several instances the evangelists notice, in an apparently casual manner, the readiness and promptness with which he *answered the thoughts* of those around him. These facts must be familiar to every reader of the Scriptures, and consequently need not be minutely specified.

His knowledge extended not only to the *present* thoughts, but back to the past, and forward to the future. "Come," said the woman of Samaria, "Come see a man that told me all things ever I did." He foretold the manner and time of his own death. When his chosen twelve were seated round him at the last supper, his eye pierced the breast of the traitor, and exposed him to his favorite John. "Thou art Peter," said he at an early period of his ministry, "and on this rock will I build my church." Near the consummation of his wondrous work, turning to this same Peter, he said, "This

night, ere the cock crow, thou wilt deny me," not once, but "thrice." What! the bold Peter—the boldest of the twelve—he who drew his sword in defence of his master—who was ready to go with him to imprisonment and to death,—he deny his Lord!—Though all should deny him, surely Peter would not—*could* not do it. But alas! his history is familiar to you, and is at once a lamentable instance of the folly of human self-confidence, and a proof of the unerring prescience of the Saviour—of his intimate acquaintance with the human heart.

VI. In the sacred Scriptures, we find *omnipotence* attributed to Jehovah. He is the ALMIGHTY. Was Jesus of Nazareth omnipotent? Did he in reality possess, as he distinctly declared after his resurrection, *all* power in heaven and in earth? Certainly there can be but one Almighty—but one possessed of *all* power. The evidences of his omnipotence are not, perhaps, to be gleaned from isolated acts, but from the united whole of the "signs" which "Jesus truly did." We do not appeal to his speaking the dead to life; to his walking on the waves; to his creative power in supplying bread to the hungry. We do not refer to his touch, giving sight to the blind, hearing to the deaf, soundness to the sick—to his voice, heard and obeyed by the winds and the waves; by devils; by the newly dead; by the dead and buried a long time. To none of these signs singly and alone, but to the whole, added to the fact before alluded to, that he was always ready, always the same. To this sum total do we point as evidence of the omnipotence of Jesus.

It may, perhaps, be as well here to notice an objection that has been urged against the doctrine advanced. It is urged that admitting the truth of the record, the reality of all the miracles attributed to Jesus Christ, there is not evidence sufficient to conclude that he was anything more than a holy, just, and benevolent man—that he was a prophet, and one high in favor with the great I AM. For, it is further urged, miracles have been wrought, cures have been effected, events have been foretold—nay the dead have been raised by holy men under the old and the new dispensation. Suppose we admit the truth of all this, what follows? Why, that Jehovah, for wise purposes, has in such instances, conferred upon man the power by which such miracles have been wrought. That it was a *delegated power*. This indeed has been freely admitted, nay gloried in, by the individuals themselves. Look at the miracles of Moses and Aaron, of Joshua and Elijah, and more especially of the apostles. Did they ever work miracles in their own name, by their own inherent power? Far from it. "Say unto Pharaoh, I AM hath sent you." At the memorable time when the sun was arrested in his course, we are told that Joshua, in the first place, spake unto the LORD: and immediately after it is added, "There was no day like that before it or after it, that the LORD hearkened unto the voice of a man," Josh. x, 12–14. "Where is," said the successor of the Tishbite,—where is Elijah?—no: "where is the LORD GOD of Elijah?" "Ye men of Israel," said Peter, "why marvel ye at this? or why look ye so earnestly on us, as though by *our own power or holiness* we had done this?" Acts iii, 12. Such conduct—such language—is precisely what might be expected from good men,

anxious that the glory should be given to whom it was due; that the power should be ascribed to him from whom they derived it.

Contrast now this language with the conduct of Christ. Does he ever give the glory of his works to another? Does he invoke the name of a superior power? He does not. So far from it that he more than intimates, throughout all his miracles, that the works were his own, and his own only. To the leper he said, "I will—be thou clean;" to the infirm woman, "Thou art loosed from thine infirmity;" to the widow's son, "Young man, I say unto thee, arise;" to Lazarus, "Come forth." To the winds he uttered his rebuke. To the waves he said, "Peace, be still;" of the sick man, "*I will come* and heal him."

The question then recurs, Were these miracles wrought by delegated or inherent power? If by the former, what are we to think of their author? A deceiver—an impostor? Hold, who dares venture an insinuation like this? And yet there is no alternative—absolutely none. He claimed to work them in his own name. He professed that they were wrought by his own power. If they were not—what was he? If they were, he was the Almighty—the everlasting God.

VII. There remains yet another description of the wonderful works of Christ, as evidence of his divine nature, to which we have not adverted. We allude to his forgiving sins. That this is the exclusive prerogative of Jehovah is alike evident from the declarations of Scripture and the deductions of common sense. "Bless the Lord, O my soul," says the Psalmist, "who forgiveth all thine iniquities." "There is forgiveness with thee, O Lord." And "who," said the scribes and Pharisees, "can forgive sins but God only?" Most certainly no one. For what is sin? A transgression of God's law. Who then *can* forgive, but he against whose law the sinner has transgressed? Listen a moment, then, to the language of Jesus. "Son, be of good cheer, thy sins are forgiven thee"—"Go in peace and sin no more"—"That ye may know that the Son of man hath power on earth to forgive sins." What language is this? Who is it that thus speaketh? Who is it that blots out the record against the sinner in the register of heaven?—that wipes away every stain from the polluted conscience?—that says, "*Go in peace?*"

It may possibly be objected here, that those to whom Jesus spake pardon had repented; that the Father had forgiven them; and that Jesus was only commissioned to apprize them of the fact. Now this is but a supposition—a lame supposition, and contrary to the evidence left on record. He does not say, "Thou hast repented and art forgiven"—"Because thou art sorry for thy sins, thou art pardoned"—but "Thy faith hath saved thee." Faith in whom? "I believe that thou art Christ the Son of God." Believing this in the heart, the pardon came, the soul was justified. "Verily I say unto you, her sins, which are many, are all forgiven her." In confirmation of the truth of these remarks, look for a moment at his last exhibition of saving power, while he tabernacled in the flesh. In the presence of his enemies, stretched bleeding upon the cross, a few moments only before he dismissed his spirit, he said to the malefactor by his side, "This day shalt thou be with me in paradise."

It has been observed that we have this one instance of a soul's

finding forgiveness in his last hour, that none might despair; and *but* this one, that none might presume. We think, also, it may have been recorded that none might attribute salvation to works; to sorrow for sin; to bitterness of grief; to tears of anguish. It was faith in the Lord Jesus that in the days of his incarnation brought forgiveness to the sinner. It is by an exercise of the same faith now, that the eyes of the spiritually blind are opened; that the fetters of the bondman are broken—that the dead are quickened. In the language of the latter part of the text—upon which, by way of improvement, we have a few remarks to make—it is by *believing*, that we have life through his name.

But is not sorrow for sin then necessary? Is not repentance toward God essential to salvation? They are indeed. They are both necessary in order that the sinner *may be prepared to believe.* They are prerequisites to justifying faith. But there is nothing—there *can be nothing* meritorious in them. "*Believe* on the Lord Jesus Christ and thou shalt be saved." "That *believing* ye may have life through his name."

Again, the progressive advancement of the Christian is attributable to the same cause. "I am come, not only that they might have life, but that they might have it *more abundantly*," John x, 10. Raised from spiritual death to life, the Christian is aptly compared to a new-born babe. Food is necessary that he may grow up to the stature of a man. It is here provided for him—"I," said Jesus, "I am the bread of life—the bread that came down from heaven." He is the tree of life, no longer guarded by cherubim and a flaming sword, but inviting all to approach, "and take also of the tree of life, and eat and live for ever," Gen. iii, 24. So long as the Christian continues in his vital union to Christ, like the branches of the vine, he derives thence sap, sustenance, vigor, strength, fruitfulness. "But as the branch cannot bear fruit of itself except it abide in the vine, no more can ye, except ye abide in me," John xv, 4. He is made unto us sanctification, as well as redemption. (1 Cor. i, 30.) Hence the untiring effort of every growing Christian is to cleave closer and closer to his beloved embrace; and his unceasing prayer is, "Evermore give us this bread," John vi, 34.

But farther, the light of our subject dispels the darkness of the tomb. It answers the momentous, the absorbing question, "If a man die, shall he live again?"

> "Shall spring ever visit the mouldering urn?
> Shall day ever dawn on the night of the grave?"

"Believing, we have life through his name"—the name of that Jesus who declared himself the *resurrection*, as well as the life. "The hour is coming in which all that are in their graves shall hear his voice, and shall come forth"—"when this corruptible shall put on incorruption, and this mortal shall put on immortality." "Because I live, ye shall live also."

It indicates also the source of the bliss of the redeemed in heaven. The crowns of gold, the palms of victory, the river that maketh glad the city of God; the golden pavements of that city, and its walls and gates of jasper may be, perhaps are, mere figures used to convey some idea to man's finite intellect of the happiness of

heaven. What are they all, compared with life through his name—a vital, an eternal union with Christ? "As thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee, that they also may be one in us. I in thee, and thou in me," John xvii, 21–23. This is heaven—this the glory reserved for them that love God: one with Christ, as he is one with the Father.

Again, we may learn from our subject one reason of the little success of the Christian ministry in many places. Christ and life through HIS name have not always had sufficient prominence in the labors of the ministry of reconciliation. Not indeed that he has always been kept out of sight, or in the back-ground. But where he has not been the Alpha and the Omega, the beginning and the end, the first and the last, the all and in all, what warrant was there to expect, what right to look for, the outpouring of his Spirit—the manifestation of the life-giving power of his name? The first lesson that the ambassador of the cross should learn—a lesson, the influences of which should be ever present with him, in the closet, the study, the pulpit, everywhere—is found in those impressive words of Christ, "Without me ye can do nothing," John xv, 5. Here is the secret of the success which crowned the efforts of the apostles. "We preach Christ crucified;"—"Christ the power of God and the wisdom of God," 1 Cor. i, 23, 24. "I determined not to know anything among you save Jesus Christ and him crucified," 1 Cor. ii, 2. "Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord," Phil. ii, 8. For "I can do all things through Christ which strengtheneth me," Col. iv, 13.

Finally, We may learn from our subject why it is that any finally perish. It is not because there was not a sufficiency of merit in the atoning blood to embrace every soul of man. It was an *infinite* sacrifice. It is not because any were passed by: "God is no respecter of persons." There is no limit to the provisions of the Gospel, to the invitations of Christ. "Come unto me all ye that labor and are heavy laden, and I will give you rest." "Whosoever will, let him take of the water of life freely." "These things are written that *thou* mayst believe; that believing *thou* mayst have life through his name." Will you say—*dare* you say—there is not evidence enough to induce belief? Have you examined it carefully, calmly, impartially? Above all, have you sought the illuminating influences of the Spirit? LIGHT *has come* into the world. Are you willing still to be classed with those who love darkness rather than light? Shall it be still said of you—shall it be said of you by him who wept over perishing sinners when the day of their visitation was past—when the things that belonged to their peace were for ever hid from their eyes—shall it be said—"Ye WILL NOT come unto ME that ye might have LIFE."

RELIGIOUS LIBERTY IN FRANCE.

It appears from the following statement of facts, taken from Blackwood's Magazine, that religious liberty in France is not as permanently established as many seem to have supposed. It was natural to conclude, that, after the struggles through which the nation had passed to emancipate itself from civil and religious oppression, provision would be made effectually to guard against a recurrence of either. But a moment's reflection ought to satisfy us that such a hope was visionary. Infidelity is not the foster sister of vital godliness. It is naturally intolerant and vicious toward it under any circumstances.

True, the infidel leaders in France found it to their interest to excite public indignation against the intolerance of the church, during their revolutionary course. It was not, however, because they had any respect for religious freedom more than those they opposed, but only to effect their overthrow. We are not at all surprised, therefore, to find the spirit of persecution roused in France simultaneously with the revival of pure and undefiled religion.

The event, however, does not alarm our fears with respect to the progress of the gospel in that nation. Whatever may be the disposition of the present rulers, acting under the dominant influence of a corrupt philosophy, whose principles and axioms were everywhere inculcated to produce an entire change of the civil and religious policy of the country, the people have in the process been taught lessons on the question of human rights of which they can never be divested. They have learned *their own rights*, and whenever called to do so, will assert them with a firmness and decision that will not be misunderstood. All correct observation on the state of the country goes to show that a spirit favorable to the spread of the gospel and the principles of evangelical piety is abroad in the land, and rapidly increasing. Let then the spirit of persecution break forth in its fury—let only a few more such outrages as are detailed in the article below be perpetrated, and it will rouse the people to defend the persecuted, and place their rights upon a firm footing. Nor is this all. It will call up their attention to the cause in which they suffer. A smooth, quiet course may be pleasant, and, on many accounts, desirable. But it is not in the nature of things, that an extended and thorough revival of evangelical piety should take place in such a country as France—and in the midst of so much infidelity and irreligion—without persecution. The labors of a few ministers professing evangelical principles, performed quietly and without opposition, would lose their effect upon such a mass of corruption, were nothing to occur to agitate the community and turn the eyes of the listless multitude toward them. For this

very purpose God has always wisely overruled the persecutions of his people, and thus caused the wrath of man to praise him. It may therefore be presumed that the persecutions which the few faithful ministers in France are now called to suffer, will ultimately result in the furtherance of the gospel in that nation.

"It is generally thought that, since the priestly power has been humbled, as perfect a religious liberty prevails in France as in any other part of the world; or even more than this, that if several other nations enjoy a legal toleration and freedom in this matter which leaves nothing to be desired, the *principle*, at least, of liberty of worship is more largely, more liberally, more philosophically understood in that country than anywhere else. And this in a *philosophic* sense may be the case. The doctrine of toleration was originally propagated in France through the exertions of the infidel philosophers. It sprung consequently out of an indifference, or rather an impartial hostility, toward every form of Christianity. This gave a roundness, a positiveness, an absolute tone to its expression, which among other people, where there were attachments and preferences given to particular creeds and systems, was not to be met with. Hence it has happened that France has got the character of being superlatively enlightened on the subject of religious liberty. Excepting the Catholic priesthood from this praise, it has been universally deemed justly due to the great body of the nation. But the truth is, the doctrine of freedom of worship has in that country been hitherto little more than a philosophic dictum. Since it has been promulgated so roundly, there have been few opportunities of practising it. The revival of the national Reformed Church did not furnish one of these. That event was a matter of state policy, and considering the lethargic condition of French Protestantism at the time, its re-establishment, limited and crippled by the very nature of its organization, could hardly alarm the most susceptible bigotry, or the most malignant infidelity. Since then, till within the last year or two, there has been no religious movement in the country at all, and a dogma proclaiming complete liberty of worship, has been inscribed in the *Charte*. And while, on the one hand, this dogma remained unchallenged by events, and, on the other, there was a perfect stillness and passiveness in the religious world, it was only fair to believe that this solemn proclamation of freedom was synonymous with its virtual possession and enjoyment. But several striking facts have lately shown that this is not the case. Certainly there can be no doubt that Frenchmen cherish liberty of worship, as they do every other kind of liberty, as an abstract principle; but this principle, it would appear, they have recorded in their great national code barely as a philosophic maxim never intended to be carried out into practice. It was not indeed, in order that the gospel should put forth fresh shoots of life that religious liberty in France was made the law of the land, but rather that all denominations of Christians should alike live in equal contempt, security, and quietude. That antichristian philosophy which was the parent of French toleration, could neither design nor desire more than this. And, if we compare this state of sufferance, which is all that

is intentionally provided for, with the free and unlimited scope given to all religious opinions and religious establishments among ourselves and in other Protestant countries, we shall find that, in practice at least, freedom of worship is among our French neighbors yet in its infancy. It is only where we see such a spectacle as Episcopalians, Presbyterians, Methodists, Independents, Baptists, and other numerous sects flourishing together, that we can say religious liberty is truly exhibited. Its spirit, however, may be shown without such a variety of examples. But this kind of liberty has never been in the contemplation either of French philosophy or of French law. A personal right to worship according to one's conscience is fully and cordially recorded, but whenever the Protestants of France have pushed this right in an aggressive direction, and have been successful in making proselytes, they have invariably encountered resistance, which has been frequently seconded and rendered triumphant by legal decisions against them. It is only lately indeed that such facts as we refer to have happened, for it is only lately that the awakening zeal of French Protestantism has provoked them. The consequence which has resulted is, that the limit of liberty granted by the French law, according to recent interpretations, is now marked; and it behooves the Reformed Churches of France early and unanimously to show that this limit, arbitrarily assigned, is in effect a denial of their rights altogether; and to contend manfully and fearlessly, as a body placed in the very vanguard of Christian truth in their country, for their undoubted and chartered privileges.

We have alluded above to certain flagrantly iniquitous and tyranical sentences pronounced against French preachers of the gospel within the last few months. We should not, however, think it incumbent on us to interfere in the matter, but should leave the battle to be fought out by those more immediately interested in it, if the sound part of the Reformed party in France did not labor under peculiar difficulties. In the first place, they have no audience in the nation. Whatever injustice may be done them, the people in general know nothing and care nothing about it. Their appeals to the public never extend beyond their own circle. Secondly, they are a timid race. Having been so long accustomed to persecution, and to act the part of meek and silent sufferers, or to express unbounded gratitude for mere tolerance, they hardly know how to assume the port and demeanor of bold asserters of truths and rights in the face of society at large. Thirdly, they have wisely and conscientionsly kept themselves apart from politics, and consequently, being identified with no political party, they possess no influence with the government to uphold their cause. Fourthly, grievances which affect even bodies of men, thus without power, are generally overlooked by the French legislature as unimportant. Petitions, or representations from particular parties or descriptions of persons, are huddled up in a common miscellany or farrago of minor matters in the chamber of deputies, and excite not so much national sympathy or sensation as an injury done to a single individual does among us. Fifthly, England has ever stepped in as the defender of the Reformation in France whenever its doctrines have been tyrannically opposed; and often has a voice of indignation from this side of the water, and sometimes even direct interference,

stayed and averted acts of oppression which would otherwise have fallen on our French Protestant brethren. And, sixthly, and chiefly, we know that there is only a feeble section of the Reformed population in France truly zealous for the spread of their creed, and that the efforts of this select division are rather thwarted than assisted by the great majority of their co-religionists. We feel it therefore becomes our duty to bring our aid to those with whom we are convinced the cause of the gospel in their country exclusively resides. It may be thought, perhaps, that we have spoken slightingly of this party, inasmuch as we have accused them of timidity; but if they have this defect, or rather, if they want enterprise and hardihood, not in propagating their faith, but in confronting their adversaries, this arises from a singular meekness and gentleness, and purity, and simplicity, and candor, and unworldliness of mind, which it would perhaps be impossible to find in any other society of Christians throughout the world. These traits of their character, so rarely combined with that daringness of spirit which accompanies a sense of strength and prosperity, only gives them in our estimation additional interest.

The cases we have now to expose, regarded even as isolated facts, are crying acts of injustice and oppression; but considered as *precedents*, as mere initiatory trials of power, to be repeated with increasing emphasis and authority whenever occasions may present themselves, they assume a significance which jeopard the very existence of religious liberty. If means be not speedily found of reversing the decisions which have been lately pronounced in French courts of law, we have no hesitation in saying that the gospel will be more effectually suppressed in France than it could be by open and violent persecution. These decisions remaining uninvalidated, every petty authority in that country will have an extinguisher ready to put upon the Reformed creed whenever there is the slightest prospect of its extending beyond the walls of the national temple; and within those walls, as we have shown in some late papers, there is but a slender prospect of its showing much life, if not acted upon by an external impulsion from the unsalaried churches. The question, therefore, before us, appears so important that, although we have been for some time designing to give our readers some farther accounts of French Protestantism in general, we think it better to treat of our present subject separately, that it may receive the full measure of attention it deserves. The matter which actually engages us is not *French* but *Protestant*, and concerns much more nearly those who are interested in the progress of the Reformation, than it does either the French government or the French people, to both of whom it is a topic essentially alien.

We now come to the exposition of the facts which have called forth the above reflections, and in doing so we must request our readers' patience, for we have a question of law to unravel which is indispensable to the understanding of the case before us. In the month of Febuary last, Mr. Oster, a minister of the Reformed Church of the confession of Augsburg, was summoned by the mayor of Metz, in which place he was residing and officiating as a minister of the gospel, to shut up the apartment which served him

for a chapel, and to discontinue the meetings which were held there for religious purposes. The mayor of Metz considered himself authorized to take this step by the 294th article of the penal code, which is directed against all associations not expressly permitted by a chief magistrate. The pastor, Oster, in his defence appealed to the correctional police of the town, and that tribunal, in an energetic sentence, declared, that according to the 5th article of the *Charte*, which proclaims a complete religious liberty, the defendant was perfectly justified in holding assemblies for religious worship without the authorization of the mayor. Upon this that magistrate carried his case before the *Cour Royal* of Metz, and obtained a sentence which has condemned the pastor. It is necessary here to transcribe a few heads of this sentence, that its logic may be known. "Considering," it says, "that J. P. Oster, calling himself a minister of the Christian church of the confession of Augsburg, has in the course of December last, without permission from authority, and in spite of its forbiddance, given an apartment in a house which he occupies, for an assembly of twenty-three persons met together for the purpose of worship: considering that this act is provided against and repressed by the precise dispositions of the 294th article of the penal code: considering that Mr. Oster pretends that these dispositions have ceased to exist since the publication of the 5th article of the Charte of 1830, with which they are irreconcilable: considering that without doubt this abrogation has not been expressly pronounced by any law, and that it can therefore be but tacit: considering that the principle of liberty of worship is formally proclaimed by the *Charte* in its 5th article, as individual liberty is by the 4th article, and the liberty of the press by the 7th article: considering that the liberty of the press and individual liberty are unquestionably as precious to Frenchmen as liberty of worship, and that nevertheless it cannot be contested that both one and the other are subject to numerous precautionary restrictions, and to the *surveillance* of the police: considering that liberty of worship must inevitably be subject to the same restraints; that no one has ever pretended that this liberty is so illimitable that it can be subject to no measures and no superintendence of the police, and that, in fact, from the admission of such a proposition there would result consequences utterly incompatible with the existence of all organized society:" considering these, and many other matters, which are mere flourishes of rhetoric or appeals to precedents of times of despotism and persecution, the *Cour Royal* of Metz condemned Mr. Oster, and suppressed the worship of which he was the minister. Mr. Oster then appeals to the Court of *Cassation* of Paris, and that tribunal has confirmed the judgment of the *Cour Royal* of Metz, going over the same arguments in the sentence it delivered.

In order to unravel the sophistry of the judgment we have just quoted, it is necessary to enter somewhat at length into its detail, and first to state the question in its true light. By the 5th article of the *Charte* complete liberty of worship is roundly proclaimed; but, lest this should have the character of a naked abstract maxim—the character now sought to be given to it—special provisions, of an anterior datec ertainly, are fortunately connected with it, which show that it was not intended to be laid down as a mere first principle

of law to be subject to modifications in its developments, but as a law, in itself complete and sufficient for all its practical purposes. If this were not its just sense, it would have been absurd to guard it with specific conditions. A bare axiom abjures such limitations. These limitations which gave the 5th article of the *Charte* so emphatically its practical signification are,—1st, That any one who designs to establish a worship shall make a *previous declaration* to the mayor, or other chief authority, of his intention to do so; 2d, That he shall *specify the hours* at which religious service is to take place; and, 3d, That the building or house in which these services are held shall have its *doors open* for the free admission of the public. Here we see ample provision is made against any unlawful proceedings on the part of religionists. In legalizing the right of individuals to worship according to their conscience, the state does not thereby dispossess itself of its own rights. An entrance is left purposely open for the civil authority to interpose whenever the real *bona fide* purposes of worship are transgressed, or any disorder or misdemeanor against society is committed. That argument, therefore, in the sentence of the *Cour Royal* of Metz, which insists upon the dangerousness of an unlimited religious freedom, falls utterly to the ground. For we see that the law *does* provide very specific limits to this liberty, and such as give to the state, within its own province, complete security and unbounded power. The other arguments which that sentence embodies are still more subtle and still more false. "Individual liberty," it says, "and the liberty of the press, are unquestionably as precious to Frenchmen as liberty of worship, and they are nevertheless both subject to precautionary repressions," &c. Here three things are with wilful dishonesty and malignity confounded together, which are essentially different. The announcement of absolute individual liberty to men in civil society can be nothing but a metaphysical axiom, which we have shown that the 5th article of the *Charte* is not. And even if that article had not, as it has, an accompanying precise limitation and definition of its sense, it would still, however generally expressed, be *specific*, for it would point to one *special* object, and be confined within a certain compass, whereas the declaration of individual liberty can never be anything but a vague assertion of a principle which, in its abstract state, can admit of no practical application.

We might also show that the liberty of the press, and liberty of worship, come each under a distinct category. Since, however, the logic-loving judges of Metz and Paris have chosen to compare them together, they should have made it appear at least that the law had dealt equally with both; that as the restraints imposed upon the press arose from its excesses, so the like restraints imposed upon religious worship were provoked in a like manner. But this they have not done or attempted to do. They dare not even to insinuate that the slightest excess or transgression has been committed by the religionists they have condemned, or the congregations they have suppressed. They justify their decisions simply by maintaining that what they have done, though unprovoked by ill conduct on the part of those who have suffered, has nevertheless been done by the exertion of a legal power. This legal power is supposed to be conferred by the 294th article of the penal code. By this article, no associations are

allowed to be formed, or to hold assemblies, without the authorization of a chief magistrate. But as the 5th article of the *Charte* requires no authorization of this kind to establish a worship, it is evident that the two articles severally point at different objects: otherwise they are irreconcilable, and mutually destroy each other, which supposition reduces the argument of those who lean upon the penal code in the present case *ad absurdum*. Or, to place the question in a less senseless point of view, if there be any real contradiction between the two articles, it is manifest that the one of the latest date (the 5th of the *Charte*) must set aside the earlier one; for it is perfectly inane to pretend that a recent law is annulled by an old one, that is, promulgated only to be instantly destroyed. The contrary assertion may often be unjustly maintained. Old laws, without being formally, are frequently virtually abrogated by later ones. They become obsolete. In the present instance, however, we believe that the two articles, that of the *Charte* and that of the penal code, both coexist in force, for that they have completely distinct objects in view. The 5th article of the *Charte* has exclusively a *religious* sense, and the 294th of the code exclusively a *political* one. The latter assertion is acknowledged as true even in the sentence of the Court of *Cassation* against Mr. Oster. "Considering," it says, "that the offences of those who form *political* associations are provided against by the 291st article of the penal code, &c., and considering that the offences provided against by the 294th article of the same code are of the *same nature*.," &c. &c. But if there were any real honest doubt in this matter, it would be cleared up by the French keeper of the seals, on the passing of the recent law against associations. This law, it must be borne in mind, is in its intents identical with the articles 291 and 294 of the penal code, only it gives larger powers than those articles do. On the occasion of its passing through the chamber of deputies, the *garde des sceaux* expressed himself as follows: —"There is here a great distinction to be made. With respect to assemblies which have for their sole object the worship of the Divinity, and to exercise this worship, this law is not applicable. We make this declaration in the most formal manner." The reporter of the chamber officers, also, in bringing up the law, *repeated* the words of the *garde des sceaux*, and added, "If this ample declaration is not the law itself, it at least forms the official and inseparable commentary on it; *it is on the strength and good faith of this commentary* that the law has been adopted by the other chamber, and should be adopted by you: and there can be no doubt that every tribunal in France will understand it in the same sense." Further than this, when M. the Baron Roger and M. Dubois proposed an amendment to the law of associations, that religious assemblies might be *expressly* left out of its scope, they both of them abandoned their project on the positive declaration of Mr. Persil, "that the law was applicable only to *political* associations, and in no manner concerned religious meetings, and that there was no court of law in France which could so far mistake its intent as to apply its provisions to the letter."

We believe we have now unravelled the sophistries, and exposed the illegality of the sentences pronounced by the tribunals of Metz and Paris. We know of nothing so despicable, and, at the same

time, so dreadful, as such attempts as we have laid open, to wrench the law from its fair and obvious construction and this in the very face of contrary interpretations coming from the highest authority. We see in such decisions the shuffling writhings of a base and reptile tyranny hiding itself under the subterfuges of a false legal logic, and, to make itself still more hateful, assuming all the solemnities of judicial dignity. It is impossible to conceive anything so loathsome and fearful as this display. The only man who has risen in the chamber of deputies to protest against this flagrant act of iniquity and oppression was the *procureur général*, and president of the chamber, M. Dupin. He insisted indignantly upon the infraction of the *Charte*, and of religious liberty, committed, in the case of Oster, by the mayor of Metz, and declared the sentences of the law tribunals to be "*absurd and unjust.*" The keeper of the great seal, Monsieur Sauzet, promised in reply, that the affair should be inquired into, and justice done; yet though nine months have elapsed since that time, no step has been taken to reverse the decision, which has ejected Monsieur Oster from his ministry, and suppressed his congregation. What makes this the more remarkable is, that there are eighty Protestant members in the chamber of deputies, not one of whom, with the exception we have mentioned, has lifted a voice in defence of his religion; they all, indeed, seem to consider it a matter in which they have no concern. Nothing can prove more than this fact the propriety of English advocacy, as far as a strong expression of opinion goes, on this occasion. In truth, the only real Protestants of France, the few who stand up for, and maintain their faith, are in so feeble a minority, that they require every sort of aid and encouragement. With respect to the motives which have produced the late decisions, they are easily discovered. There is a common hostility in the petty local self-important magistrates of France against zealous religionists; and this is fully partaken of by the lawyers, who have a natural antipathy to every cloth but their own, particularly if it be of the same color. In all countries, too, men invested with a sacred character, especially if they act up to that character, would be torn to pieces by the philosophic rabble, (unless a prevailing superstition intervened to save them,) if that rabble could have their way. Then the higher French authorities hate the assertion of *right* of every kind; and whenever they encounter it, endeavor to put it down as an enemy to the government. Beside, the cabinet of the Tuilleries has lately made peace with the Romish Church. One of its chief designs actually is, to prop itself on the priesthood, and, if possible, to bring them into honor and power throughout the nation. Both as a means to this end, and as a high gratification to the Popish party, who are to be conciliated, the crippling of Protestantism is looked upon, if not promoted, with secret complacency. And, in addition to all this, the description of persons aggrieved by the violation of law we have exposed, and the cause they espoused, are both regarded as so *intrinsically insignificant* as to be hardly worth a thought.

Mr. Oster, the gentleman whose case we have now finished, is a missionary from the society in London for the conversion of the Jews. His conduct and character are acknowledged, even by his accusers, to have ever been perfectly irreproachable; and as a

preacher of the gospel, he has shown himself to be most able, zealous, and successful. These qualities have been his real crimes, in the estimation of the French tribunals.

The next case we have to exhibit is still more iniquitous than the one we have just dismissed. The conclusion of the highest law courts of France have so encouraged and emboldened the petty magistrates of the provinces, that they have lost no time, even outstripping the example of the mayor of Metz. The following instance will show this. Monsieur Masson, formerly a schoolmaster, but for several years past in the employment of the Continental or European Missionary Society of London, as a preacher and minister of the gospel in the town of Bordeaux, in the department of the Drome, has been brought before the correctional tribunal of Die, under triple accusation of having formed an illegal association, and making himself its chief; of having lent his house for the meetings of this association; and of having been guilty of the crime of *swindling*. Now what does the reader think the real meaning of this accusation is? Why, 1st. That Monsieur Masson is a pastor, unsalaried by the state, of a religious congregation; second, that certain members of this congregation have held prayer meetings in his house; and third, that he has been in the habit of collecting money voluntarily offered, to aid Bible and missionary societies. It appears that M. Masson first established himself at Bordeaux on the invitation of the mayor and of the pastor of the National Temple church of that place. He continued his humble and useful labors there three years with the approbation of the authorities, and oftentimes, when the pastor of the National Temple has been absent, he has been invited to preach in his pulpit. But both the pastor and the mayor have lately been changed, and their successors have regarded the benevolent exertions of Mr. Masson with the utmost hostility. Perceiving from the case of Oster that he had the power to do so, the mayor of the place, an attorney, summoned Masson to discontinue his meetings; and this illegal summons not being, of course, complied with, that preacher of the gospel, and agent of the London European Society, has been brought before the tribunal of Die on the above charges. In the trial which has taken place—if it be permissible to give that name to the iniquitous proceeding—no attempt was made to show that the illegal association mentioned was other than a religious assembly. *Considered in this its true light, it has been denounced and condemned as an illegal association.* Neither is the crime of swindling, the other part of the accusation, asserted to have been anything else than the collection of voluntary subscriptions for the funds of religious societies. On the first two charges, which are properly reducible to one, M. Masson has been found guilty, and sentenced to two months' imprisonment, and to the payment of a fine of fifty francs, and all the costs. On the charge of swindling he has been acquitted, yet the *procureur du Roi* thought proper to declare that *the collections of money made were highly reprehensible, and although they might have been made without fraud, and with the utmost good faith, they still amounted to swindling;* that functionary, in summing up, also declared that if these religious assemblies were continued, he should prosecute those who were present at them as accomplices. The most remarkable feature of

this sentence is, that we find therein the law against political associations directly applied to religious meetings. The mayor of Metz did not go so far as this. He appealed only to the 294th article of the penal code, which article, though identical in its intents with the law against associations, yet not being actually the law itself, left a certain quibbling subterfuge open to escape from the interpretation put upon that enactment by the highest legislative authorities both in the chamber of deputies and of peers. The tribunal of Die, encouraged, no doubt, by the triumphant impunity of the mayor of Metz, has thrown off the false mask altogether. We shall be very much surprised if, on the next occasion that offers itself to put down a minister of the gospel, the highest penalty of the law is not inflicted, viz. a year's imprisonment, and a fine of 1000 francs; or if, the next time a similar accusation of swindling is brought against a Christian minister, he is not condemned and sent to the galleys. Persecution naturally *acquiret vises eundo.* Another singular feature of this case is, that the tribunal took upon itself to arraign the *doctrine* of M. Masson, a proceeding totally illegal, and destructive of the very essence of religious freedom. Fortunately M. Andre Blanc, the bosom friend and disciple and successor of Felix Neff, and M. Arnaud, the pastor of the National Temple at Crest, in both of whose pulpits the accused had often been invited to preach, were there to refute every calumnious imputation on this head. These gentlemen offered spontaneously to defend M. Masson, as the court would not postpone the trial for a few weeks till the advocate in whom he placed confidence could be present. Monsieur Andre Blanc, to whom we have had occasion to introduce our readers in a late paper, is, without question, one of the most apostolic men in France, and M. Arnaud is a clergyman of the highest respectability and benevolence. He possesses, too, worldly advantages which seldom fall to the lot of a French pastor. He is wealthy. We have had the pleasure of spending a few days with him at his house at Crest, and could almost fancy ourselves, during that time, on a visit at an English parsonage. But these gentlemen are not the only persons who feel a strong interest for M. Masson. Throughout the whole department of the Drome, and the surrounding departments, as we know ourselves, he is regarded with such warm affection that it is really touching to hear the people speak of him. In all the reports, too, to the Continental or European Missionary Society respecting the south of France, he is conspicuously pointed out as one of their most meritorious and effective agents. Had the sentence of the tribunal of Die fallen upon some turbulent fanatic, though it would have been equally illegal and unjust, it would not have excited the universal sympathy and indignation it has in the present instance called forth. But having for its victim one who has such unquestionable testimonies to the purity of his character and conduct from all quarters, it appears evident that the design is to quell totally those efforts which have been making so successfully of late years in France, for the spread of the gospel.

Another instance of oppression, somewhat different from those we have just mentioned, but nevertheless of the same character, has just come to our knowledge. The names of the person and places

we allude to we cannot yet specify, but for the truth of the facts we have to relate we are responsible. Mr. B., the pastor of T., received some time ago from a family inhabiting A., who had separated themselves from the Church of Rome, an invitation to visit them, that he might give them instruction on certain points concerning which they felt doubtful. Mr. B., accompanied by two members of his church, betook himself to the spot, and several persons were invited to hear him expound the Bible in the house of his inviter. Hearing of this, the local authorities, the mayor, and the *juge de paix*, addressed themselves to the prefect of the department, to expel the pastor from the place. He and his companions were represented as *adventurers* and *swindlers*. They were all banished with ignominy from the spot. The pastor, however, being unwilling to renounce the hopes he had of doing good there, and being a man most peaceably disposed, wrote to the mayor a most respectful letter, and injudiciously, in our opinion, offered, if he were permitted to return, to comply with the requirement of the 294th article of the penal code, and to hold no assembly that amounted in number to twenty persons. The mayor replied to him in the following letter, the original of which is in safe keeping. "Sir, I know very well what to thing of your *charlatanism*. The faith of a Catholic will never give place to your *idiotisms*. It is my duty to prevent you making *dupes*. You are come to sow division among us, under the mask of hypocrisy," &c. &c. Here we see that *even when offering to obey the law, unjustly and illegally applied*, a gospel minister is still not suffered to exercise his functions. In the late papers we have laid before our readers on Protestantism in France, the writer of them has shown that all the new and flourishing reformed churches he has made mention of owed their origin precisely to the kind of effort which the mayor of A. has here so imperiously, and with so much insulting outrage, put down. Nothing can show more strongly than this reflection, the great extent of evil which the magistrates and law courts of France are now doing against the progress of the reformation in their country. Had they acted two or three years ago as they act now, not one of those churches we have alluded to would have been in existence. We have only a few words more to add on this case. It is needless to assure our readers, that Monsieur B., pastor of T., is neither an *adventurer* nor a *swindler*; such names, applied to him from the quarter whence they came, would naturally dispose our readers to think most favorably of him. We have, however, the most heartfelt gratification in farther assuring them, from personal knowledge, that Monsieur B. is one of those heavenly-minded men, so rare to be met with, whose whole lives are nothing but one continuous act of love toward all their fellow creatures.

Our readers will perceive, from the facts we have brought before them, that the suppression of the gospel in France is inevitable, if mayors and *procureurs du Roi* are allowed to triumph whenever they apply the law against associations to religious assemblies. We must repeat again, that the French government at present looks on with satisfaction when the law which secures freedom of worship is violated. Whenever, indeed, such instances of unjust and illegal conduct are brought before ministers, they do not attempt to vindi-

cate them; they promise they shall be inquired into—but do nothing. They have also the common habit of saying to those who suffer or complain—"*Why do you not ask for permission for authority to establish a worship? to men of your good conduct and character it would not be denied, and thus the whole contest would be put an end to.*" By this insidious proposition they hope to prevail upon the Protestants unconnected with the state to renounce the rights given them by the *Charte*, and to acknowledge a right in the government which it does not legally possess. This latter right once established by precedents, the government could proceed with a high hand; and till it is attained, the petty authorities are encouraged by impunity to vex and oppress gospel ministers in every way, in the hope that they will at last, by dint of repeated vexations and prosecutions, surrender up their privileges. Hitherto, however, these zealous Christians have held manfully out, but how long they will continue to do so against deprivations of their places and means of subsistence, against imprisonments, fines, heavy costs, and—what is severer than all—the total absence of sympathy and resource either in the nation or the government, it is hard to conjecture. Besides being a feeble people in numbers, the real Protestants of France are a poor people. M. Masson, who has been lately thrown into prison, and saddled with the heavy expenses of the procedure against him, has only to support himself, his wife, and his family, on 30*l* per annum, the stipend allowed him by the European Society of London; and the average income of all the pastors of the country is not more than 60*l* a year. To appeal therefore from court to court for the reversal of judgments which, however iniquitous, are sure to be confirmed, is heart-breaking and ruinous; and yet this the French Protestants must do, if they would not passively succumb under a tyrannic oppression. The effort of resistance, too, they are now so imperatively called upon to make is most critical. If they cannot triumph now they never will triumph. Precedents will accumulate against them, and render their cause hopeless. One vantage-ground, however, they certainly possess at the present moment. The French government, when the question is brought before them in a manner to enforce attention, dare not deny the justice of their complaints, or the injustice of the sentence pronounced against them. It only remains, therefore, so to bruit, and to circulate the infamy of these sentences, that the French ministers may be shamed into an active interference in the behalf of those whom they have already acknowledged to be illegally dealt with. We are not too sanguine, we think, in believing that this result may arise even from this humble paper. In the year 1815, the Protestants of the South were also persecuted. Some of their temples and schoolhouses were arbitrarily suppressed, and other outrages committed, while the government of that period looked on with open unconcern and secret delight. An English individual, Mr. Mark Wilkes, then residing in Paris, was the first who exposed with zeal and indignation these proceedings. The English people declared loudly their abhorrence of them. Sir Samuel Romilly, in the house of commons, made a speech worthy of himself in advocacy of the French Protestants; and finally, owing to the representations of Lord Liverpool, and the duke of Wellington,

then at Paris, to the French Cabinet, the persecution which had begun so flourishingly was put a stop to. Now we have no hesitation in saying that the persecuting acts we have above detailed threaten to be much more fatal than those perpetrated in 1815. If they are not marked with physical violence and bloodshed, it is not for this reason that they are less tyrannical—quite the contrary. The plan, we may perceive, is by single and separate deeds of oppression falling on obscure individuals, without power and almost without the means of defence, in instance after instance, at convenient intervals, to put down the gospel wherever it shall appear. As we have shown in former papers, there is an easy way of ejecting all zeal for the reformation from the national temples; and how it is sought, without the bounds of those temples, under the false legal pretexts, to root it totally out of the French soil; and this work will proceed silently and progressively, and be crowned with complete success, unless there be a public spirit roused which shall speak out with energy to frustrate it. We think, therefore, an appeal to English feelings on this question, and at this early crisis, urgently called for. A strong expression of opinion from this side of the water is always felt in France. If our zealous churches at home made common cause with their French Protestant brethren whenever the latter were suffering under acts of masterful tyranny, these acts would be so blazed and trumpeted abroad that the French legislature would be constrained to do justice. The individuals whose cases we have mentioned have been oppressed simply because they belong to a class of men so feeble and unsupported that they may be oppressed in all wantonness, not only with impunity, but without attracting the slightest notice, much less sympathy or aid, on the part of the public.

END OF VOL. VII.